National Negro Labor Council Projected

Hope to Step Up Battle On Jim Crow Practices

By George Breitman

DETROIT - Negro union members should and will form a national Negro Labor Council to fight for equality in and through the union movement, A .Philip Randolph told the NAACP convention in July and the AFL-CIO convention in September.

The need for such an organization was dramatized at the AFL-CIO convention when president George Meany, angered by Randolph's attack on segregation practices in AFL-CIO unions, snarled: "Who in the hell appointed you as the guardian of all the Negroes in

Its formation would quickly show whether Negro unionists agree with Meany or with Randolph on this question.

According to one report, the proposed Negro Labor Council will be founded at a national convention to be held in Detroit next April. If true, this will be appropriate because it is being patterned after an already existing local group, the Trade Union Leadership Council, which Randolph twice this year has visited, spoken at and

The TULC has been operating for two or three years as a group of Negro unionists, mainly from the United Auto Workers union and mainly from the secondary leadership of local unions. It has concerned itself chiefly with internal union matters, but also has engaged in sewith internal union matters, but also has engaged in selecting Negro candidates for public office and lining up Would Assist labor endorsement for them; helping to support civilrights fights like the Asbury Howard case and imprison-ment of two Monroe, N.C. children: playing a limited role. Attack on Union ment of two Monroe, N.C. children; playing a limited role in the NAACP, etc.

Its influence has been growing steadily. In August it was able to muster six-seven hundred people at a testimonial dinner for Horace Sheffield, its executive director. Inside the union movement it is increasingly recognized - and welcomed or resented - as the spokesman for active Negro members of local unions.

Sheffield, a member of Ford UAW Local 600 now serving on the COPE staff of UAW headed by Roy Reuther, and TULC president Robert Battle, also of Local 600, are both counted as supporters of the Reuther leadership in the UAW. But not vice versa — that is, the Reuther leadership takes a very reserved attitude toward the TULC, and is reported to be irritated by some of its

"It is a well known fact," wrote Nadine Brown, labor reporter for the local edition of the Pittsburgh Courier low, the corporations utilize and a vice president of TULC, "that some uneasy feelings their stooge in the White House have been created by the formation of the Trade Union to force the steel workers to Leadership Council. There are those within the labor movement who feel that there should be no Negro organization within the union, and such a move on the part of Negroes has been the subject of much controversy among the top brass."

Her article was entitled, "Is He With Us, Or Ag'in Us?" — "he" being UAW president Walter Reuther, who McDonald has promised in adhad failed to send a telegram greeting the Sheffield vance that he will honor the dinner, although some other UAW leaders were present. 80-day slave-labor order for half

And the Michigan Chronicle, a Negro paper whose a million Steelworkers. editors are very friendly with the Reuther leadership, noted in an editorial at the time of the Sheffield dinner: "It is one of those 'inevitable reactions' in the United (Continued on Page 2)

Just a Holiday Speech Or an Appeal to Asia?

By Daniel Roberts

In his speech in Peking, on the tenth anniversary of the Chinese Revolution, Khrushchev said a few things workers. On the contrary, it will said, would "imperil the nathat should help rank-and-file militants in the Communist burn them up considerably to tional health and safety" and

parties of Asia, Africa and Latin+

"The heroic and industrious Khrushchev. "In our time many for the fate of capitalism. the way of Socialist develop- creative energy."

"In an effort to breathe new life into the senile capitalist system, the enemies of communism like to say that the so-called private enterprise provides a better possibility for self-expression and yields better results.

"However, even a simple comparison of the rates of development of the countries following the capitalist road with the rates of development of the Socialist countries shows patently where the people are able better to display their creative abilities under the Socialist system or the ican countries must first go

"No profound study is necessary here: Life itself shows the dustry before the masses can great advantages of socialism. turn to socialist solutions of their There is no stopping the swift own problems. Accordingly, the development of the Socialist task of the Communist parties countries and this is giving the in the colonial areas was to help creeps to the capitalist chief- bring the so-called "progress-

America in their fight for a swift development of industry, All the injunction accomplishes perishable products, including revolutionary-socialist course agriculture and culture in the is what the steel barons want food . . against the opportunism of their great People's China is having a accomplished — replenishment great impact on the countries of of dwindling inventories. Asia and Africa. This example people of China, led by their can cause the other nations to the injunction Eisenhower has is no emergency. glorious Communist Party, have emulate it in order to achieve to claim that the strike jeoparshown what can be achieved by the same great progress, while dizes the nation's health and gest food exporter, has enor- caused considerable unemploy- action. the people when they take pow- the enemies of socialism watch er into their own hands," said it with fear and apprehension

countries have rid themselves | "Now all the peoples recog-[of] colonial dependence. Having nize the achievement of the Chiinherited a backward economy, nese people, of the Communist the people of these countries are Party of China. The peoples of looking for ways and means to Asia and Africa see in what way bring their countries from back- and under what system the talwardness to the broad road of ents and the creative forces of independent development, of the peoples can be truly deeconomic and cultural progress. veloped to the full, when a peo-They have two ways to choose ple can demonstrate the entire from: the way of capitalist and depth and scope of its powerful

Refutes Stalinism

the peoples of Asia and Africa case. from economic backwardness and quickly dispersed demon- ary School in Miami through adopting socialist-type stration by some 200 Little property forms - goes directly Rock white supremacists and counter to the schema pro- the arrest of dynamiters in pounded by the Communist August, it is true that the be-Parties, including the Soviet ginning of the school year was

This schema held that the Asian, African and Latin-Amerthrough a stage of capitalist development to build up their in-

"anti-imperialist" bour-(Continued on Page 2)

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Role of Labor in Politics Key Issue at Auto Parley

Govt. Seeks to Break Steel Strike But Little Chance Seen

T-H Injunction

By Alex Harte

Eisenhower's use of a Taft-Hartley injunction against the Steelworkers would constitute unadulterated strikebreaking. This supposedly impartial "president of all the people" has helped the steel barons throughout the strike. He did not invoke the T-H injunction at the beginning because Big Steel's strategy for over a year was to provoke a strike and attempt to cut down the union.

For this the steel monopolists stockpiled the greatest inventories in the history of the industry. Now that 13 weeks have passed and the inventories are replenish company supplies.

Labor should defy and smash Taft-Hartley. But David J. Mc-Donald, president of the United Steelworkers union, is not a John L. Lewis, who defied and whipped government strike-

The Steelworkers' officials and the AFL-CIO leadership apparently will confine themselves to deploring Eisenhower's dirty work for the corporations and to going through the motions of a legal argument against the in-

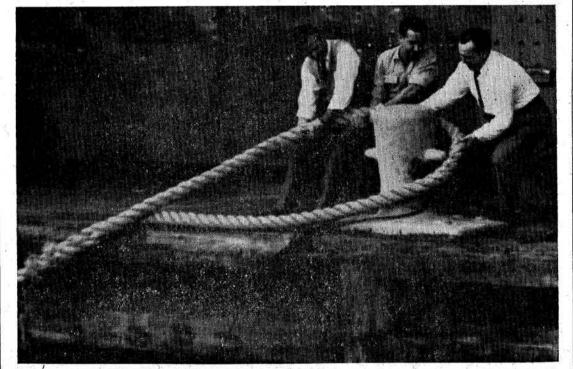
When T-H was passed the injunction was explained as pro- shoremen's Association. For the viding a "cooling off period" fourth time in 12 years this which might avert strikes. But union-busting law is scheduled in this case there is no question for use against the longshore- board. of averting a strike — it has been on for 13 weeks.

Nor will it "cool off" the Steel-

welfare. For all the good it will mous stockpiles of food from ment.) The union is demanding do, union attorneys will contest farm surpluses. The only perish- a 50-cent package agreement evident since the start . . .

(Continued on Page 4)

"Cast Off That Line!"



"Aye, aye, sir! But who'd think a rope could be that heavy . . ." Straining to release hawser as ocean liner prepares to leave New York dock, three men find unaccustomed job somewhat tricky. East Coast and Gulf longshoremen, on strike, forced companies to mobilize office help and administrative personnel in attempt to keep passenger ships on schedule. Just how do you heave away without smudging your shirt and spoiling the crease in your trousers?

Eisenhower Swings T-H Axe Ctribing East Culf Dooks **Striking** East, dun buckers

By Lillian Kiezel

OCT. 8 - Eisenhower moved coons. swiftly this week to obtain a Taft-Hartley injunction against the striking International Long-

Eisenhower began action yesterday because the strike, he be forced to scab on themselves. affect the flow of "necessary

What food emergency has the week-old strike created? Eisen-In applying to the courts for hower cannot say. Because there tional on the union's acceptance are threatening suit against the

The United States, world's larthis manifest lie by pointing out able food awaiting entry in- with the proviso that installation that the ILA wanted a contract that 13% of the nation's steel volves such items as bananas. of all new automation be sub- and the shipping companies problems to consider: Automa- manage to get past the gavel producers are not struck, that The president is using the "na- ject to joint union-management wanted a Taft-Hartley injunctional emergency" plea as a agreement.

cover to intervene in the strike Because the Southern dock the platform of its convention to 1961 the top brass may succeed as an agent of the shipping ty-

The Justice Department has already prepared an 80-day injunction although the law stipuates that no legal action can be submitted to a "fact finding"

The strike of 70,000 dockers

The employers offered a 30cent package agreement, condiof boss control of automation.

workers get lower wages than the leaders of both the Democra- in shunting these matters aside their Northern union brothers tic and Republican parties." (who receive a base pay of

across-the-board wage boost.

The union agreed to extend taken until a report has been the contract (scheduled to expire Oct. 1) until Oct. 15 on the condition that all wage increases be retroactive. The New York that has tied up shipping along Shipping Association agreed to the entire Atlantic and Gulf this but Gulf Coast employers Coasts was triggered by an at- refused to go along. Local 1418 tempt on the part of the Ship- and 1419 in New Orleans struck support to candidates of the time will not be altogether ping Association to split the on midnight Oct. 1 and the rest of the dockers followed suit.

The Northern bosses shouted "bad faith" at the union and ILA for protecting its Southern (Automation on the docks has contingent through united-front cal Workers President James started 10 years ago, the paper

One ILA leader said: "It was

For Free Discussion of **Need for Labor Party**

By Tom Kerry

OCTOBER 8 - Judging by advance indications, politics will be the major theme at the AFL-CIO United Automobile Workers seventeenth constitutional convention opening in Atlantic City

The only pre-convention press release issued by the UAW International Executive Board pinpoints the 1960 presidential election as a year of decision. It announces that no less than five prospective candidates have been invited to address the con-

Two are Republicans, Nixon and Rockefeller, who begged off pleading prior engagements. Three Democrats, Senators Kennedy, Symington and Humphrey, have accepted.

Along with the release was a copy of the letter to Nixon explaining why the invitations were being extended. "The UAW believes," says the letter, "that in these critical times the fullest expression of ideas and exchange of points of view on the great issues confronting the people of America and the free world is necessary if we are to be equal to meeting the challenge in the world and bringing to fulfillment the promises at

"Therefore," the letter continues, "the UAW, in keeping on the job; unemployment and conviction that all points of Because the UAW three-year. view should be heard, is offering contract does not expire until

By what feat of mental gym-\$2.80 an hour), they asked for an nastics the Reuther leadership Democratic presidential hopeconcludes that "all points of view" are encompassed by the tweedledee-tweedledum political break through this sound barrier hacks of the two capitalist par- to discuss labor's only real alties is beyond our ken .

If the experience of the past workers anything it is that folboss-controlled parties has led to wasted. an unending series of disasters | In a special convention issue, for the labor movement.

the 1958 election, in which the for a labor party. It hits the union leaders boasted one of la- phony argument that "Now is bor's greatest victories, Electri- not the time." If it had been Carey declared: Another such declares, a labor party could put victory will kill us!

speedup and working conditions crats.

Did Sen. Kennedy Like Lily-White Welcome in South? When Sen. Kennedy speaks

to the UAW convention, someone should ask him what he plans to do about the way Mrs. Katie E. Wickham, president of the National Beauty Culturists League, was treated in Louisiana.

Mrs. Wickham was invited to a Young Democrats' breakfast meeting to make plans to welcome Kennedy to Louisiana. The telegram was signed by Gov. Long, Congressman Boggs and New Orleans Mayor Schiro.

Mrs. Wickham accepted and went to the hotel for the affair. When the meeting started it was discovered she was a Negro. All proceedings stopped and she was asked to leave, which she did under protest.

to make time for the windy speeches of Republican and

If the UAW delegates can ternative to the bankrupt policy of supporting "friends" for pubperiod has taught the American lic office - the formation of an independent labor party to run lowing the advice and giving labor candidates in 1960 - the

the Searchlight, newspaper of In summing up the results of Flint Chevrolet Local 659, calls up a powerful showing in 1960. The auto workers meeting in It remains to be seen whether convention have many serious delegates holding this view will tion and the shorter work week; Reuther wields for the Demo-

Choke Off School Integration Placement Laws

By George Lavan

ings were marked by relatively Thus of the 25 Negro chil-This line of approach — that gress. Such, however, is not the at the Air Base Elementary

> is that hardly any new desegregation took place.

This year marked the lowest since the Supreme Court denew districts desegregated. The out the "integration" at the integration in all these districts school. was token, involving about 130 Negro children.

children of U.S. military per- seen in the figures for the six the compliance is token. sonnel at military installations; years since the Supreme Court's Inadequate as the integration Negro children in mixed classes signment are supposedly con-tempting to defend a school and three school districts faced decision: the first two years, in the border states is, it can this year over last year is only sidered by the board on the board in its rejection of a transloss of federal funds unless 450; third year, 270; fourth lead to further integration - 136 from all sources - integra- basis of sociology, psychology,

That this year's school open- with desegregated schools.

little anti-integration violence dren affected by Florida's "comis regarded by many Northern pliance" with the Supreme newspapers as a sign of pro- Court's school decision, 21 are School at Naranja and the other will find their true liberation Aside from the ineffectual four at Orchard Villa Elemen-

Orchard Villa school was chosen because it is in a "changing" neighborhood. Less Communist Party, from 1924 to relatively calm. But the reason than two dozen white children are enrolled there and state officials are encouraging whites point for school desegregation is expected to become all Negro cision of May 1954. Only 15 very shortly. This will wipe

year 15. - have not integrated a single integration.

South, have token integration. pretense of compliance. This means that of approximately 964,000 Negro school integration, advocated by such children in these states less Southern "moderates" and lib-

ly mixed schools. tricts which should have been ually transform the Jim Crow authorizes the local school tenth of one per cent, of Negro affected by the Supreme Court's school system should be disdesegregation decision. Till now pelled by the figures. only 749 have introduced any Four mid-South states — Ar- specific school. degree of desegregation what kansas, North Carolina, Ten-The drastic decline in the soever. These are mostly in the nessee and Virginia - have had ents apply for reassignment, our public schools. . . One of number of districts undertaking border states and District of token integration for one or pupils automatically continue the nightmares which besets Moreover, almost half were school desegregation can be Columbia. Even here much of more years. The increase in in their present segregated me on a restless night is that

they furnished these children year, 60; fifth year, 20; this within the limits of housing tion of new districts, increase etc - on every basis except Mississippi and South Carolina many Negro children from full

> Five mid-South states - Ar- the mid-South states is avowkansas, North Carolina, Ten- edly designed and consciously ate" politicians have their way, flage. Florida, which geographically, out of the Supreme Court's though not socially, is Deep school decision by a transparent Any illusions that this token

than 400 are actually in racial- erals as Gov. Luther Hodges of North Carolina and Gov. Leroy There are 2,881 school dis- Collins of Florida, will grad-

segregation and the supplemen- in admittances to previously that of racial discrimination. Five Deep South states - tary prejudice of officials, which desegregated schools and the Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, even in Northern states keeps progress of grade-a-year plans. ed of white supremacists they

does not even keep pace with Crow principles save for a min-But the token integration in the natural increase of population. Moreover, if the "moderplayed in court cases as "evi- third annual conventon of that dence" of integration.

the Pupil Placement Law which one per cent, for example, oneboard or a state board to as- children to schools theretofore

Since the boards are compos-As can be seen, this increase make their assignments on Jim

imum number of Negro students needed as legal camounessee and Virginia — plus applied to prevent the carrying this desegregation will come to Here is how Col. W. T. Joya halt when every district has ner, one of the authors of the

its tiny handful of integrated law in North Carolina, describ-Negro students who can be dis- ed its "merits" at the twentystate's Bar Association:

"I do not hesitate to advance The legal subterfuge worked my personal opinion and it is out by these "moderates" is that the admission of less than sign each and every pupil to a attended only by white children, is a small price to pay Under this law, unless par- for the continued operation of those states of the number of schools. Applications for reas- I am in a federal court at-

(Continued on Page 4)

of revolt

family trust controls decisive

sectors of agriculture, industry

and commerce. Thus, 11 among

the 14 sugar centers belong to

the "Benefactor," whose hold-

ings amount, it is believed, to

\$500,000,000. Besides sugar, Tru-

jillo controls shipping, fishing,

the salt mines, the capital city's

Many Dominican farm work-

than \$1 a day. The average year-

wholesale meat market.

called "Land of Progress."

based upon terror alone.

in power.

To advocate that working

people of the colonial countries

take power into their own

hands," as Khrushchev correctly

says the Chinese people did, was

long denounced by the Stalinists

this program was an essential

feature of Trotsky's theory of

refuted the entire Stalinist

schema and vindicated Trotsky's

In his Peking speech, Khrush-

Oppression, intimidation, spy-

ing, torture and murder are in-

dispensable to the system. Un-

Gives a Few Concessions

Dominican Republic, I was im- to make the farmers prosperous. downfall. This would explain pressed by the swarm of soldiers and police in Ciudad Trujillo, Dominicans live in rural areas, rid of a close collaborator. the capital. Generalissimo Dr. dwelling mostly in miserable Rafael L. Trujillo Molina, "Ben- wooden one- or two-room huts, a liberal, as he has sometimes a table and a few chairs their efactor and Father of the New Fatherland" — the dictator's official title - has over 25,000 men under arms. His air force the floor, frequently cook their can labor scene a few years ago includes bombers and 50 jet meager meals on an open char- and, as a result of its probe, fighters, his navy 19 modern coal fire and have to fetch water corvettes. Most of the automofrom wells or rivers. biles I saw in the quiet newer Most exports (95%) come from sections of the city belonged to

army and police officials. the "big four": sugar, coffee, Civilians are barred from the "military zone" behind the pink industry have made some pro- camps. marble National Palace. Nonegress since 1930; but in that very theless, before being stopped by fertile country less than 4,000 of a guard, I ventured far enough 9,900 square miles of arable land to catch a glimpse of the ground are under cultivation. floor of a big two-floor garage where tanks stood ready in case

The Republic's trade balance is favorable, imports being smaller than exports because The Generalissimo has conmost Dominicans do not have centrated in his hands not only enough money to buy imported military and political but also economic power. The Trujillo

Clothing is of the most modest quality and style, even in the beautiful capital, where the stores are poor and unattractive, Silfa, New York representative except for show stores which resemble those in the U.S., and 'Artes Dominicanas," where tourists may buy splendid examples of Dominican arteraft.

In spite of the government's drive against illiteracy, 27% of the Republic's population still ers and small farmers earn less cannot read and write. There kidneped in 1956. are only 8,000 telephones, about ly per capita income is about 40,000 radios; and the newspa-public cannot fail to realize that \$219 in the Dominican Republic, pers together have a circulation the "Benefactor" still has quite \$500 in Puerto Rico, \$347 in of about 60,000. Cultural life is Cuba, \$252 in Jamaica, \$98 (!) in stagnant. The only Dominican light-mindedly staged the ad-Haiti. Nowhere in the Carib- university has 3,000 students. bean, with the exception of while the University of Puerto wretched Haiti, is the average Rico - one of five in that small income so low as in Trujillo's so- island country - has 14,000. The Catholic Church backs the Trujillo tyranny.

Regime's Opponents

doubtedly, Trujillo's dictatorship is one of the most cruel of very little about the real underall times. But of course, a police ground opposition in the Dominstate that has been able to stay ican Republic. While it is true in power for 29 years is not that petty-bourgeois intellectuals and patricians, who, after 1930, lost out to the Trujillo and a new army mobilization clan, are prominent in the indicate that Trujillo knows his The "Benefactor" combines clandestine resistance movethe most vicious terror, the de- ment, the opposition to Trujillo gradation of the individual, with centers in the sugar workers. a few concessions to the masses. The dictator thought exiled Do-The Dominican people live in minican labor leader Mauricio ments cannot prevent the congreat poverty; but it is certain Baez dangerous enough to have tagion of the Cuban revolution that their poverty was even him kidnaped in Cuba and greater before 1930; public probably assassinated in 1950. Last July, Dominican Labor health and other social services

have been improved; slums Secretary Marrero died in an revolutionary tradition of the cleared. Between 1930 and 1954, the mountains." A highly suspicious fathers of 1844, Duarte, Sanchez Generalissimo distributed 1,135,- death indeed, for many persons and Mella, and of their militant 217 acres of land among tenant who aroused Trujillo's hostility underground society "La Trinifarmers, owners of very small have perished in the same man- taria" have never been comfarms, and workers of the sugar ner in the past 15 or 20 years. It pletely wiped out by the "Father prove the diplomatic situation somehow disruptive to the norantations. Land distribution is quite possible that Marrero of the New Fatherland." The has continued since then, bring- had been toying with plans of Dominican revolution too, is on ing him a measure of support forming a new cabinet or play- the agenda of the great Latin from the peasants. Yet, Trujillo's ing the role of mediator in the American upsurge,

When I recently visited the | "land reform" is not sufficient | event of the Generalissimo's Some 76% of the 2,500,000 why the dictator wanted to get

> It is not true that Marrero was been pictured. The International only furniture. They sleep in Confederation of Free Trade hammocks or on straw mats on Unions investigated the Dominipublicly denounced Labor Secretary Marrero's use of slave labor, which he called "work plantations and farms, above all education" - exactly the same word the Nazis coined for forced cocoa, tobacco. Agriculture and labor in their concentration

Underground Still Active

Despite the deadly efficiency of the dictator's secret police which has killed two top opposition leaders in Ciudad Truiillo since last January, under ground cells continue to function in Dominican cities. Their connections reach well into the regime's apparatus.

For example, they have been able to warn men like Nicholas of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, of impending murder attempts. Silfa, who has escaped thirty such attempts, warned Dr. Jesus de Galindez that he was marked for death; but unfortunately, the prominent educator was unable to avoid being

Visitors to the Dominican Rea few followers. The men who venturous June invasion from Cuba gravely underrated Trujillo's forces and sacrificed scores

of courageous freedom fighters in an ill-prepared expedition that did not take into account the necessity of first mobilizing the Dominican masses against The American press reports the dictatorship. Some of the guerrillas are still alive. Apparently they are fighting in the northern mountain region.

A military agreement with the Duvalier dictatorship in Haiti June victory did not liquidate the threat to his rule. But even the additional \$50,000,000 he got from the U.S. to spend on armafrom spreading among the Dominican people.

The democratic spirit and "automobile accident in the Dominican Republic's founding

CP is under attack from the cap-

is acceptable to General Kas-

sim's regime. They threatened to

expel members who venture on

an independent road of struggle.

devised to rationalize the tac-

with the practice that dictates

support to the colonial bour-

While the CP leaders juggle

word and deed and seek to de-

Democrats), many rank-and-file

militants will take Khrushchev's

Peking speech far more serious-

tical course.

Under Khrushchev as under

What I Saw When I Visited Suppose Capitalists Don't Like Status Quo? Trujillo's "Land of Progress" Some 500,000 Steelworkers You Can Trust a Good Boss You Can Trust a Good Boss You Can Trust a Good Boss Name of the Progress of the Pr

were on strike when Khrushchev visited the United States. The Soviet premier did not allude to this in any of his many speeches. Was he merely being careful to avoid irritating his official hosts - or was there something about the steel strike that did not harmonize with his unavowed aims in the discussions with Eisenhower? There is a connection between the two events which is worth examining. The men who pro-

duce the basic metal for our economy constitute the core of the American wage workers. These half million Americans want to enjoy to the full the standard of living and the workng conditions that the capacities of our mighty industrial mechanism can obviously pro-

However, unlike the Soviet teel industry which, thanks to he Russian Revolution, is owned by the state, the steel plants n the United States are owned by giant corporations. They not only operate the mills but shut hem down whenever their profit interests dictate.

Despite their enormous revnues, the steel barons have refused to bargain in good faith with the steel union. They have rejected the modest demands of he workers on the phony ground that any wage increase would stoke inflation. Actually hey are out to whittle down the improvements won in the mills n tough previous struggles. By putting the squeeze on the Steel workers, the employers aim to weaken the positions and bargaining power of the rest of the abor movement.

The steel executives are acting this way, not because they are more vicious than other people, but because they work for rich stockholders. The mills are run for their profit, not for the benefit of the workers or the country as a whole. They are conforming to the economic and social laws of the capitalist system.

If the steel bosses can be so tough when the economy is booming and profits are lush, how will they act in a downturn or depression in the business cycle? This question has its relevance to the fundamental issues involved in the Khrushchev-Eisenhower negotiations.

Trip's Advantages

ments which can help ease inof the workers' state.

Khrushchev has in fact made it clearer to many Americans de-Khrushchev's Peking Speech

world public opinion. ican business can get along without war orders. But the recent tremors in the stock market ininvestors don't believe that. War and preparations for war are the "health" of the diseased

capitalist system. Stalin, the Communist parties The statesmen in Washington do not derive tactics from promay be forced by conditions begram and program theory. Stalyond their control to change inism abandoned this principled their tone and their tactics a bit procedure when it overthrew Leninism. In the Stalinist-led in foreign affairs. But wherever and whenever the vital interests parties tactics are derived from or strategic positions of the the diplomacy pursued by the monopolists are seriously endan-Soviet bureaucracy and are gered, they will not shrink from class-collaborationist in their esengaging in belligerent actions. sence. Usually, the theory is then

on the world arena than they Khrushchev's speech, howcan be expected to work for However, in a period of unemever, does mark an exception. His programmatic pronounceclasses at home. The steel strike ment - that the Asian and Afprovides "clear and present" evirican peoples will win liberation dence of their essential dispothe quickest way through socialsition. ist revolution - is at variance

Here is a manifestation of the class war which springs out of the antagonistic economic interests between the owners and workers. Such conflicts cannot vise some formula or other to be wished away; they are inher-'reconcile" the disparity be- ent in the capitalist structure tween the two (as the American and will persist so long as the CP leaders, for instance do monopolists possess their ecowhen they avow the need for a nomic privileges and political labor party but support the supremacy.

"Togetherness"

A couple of years ago Pres. and the working class for tactics country with the head of U.S. that can lead the working class Steel a strong basis for peaceful



United Steelworkers Pres. David J. McDonald winks happily at U.S. Steel Corp. head Clifford Hook during 1956 contract negotiations. But "peaceful coexistence" with the steel barons dicn't last long. Steelworkers are discovering once again that the class struggle is a harsh reality of our

tions could be established be-1 tween the traditional antagon-

This sort of "togetherness"

between McDonald and Khrush- proval and support. chev. The first is an American Donald preaches and practices the working people. "peaceful coexistence" with the

The Kremlin's slogan of "peaceful coexistence" has a tricky two-sided character. Socialists work for harmonious rehelped the steel bosses much lations among all nations - and more than the workers; it did any moves or measures underlittle to prepare and equip the taken by the Soviet representaunion members for the long and tives which can serve to halt the bitter battle now imposed upon war makers and improve relations between the American and There are many differences the Soviet people deserve ap-

the chief spokesman for the up- led with the practice of pictur-The domestic antagonism be- consequences of that policy.

steel magnates. Khrushchev pur- tween organized capital and or- The Stalinist parties equate government and the industry. If sues the same type of relations ganized labor which breaks out the policy of peaceful coexist- this was done in Russia, what's with their government represen- in strikes despite the chummi- ence with the practices of class wrong with trying it in the ness of union leaders with the collaboration. The American CP United States?

the Soviet Union.

Pravda, the mouthpiece of the Russian Communist Party, said during Khrushchev's visit that his policy was rooted in an objective and scientifically correct analysis of the situation "in the present-day world." Once again Pravda (Truth) fails to ive up to its name.

Khrushchev's policy is really ooted in the desire and drive of the Soviet bureaucracy to arrive at a two-power deal with the United States which will guarantee the maintenance of the status quo, not only against the aggressions of the war makers but also against the workers and colonial peoples who want to effect radical changes in their economies and governments.

In their eagerness to consummate such a deal with the rulers of the capitalist world, Khrushchev and his followers are not only willing to omit any references to the class struggle but also to curb it. The Soviet premier often men-

tioned Marx. Engels and Lenin in his speeches and claimed to be following in their footsteps. But he is no disciple of these They always taught the workers the need for militant and independent action against the capitalist regime and scorned those misleaders who preached concil- Democratic or Republican. iation between the exploiters and the exploited.

Disciple of Stalin

of Stalin. But he showed himself face of their class enemies. That to be a genuine follower of his will turn out to be too high a predecessor. Stalin, too, for the price to pay. In world affairs But when the propaganda for sake of temporary advantages such a policy can end in the union bureaucrat; the second is "peaceful coexistence" is coup- (real or fancied), advised the same blind alley as McDonald workers to suspend their strug- has led the Steelworkers. per crust of Soviet society. But ing the capitalists as friends of gles for socialism and a better in their dealings with the mas- humanity and lovers of peace, life and trust the benevolent disters of America both proceed and the workers advised to put position of whatever section of real disarmament is to disarm from the same basic, premises faith in the political agents of the capitalist class he was allied the capitalists by depriving them and pursue parallel policies. Mc. big busines, this sets a trap for with. Khrushchev has himself of their economic and political revealed some of the disastrous power and having the working

To Cold-War Thaw

Leading Democrats appear to be divided on President Eisenhower's negotiations with Khrushchev, and the party as a whole appears to be hedging on the issue, says Arthur Krock in the Oct. 8 N. Y. Times.

"Senator Kennedy last week approached a positive criticism of the President's decision to give negotiation with the Soviets another chance," says Krock, Harry Truman and Adlai Stevenson have specifically endorsed Eisenhower's talks with Khrushchev, but Truman opposes the President returning Khrushchev's visit. Outspokenly critical of moves toward a cold-war "thaw" is Dean Acheson, former Secretary of State and foreign-policy spokesman for the Democratic Advisory Council.

leadership, for example, works within the Democratic Party and opposes independent socialist political action in line with this policy. The anti-labor record of eminent socialist revolutionists. the Democrats in the recent session of Congress shows what a disservice to the workers it is to rely upon any capitalist politicians, liberal or conservative,

Military disarmament? Good. But not at the cost of a political, psychological and moral disarmament of the workers and Khrushchev made no mention the socialist movement in the

Marx, Engels and Lenin taught that the only way to bring about people take command of the

National Negro Labor Council Negroes I say we should elect | tional executive board consists | who favor Jim Crow or who

(Continued from Page 1)

The Soviet premier exuded States, that organized effort on sweetness and light toward the the part of Negroes is viewed Jim Crow in reverse." men of big business during his with alarm and suspicion. . tour. The head of the Soviet gov- The charges, countercharges ernment has every right to push and innuendoes reached a fever proposals and conclude agree- pitch (in connection with the dinner) . . . Every conceivable ternational tensions, frustrate motive was suggested with the the cold-war fire-eaters, and im- clear implication that TULC is

ment.' Suspicion and antagonism to icy. He has put it up to them not always bad. There is a reers talk as though the capitalist state can be converted into a cross, "whispering" campaigns, guardian of world peace. The and so on. For the first time in of the catchwords popularized

UAW Local 600. will probably accompany the To have any meaning, veloped locally.

The Slandermongers

First of all - why deny it? - there are anti-Negro eleform, and don't want Negro officers at any level. In a union like the UAW, they can't function openly, and most The capitalist rulers can no of the time operate undermore be trusted to keep peace ground, spreading slanders and rumors by word of mouth. peaceful relations between the ployment, and when the number of committeemen is reand there is greater than usual of effectiveness.

ly. They will endeavor to ex- McDonald of the Steelworkers separately and agitating all the to apply it better? pose the cynicism of their lead- union thought that by going on time to elect Negroes to union

the best man, whatever his colof six officers elected by the think Negroes should do nothor is. What they are doing is convention as a whole, and 19

of the most abused terms They are all white. They have around, used more often as an always been white. Why? epithet than anything else, and The TULC and Negro Labor luded by the capitalist jingoes the TULC are found not only Council have nothing in com- reason is discrimination, pasthat the responsibility for main- in top union circles, where the mon with that attitude. They taining the cold-war atmosphere bureaucrats instinctively react are trying to win equality by is not with the Soviet Union but against any kind of initiative organizing Negroes to fight for with the imperialist profiteers from below, but also in local the abolition of discrimination whose political representatives unions, among officers whose in existing institutions and ormake Washington's foreign pol- reputation on Negro rights is ganizations, in this case the unions. Since Negroes are the to change their course or suffer luctance to write about it open- ones most hurt by discrimnathe consequences in the eyes of ly, but in local elections here tion (although white workers this year quite a few Negro of- are hurt by it too), what's But it is quite another matter ficers were defeated for re- wrong, what's "nationalistic," when Khrushchev and his echo- election, and there are bad in Negroes organizing themselves in this way?

head of the New York Stock many years there is no Negro by the Reuther leadership in Exchange may swear that Amer- among the top four officers of the forties. Jim Crow is a system that denies equal rights Similar fears and tensions and representation to Negroes dicate that the speculators and formation of the Negro Labor Crow in reverse" would have Council. So it should be use- to be the denial of equal rights ful now to examine some of and representation to whites. the problems as they have de- No such thing exists or has ever been attempted in the UAW or any other union. When Negroes have a special problem (discrimination against THEM) in the unions or anywhere ments in the unions. They don't else, and they get together to believe in equality in any tackle this problem, it is slanderous and insulting to talk about "Jim Crow in reverse." And ridiculous.

"Jim Crow in reverse" is one

No Equality

Such charges might make some sense IF-IF there was equality in the unions. But there isn't, even in the best of them. Or they might make duced by contract provision sense if everybody in the unions, leaders and members, competition for union posts, was working seriously to end they can carry on their discrimination. In that case, nasty work with some degree too, Negroes wouldn't feel any need to organize themselves Playing into their hands are independently to put pressure others, who sincerely consider on the rest of the union. But themselves unprejudiced. Quite there isn't any union like that a few people of this kind are today; even the best-talking burned up at the formation of and best-meaning unions tend the TULC. Among them can be to turn their backs on the Neheard arguments like the fol- gro question unless they feel pressure from below. Who will "We are supposed to be apply that pressure if Negroes working to end all racial di- don't? And why shouldn't they visions in the union, and these organize separate committees guys go around organizing and councils inside the unions

Let's consider as an example ers and seek to win the party a good-will junket around the posts. That's nothing but Negro the UAW, not the worst one that could be cited. It has a Or: "All these people seem large proportion of Negro memrelations and friendly negotia- to be interested in is electing bers, around 20%. Its interna-

regional directors elected by their rights. "Negro nationalism" is one the delegates from each region.

Because there are no Negro misapplied to all kinds of members qualified to serve on groups that want equality the board? If you've ever spent crimination remain in the Strictly speaking, a Negro na- even an hour watching and unions. Other minorities should tionalist is one who advocates listening to some of the present do the same if they can, not board members you know that's only way to achieve equality. not true. Then what can the reason be? The only possible sive if not active; or else, indifference to discrimination. An American Slogan

"No taxation without representation" is a slogan dear to American hearts. Negro members of the UAW feel they are being taxed but not getting representation on their union's governing board. If there was no discrimination in the UAW, then in the normal course of things there would be four or five Negroes on the board more or less. But in more than 23 years there has never been one. Is it any wonder that Negroes want to get together to change this situation-especially when they don't see significant numbers of white members doing anything about it? Who will pay attention to their grievances if they don't?

The situation is not quite so obvious at lower leadership levels. Negroes serve on the UAW international staff. But they are picked by the Reuther machine, and are dependent on it, rather than on the rank and file. Negroes also hold important posts in some locals. But they usually hold these posts only because of pressure from Negro members. The TULC is simply a better organized form for such pressure, area-wide rather than restricted to a single local.

The only white workers who have any reason to resent or fear such activities are those

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ing to defend themselves and

The proposed formation of a Negro Labor Council is a good thing because it's necessary, and it will be necessary as long as any vestiges of disen workers, who are grossly under-represented in union leadership.

A good thing, and one to be encouraged. Militant Negroes should join and build the Negro Labor Council. Militant white workers should give it their sympathy, solidarity and support, which means, concretely, that they should expose the nature, effects and persistence of Jim Crow and seek to convince other whites that Negro self-organization against Jim Crow is in the interest of all working people.

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the griddle. But instead of mapping a program designed to fight back, the top labor leaders complain that big business is "waging a class struggle in America precisely as Karl Marx wrote it would be waged."

Labor must not respond in kind, says Walter Reuther or "we are going to do really serious damage to America and the cause of freedom in the whole world." But what alternative does Reuther offer? Simply to adapt to the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law, as the labor leaders adapted to Taft-Hartley? Will Reuther stick with the Democrats despite their "double cross" on the labor bill?

of labor-management relations in the fall issue of the International Socialist Review. Send 35 cents for a copy.

International Socialist Review

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skyism, however, because he In Iraq, India, Cuba and Indogeoisie to power and support it presented the socialist revolu- nesia — to mention only a few tion as the better way for Asian areas of the colonial world afand African countries to indus- fected by the "peaceful coexisttrialize and modernize, rather ence" line - the CP leaders are than the only way, as Trotsky continuing to seek "coalitions" with domestic capitalist politi-

Does Khrushchev's speech cians. This is true even where, mean that the Communist par- as in India and Indonesia, the ties in Asia and Africa will now, as "Trotskyism." And, in fact, italist class. Recently, in Iraq, at last, aim for workers' power? Unfortunately, nothing indicates the CP leaders demanded that Permanent Revolution. The Chi- that this is about to happen, or the party ranks subordinate nese Revolution of 1949, and its that Khrushchev is even calling their activity entirely to what great subsequent achievements, for a reassessment of their tac-

'Coexistence'

On the contrary, Khrushchev's chev scrapped the Stalinist program of "peaceful coexistschema of how colonial countries ence" with imperialism - which would develop to socialism. (His is his governing political line speech was not full-blown Trot- upholds the world status quo.

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Class Struggle And American Labor

Read Tom Kerry's examination of the new stage

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Monday, October 12, 1959

The Chinese Demur

Though Khrushchev has told them that Eisenhower genuinely wants peace, the Chinese Communist Party leaders do not seem convinced.

In an article he wrote for the Soviet government's newspaper, Izvestia, Marshal Chen Yi, Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, expressed doubt that the U.S. government had made a genuine turn to peace. The article was reprinted, Oct. 3, in the People's Daily of Peking while Khrushchev was still visiting the Chinese capital.

Said Marshal Chen: ". . . up to the present the United States has not renounced its policy of aggression and war." He charged that the United States was rejecting disarmament, reviving West German militarism, arming Japan, continuing to occupy Taiwan as a military base and promoting the Laos crisis.

"All this proves," said Chen, that "people throughout the world still have to wage long-term struggles again and again against United States imperialism to achieve relaxation of international tensions."

Peking has its own criterion for determining whether an armistice exists in the cold war or not. It asks, in effect, will Washington extend recognition to the People's Republic as the sole legitimate government of China? In the last ten years, says Chen, "United States imperialists have carried out a series of aggressive acts and war threats against China," including defense of the dictator Chiang Kai-shek on Taiwan, "fully revealing that they are the enemy of the

Chinese people. . . . We firmly demand that American troops pull out of the Taiwan area."

Peking's criterion, in our opinion, is a sound one for gauging how far U.S. bigbusiness policy makers have retreated from the "brink of war." Many times during the last ten years, war was imminent because American imperialism would not concede that the Chinese people had the right to kick Chiang Kai-shek out, nor accept the legitimacy of popular movements elsewhere in Asia and in the Mideast inspired by the Chinese Revolution.

However, it is not excluded that, because of the growing power of antiimperialist movements abroad and of anti-war sentiment in this country (two factors that impelled Eisenhower to talk with Khrushchev), Washington will finally grant diplomatic recognition to Peking.

Will the Chinese CP leaders then declare, as Khrushchev did, that the U.S. big-business spokesmen sincerely desire peace? Because they are opportunist politicians and not genuine Leninists, the Peking officials might very well trade political truth for foreign-policy gains at that time.

But U.S. recognition of China, though an undeniable gain in the struggle for peace, would not eliminate the war danger. Working people throughout the world still need to struggle "again and again" against American imperialism and its politicians, until the American workers end big-business rule and replace it with socialism.

Loopnik

With its rocket around the moon (baptized "Loopnik" by one U.S. newspaper), the Soviet Union gave another demonstration of how far it has outpaced this country in rocket competition.

The ability of the Soviet Union to outstrip the world's richest and most advanced capitalist power in the satellite race can only be ascribed to its rational utilization of economic, technical and scientific resources for the satellite pro-

In this country, on the other hand, though the government is as eager as the Soviet regime to score in the rocket race, competitive, production-for-profit methods have seriously slowed the effort. Several competing private corporations are in effective command of the missile projects.

They duplicate each other's efforts, fight for priority on resources and for the services of scientists and keep discoveries rigidly secret from one another. They are indifferent to precision since a failure brings them as much profit as a success. They figure to clean up as long as the missile race lasts.

But, it will be said, the superiority in rocketry does not prove the general superiority of the Soviet system over capitalism. After all, America's average living standard is higher than the Soviet Union's. So is Western Europe's. There is also more personal freedom in the West.

Furthermore, the Manhattan project, which developed the A-bomb in the U.S., proved even before Soviet rocket achievements that a coordinated, government use of scientific resources is superior to private methods in some fields. Yet it was compatible with private enterprise in the rest of the economy. So why not have a modified form of capitalism, with most of production in private hands but with the government operating crucial projects such as space exploration or medical care (another field in which the Soviet Union is ahead of the U.S.)?

In comparing the two social systems and deciding which would truly be best for the American working people a number of other considerations need to be weighed.

(1) Soviet successes in rocketry and in medicine are not isolated gains of the planned economy, but reflect giant overall advances in science, industry and culture during the past 42 years. Though it hasn't yet pulled up to U.S. or Western European levels of average labor productivity or living standards, the USSR keeps

narrowing the gap.

(2) The Soviet economy is depression proof. Soviet growth in the past four decades was interrupted by the war but focus on the personality of the not by economic crises such as periodically racked the capitalist countries.

(3) The Soviet economy benefits from peace and reduced arms expenditures. The capitalist economy is threatened by depression if it curtails the arms budget.

living standards stem from the enormous sacrifices they had to make in order to build up their industrial structure in isolation from the West and weighed down by a parasitic bureaucracy. In addition, the Soviet workers have had to carry a huge armaments budget because their country was constantly menaced with explains his beliefs. This asdo a biography. The basis of Negro Candidate war by the capitalist world.

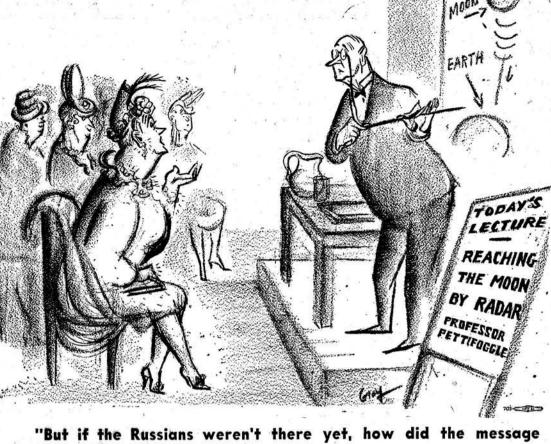
Economic backwardness, isolation and capitalist threats made it possible for the bureaucracy to usurp power from the Soviet masses. The bureaucrats furthered be explained only through their own economic privileges and defended them against the workers by means of a totalitarian regime. But in recent years the Soviet working people have been pressing for greater freedom and better living standards and have Mexican jurisprudence. But won a number of significant concessions.

The outlook for the Soviet Union is for further rapid industrial advances and for more freedom and better living standards - even though it will take determined struggles by the working people to complete the process.

(5) The capitalist system constantly heads toward either war or depression. In order to maintain its rule the capitalist class will resort to a police state the most extreme form of which is fas-

(6) A socialist economy in this country would begin at an incomparably higher industrial and cultural level than that which prevailed in Russia in 1917. The U.S. would not be ringed by hostile capitalist nations. Working people would not Gorkin, reported that "Jacson's" need to make huge sacrifices for the sake of industrial development, and the material conditions for the usurpation of power would not be present. Workers' democracy would thus remain the norm, war. and the socialist economy would provide for ever increased personal freedom and

living standards. It is these considerations that American workers should carefully assess as sputnik, lunik and loopnik, soaring over- for the fact was offered. head, dramatize the rivalry of social sys-



get returned?"

'Life' Publishes New Evidence Identity of Trotsky's Killer Noscow. Nevertheless, it makes provocative reading while you're

By Joseph Hansen

The prison sentence given Trotsky's assassin is due to terminate next year. This, coupled with the fact that he has persisted throughout the years in refusing to admit his identity, has served to renew interest in the infamous crime. An article in a recent issue of Life magazine presents a condensation of a forthcoming book on the subject; another article in Maclean's, a Canadian magazine, recounts an attempt to write the assassin's biography.

These articles, like similar ones that have appeared from time to time in other places, assassin. What intrigues the authors is the singular inversion of the normal pattern in murderer.

Most such criminals will readily admit their own identity but deny the crime. The (4) The Soviet working people's low killer of Trotsky readily admitted the crime—even seemed proud of it-but denies his own name, family background, nationality.

Even as a political assassin, "Jacson" deviates from the pattern, for the typical terrorist seeks to advance his political views by his deed and freely views, has lied about them.

What is the secret of this quirk? Does it lie in the character of the murderer? Can it psychoanalytical techniques?

The article by Isaac Don Levine in the Sept. 28 issue of Life leans heavily on the psychiatric examination to which "Jacson" was submitted under such evidence as the strong visual memory of the prisoner, his good mechanical ability and somewhat abnormal relationship to both father and mother are singularly barren in providing us with an explanation of the workings of the killer's mind.

New Facts

Of greater interest are the facts which Levine has assembled about "Jacson's" family and politics. Some of the evidence was established, Levine declares, only within the bast year.

In 1950 Mexican police chief Sanchez Salazar, in a book in collaboration with Julian real name was Ramon Mercader, that he was born in Barcelona, joined the Commun-

and no documentary evidence

Later Dr. Alfonso Quiroz The card confirmed the murcader del Rio. He had been artrying to organize a Communist youth organization.

known capacities of Stalin's cader is a perfect Stalinist. secret police to forge docu-

about the mother, "Caridad," | ticles would embarrass Khrushwho was said to have been di- chev, and that this was their rectly involved in the assassin- purpose ation and to be still alive.

Levine has obtained a copy of a passport photograph used in's crimes to anti-socialist use. by this mysterious person, But socialists have nothing to which, together with other facts apparently derived from is their duty to tell it, howformer members of the Communist Party who knew her personally, establishes "Jacson's" identity beyond doubt as Jaime ed by the worst reactionaries, Ramon Mercader del Rio Her- that truth and socialism are nandez, a member of the Communist Party of Spain.

At the same time a fact proved in other ways at the time the lies and crimes of Stalinof the murder has been freshly confirmed. The killer was a devout follower of Stalin, hand- founder of the Soviet Union. picked by the NKVD from its signment.

Communism's highest decoration, Hero of the Soviet banned list in the USSR. Union," for driving his axe into Trotsky's brain. The article by Terrance Rob-

nson in Maclean's magazine of of truth. Sept. 12 presents nothing new about the assassination. It is a lurid account, garbled in minor details. Robinson appears to have reached some kind of agreement with Mercader to sassin, to hide his real political the agreement was a "six-figure book-and-movie offer for his In Brifish Election personal story" (\$100,000 or more).

> But when they got together to write it up, the prisoner refused to confess his identity or to talk about anything involving him before the assassination. Confronted with the eviresponded by shouting, "Lies, all lies." Robinson concluded that he has been "trained to take his secret to the grave."

Socialist-minded Youth Is the assassin's secret s

hard to divine?

In all likelihood he was at tracted to socialism like many other idealistic youth in the thirties. He saw the Soviet Union, like countless others, as will give you. If you don't the land of socialism. He did withdraw, we'll get you and not distinguish between the your family." He decided to planned economy and the leadership that had usurped power. He became a Stalinist.

At the heart of Stalinism is perhaps the most glaring contradiction in belief and conduct that history has known. A deabout the assassination written voted Stalinist believes in socialism but carries on activities safety, but they refused to go. utterly alien to this great emancipating world outlook.

for instance, a Stalinist must ist Party in the thirties and work within the Democratic fought in the Spanish Civil Party, a big business political machine dedicated to the des-This report was based on truction of the Soviet Union stories circulating among Span- and to a fight to the death ish refugees in Mexico, but no against socialism. He must conrefugee appeared willing to ceal his views about socialism. confirm this revelation publicly talk and behave like the best possible ward heeler. In short live a lie.

Mercader has consistently ap-Cuaron, one of the psychiatrists plied the same kind of politics who examined the killer, visit- in the assignment given him McCarthy." ed Spain. He returned with a by the Kremlin. Just as the Socopy of an identity card which viet bureaucracy singled out New Ceylon Leader he said he had obtained from Stalin as the leader most likely the files of the Spanish police. to advance its parasitic inter- Threatens to ests, so the heads of Stalin's se derer's name as Ramon Mer-cret political police singled out Discipline Labor this individual from all pos rested on June 12, 1935, for sible candidates as the one most likely to act as an NKVD executioner should. As the pro- giving up smoking thereby jection of the murderous will qualify to discipline a nation? However, in view of the well- of the paranoiac dictator, Mer- Apparently Ceylon's new prime

It is true that reactionaries have long sought to turn Stalfear from the truth. In fact it ever harsh it may be. To do otherwise is to fall into the position, traditionally maintainincompatible. What has injured the cause

of socialism the most has been ism, not least of which was the murder of Trotsky, a co-Khrushchev has acknowl-

vast international resources in edged many crimes of Stalin, ing journal boxes, in cars dragpersonnel for this special as- but he has not yet got around to the fate of Trotsky. He is According to Levine, Mer- not likely to either, for this cader was "secretly awarded would imply that Trotsky's works should be taken off the

Like the assassin, Khrush-

The American Way of Life

A Wonder of the Modern World

The New York subway system was once a wonder of the modern world. It still is. The wonder is that it runs at all. At least that's the case a current series of articles in the Post makes out; and

there's probably not a straphanger in the city who wouldn't agree; in fact, emphatically agree. Here's how the Post series

"The delays multiply.

"Cars derail. "Trains collide.

"Wheels break. "Motors stop.

"Signals go bad. "Doors Jam.

"Passengers are trapped in panicky tieups under rivers. Caught between stations, they are often forced to use precarous catwalks to escape.

"Some are injured or shaken up. Some of them faint. Many a car could jump the track." of them are late so often that the boss begins to doubt their subways."

propaganda of some anti-Ameri- times it's been reported." can group clamoring for a marble-lined subway system that provocative reading while you're until the next day or later. trying to keep your balance in a car pitching in and out of orbit like a Cape Canaveral rocket.

A high-ranking subway official, who agreed to speak WHAM . . ." 'frankly on condition that his name not be used" in this free America of ours, is quoted: "The Transit Authority is playing with fire. They're taking a calculated risk that they'll be able to keep going without a major calamity.

they're riding their luck. I don't know how the hell else you can describe it. They're riding their luck. But

"In this economy madness

ong-suffering subway patrons are riding on split rails, loose spikes, cracked wheels, inoperative brakes, dead motors, smokged through the tunnels sometimes in darkness bécause not even the lights work.

The Post got the facts from the subway workers. As is normal in democratic America, "For obvious reasons the subway Thus an American can spend chev is too much a Stalinist to workers interviewed can't be more time in useless travelling venture that far into the area quoted by name; their jobs are "than the eighteenth century at stake.'

But five reporters, "exploring different areas of the transit network, heard strikingly similar warnings from the men who labor underground."

A typical report: "The track guard rail's gone for over a year, nearly two . . . one day a train is going to go over the side

Another on stuck doors: "Do you know what could happen if a car like that caught on fire or the people had to get out of it in a hurry?"

A motorman: "You can hear those flat wheels bang, banging, If part of a flat wheel breaks off,

A trackman describes a broken frog (where a train switches excuses unless he, too, rides the tracks): It's "got a crack so big you can stick your finger in This is not the subversive it . . . God knows how many

A motorman: "Under the old system, a switch was checked runs on time like they have in every day. Now a signal may go out one day and not be fixed

"If the entire signal is dead, a new man on the line could pass it without realizing it's there at all, not slow down, and

A car maintenance man: "The saying among us nowadays is, 'Never ride in the first or last

So what? It's American isn't it? It's part of our enviable way of life; and we wouldn't want to change that, would we, no matter how broken down it gets. - Paul Abbott

AIN'T IT THE TRUTH?

Among his impressions of America, Sten Carlsson, a Swedish professor of history, noted the dislike of Americans for short distances. To have to walk a few hundred meters is an experience to be avoided . . . Feet are on the whole used just to press down the accelerator."

On the other hand, a 40-mile drive to work means nothing. peasant . . .

Headlines in Other Lands

Defies Death Threat

first Negro ever to run for the British Parliament. He is Labourite candidate from the 35 years. Hampstead district, a center of population.

race despite a threat that he and his family would be killed strikers. unless he resigned as candi-According to a UPI story,

Pitt said an anonymous telephone caller, who sounded "cultured, cool and calculating . not drunk," told him that 'this is the only warning we ignore the threatening call as he had warning letters from someone in the southern United States when his nomination was announced. He admitted the call was more serious, however. He had planned to send his children to the West Indies for

U.S. Space Lag Laid to McCarthy

"Loyalty" inquisitions by Senator McCarthy account and turned to the right. Dain the space race, according to ouster of the "Marxists" from diplomat.

the price of the "demoralization created among scientists in America by the witch hunts of

Does a man who has disciplined himself to the extent of minister, Wijayananda Dahana-The articles in Maclean's and yake thinks it does. Dahanaments ("Jacson's" forged pass- Life coincide with Khrush- yake succeeds S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, who was assassindoubt still remained. Particul- Some socialist-minded persons ated, Sept. 25, by a Buddhist

old the press. "I should like four years bore the brunt of

dence about his real name, he London's growing non-white to "discipline" mainly may be political murders from profitinferred from the fact that he ing from their bloody deeds." Pitt decided to stay in the had charged his predecessor with being "unduly tender" to an immediate end to "emer-

"The principal forces behind Mr. Dahanayake and his government are two," writes Colvin R. de Silva in the Oct. 1 Samasamajist, a weekly paper of the Cevlonese Trotskvist

party. "There are first the extremist Sinhalese Buddhis communalists who have already worked such murderous havoc in our political life . . Secondly, and linked with the one billion people throughout extremist communalists, are the economically underdevelopthe capitalist forces behind the ed areas of the world will be SLFP. The two forces, says de Silva

have been pitting Dahanayake time. Bandaranaike was elected in 1956 on a platform of anti-imperialist and pro-socialist promises. Early this year, however, 'the Bandaranaike popular-front government ousted its so-called Marxist wing heavily for United States lag hanayake led the fight for the prominent former French the cabinet. Dahanayake himself was once a Trotskyist, re-Henri Laugier, former United ports Peter Grimes in the Sept Nations Deputy Secretary-General, said the U.S. was paying revolutionary socialism in 1952.

Bandaranaike's assassination aroused strong working class anger against Buddist monks. They "were refused transpor in buses and taxis I which they normally obtain free]; remarks were cast and at the least they had to put up with hostile glances from the people," says he Samasamajist.

Actually, public sentiment sometime against the "four years' political hooliganism on and placed them under Egyp-[monks]." The murder of Bandaranaike came as a culmina- owned banks in Cairo and Altion to the Buddhists' long instigations of political violence.

Party, Ceylonese Trotskyists, been handed back.

"I shall insist on discipline the largest working class party with a capital D," Dahanayake in the country, "for the last the people to think the D in the attack of the bikkhus on my name stands for discipline." the people's rights," says the He said he had learned to im- Samasamajist. The LSSP is David Pitt is reportedly the pose self-discipline on himself calling for working-class mass by giving up smoking after action, mobilizing public opinhaving been a chain smoker for ion behind it, "to stop the politics of assassination and to Whom Danhanayake intends prevent the perpetrators of

> The LSSP is also demanding gency rule," which gives the government dictatorial powers. It was invoked by the governor general when Bandaranaike was assassinated.

Per Capita Income Is \$130 a Year in **60 UN Countries**

At best, per-capita income of \$130 this year, a net gain of at most \$2 a year since 1950. This was the estimate presented Oct. against Bandarnaike for some 5 by Paul G. Hoffman, managing director of the United Nations Special Fund to the UN. The average covers 60 UN member nations and 40 territtories "associated" with the world body.

Lowest per-capita income in the U.S. in 1957 was \$958 in Mississippi. Highest was \$2.821 in Connecticut.

Nasser Returns Seized Concerns

British and French-owned enterprises nationalized by the Egyptian government in October 1956, in retaliation for the armed attack on the Suez Canal, are being systematically returned to their owners. The process is known as "deseques-When British and French

imperialism launched their invasion designed to regain the had already been aroused for Suez Canal, the Nasser regime seized about 1.500 businesses the part of the bikkhus tian management. This included about a dozen big Britishexandria and the Egyptian holdings of the British Shell The Lanka Sama Samajist Co. The latter have already

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 (Title 39) United States Code, Section 233) SHOWING THE OWNERS HIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION OF The Militant, published weekly at New York, N.Y., for Oct. 1, 1959.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are: Publisher, Publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are: Publisher, 16 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.; Managing editor, Daniel Roberts, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.; Managing editor, Daniel Roberts, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.; Managing editor, Daniel Roberts, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.; Managing editor, Daniel Roberts, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.; Managing editor, Daniel Roberts, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.; Managing editor, Daniel Roberts, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.; Managing editor, Daniel Roberts, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.; Managing editor, Daniel Roberts, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.; Managing editor, Daniel Roberts, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.; Managing editor, Daniel Roberts, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.; Managing editor, Daniel Roberts, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.; Managing editor, Daniel Roberts, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.; Managing editor, Daniel Roberts, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.; Managing editor, Daniel Roberts, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.; Managing editor, Daniel Roberts, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.; Managing editor, Daniel Roberts, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.; Managing editor, Daniel Roberts, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.; Managing editor, Daniel Roberts, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.; Managing editor, Daniel Roberts, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.; Managing editor, Daniel Roberts, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.; Managing editor, Daniel Roberts, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.; Managing editor, Daniel Roberts, 116 University Pl., New York

This was substantial evidence.

In the United States in 1959

port was never detected), some chev's trip to the United States. arly in question was the story may have feared that the ar- monk.

I hope if you ever get into office things will be better. If not then we'll try something else. It will very probably be a simple solution. Now the poor get poorer and the rich richer Everything is here in plenty but not the money to furnish our nécessities.

E. C.

Wants Program Of Action on Jobs

You may as well let my sub-I've got to eat, have carfare, and workers made gains, these ism from both the members Militant at Debs Hall.

Ave. He said his dues ran out tired.

the man didn't have a job or | Coach Operator, a union publi-

What am I supposed to do? Talk to him about full employment like Reuther or Gov. Williams on Labor Day? What's years. Do not have time to read needed here and now is a realall of it, but there are many ly thought-out program of ac- ing replaced in industry by fer request by a Negro student, items I like. Give most of my tion and not fancy speeches by younger people, who have

Detroit

A New Generation Of Workers Faces Management

I have begun to realize that

younger people — say in their late twenties and thirties—have forgotten the years of the de-I am wondering whether this is 'Divide and Conquer.' because many parents in those days didn't do what my friends ly more and more decisions are scription drop for the time be- and I did - namely, take our left to the discretion of union ing, because I cannot afford it children with us on the bread officers. This ever-increasing -as reasonable a bargain as it lines or on picket duty. Maybe delegation of power, invested is. But I am now unemployed they shielded the children from in one or a few men, leaves and I don't get compensation. all this, and as time went on the officer vulnerable to critic-Meanwhile I'll see the children grew up not fully and the management. realizing what the struggle The other day I met an older meant. At the same time that the officers lose touch with the fellow I know on Woodward we older people had grown members. Instead of his right-

cation. The article is by Brother Fred A. Tyler and is entitled "The Labor Union Cycle." Here are some of the things Tyler . writes:

"Today we are gradually bescale of living and who are are their rightful heritage and that they will be accepted voluntarily by management.

"This accepted sense of security without vigilance has lulled the working men into an apathetic state of mind that is cancerous to the health of labor unions.

"This apathy has opened the door to management's psychopression, of the WPA and of logical attack, which has been picketing to build the unions. relentless in its endeavor to

"As activity lessens, inverse-

"And equally as disastrous ful position as one of the mem-

Leona Massey Pittsburgh

in the construction union he later than the belonged to. I understand it along the same lines, excerpts apart." costs \$120 to join, the fee hav- of which appeared in the Moing been raised from \$75, but torman, Conductor and Motor

Strike at Bethlehem

(The author is a retired member of Steelworkers Local Union No. 2898. - Ed.)

On a hot summer day I decided to look in at, the muddled situation in the steel industry. Armed with the many statements made by the union and the management in the press and over the air waves and with the report of the president's Fact Finding Commission, I headed for the Bethlehem Steel Corporation plant located at Bethelehem, Pa.

I circled the giant sprawling plant, looked at the fumeless and smokeless smokestacks, and searched in vain for the ants of this usually hustling and bustling anthill. I listened to the graveyard silence of this prostrated giant and made a mental picture of the inactive and silent

Near the main gate, I found the picketing committee of about a dozen men who lolled in the shade or in the tent that served as headquarters and as shelter. In the tent there was available cold water, soft drinks and iced tea for the pickets. The committee was headed by a picket captain. Their job was to check the incoming cars of supervisors and of maintenance men who had to show a union pass before being flagged through. I could not then help thinking of the vast difference in strength and the great strides my fellow workers have made since the dark days of 1890 or even since the more recent days of 1940.

From the striking workers I learned that the rank and file are firm in their stand to battle the steel trust until victory is assured. They know it is going to be a drawn-out strike that will be hard on men with large families and on men with low earnings. They also know that the real issue and cause of the strike is not the few cents in wage increase nor the pennies in fringe benefits but the incentives and the job classifications through which the steel firms constantly depress the workers' earnings while increasing productivity.

The crux of the matter is plant autocracy versus plant democracy. The plant owners want sole supervision over job classification and incentives. The firms do not want the union as co-planner. They even do not want a union. For this reason they will try to hurt and discredit the union at every turn and delay a fair settlement as long as possible.

Another item to be cleared up is the "public." Who is the "public"? When it comes to raising prices on commodities, the steel and all other manufacturers forget that there is a "public" but in a conflict with labor they are are allowed to vote. the first to run to the "public" for sympathy and moral support. When a union appeals to the "public" it talks to the 68 million wage earners, to the four million unemployed workers, to the millions of retired workers, farmers, small businessmen and professionals, and, of course, to the youth, the potential working force of tomorrow.

Is this the "public" that big business is also talking to? Or is it talking to the few hundred tycoons who own and run this country, to the military brass that does their bidding here and abroad, to the politicians who talk democracy while tightening the screws on labor, to the clergy who admonish labor to look for reward in the next world, to the corporation lawyer, the gambler and the gangster?

Yes, they are talking to the workers and are telling them that inflation is not due to excess profits but only to the ever greater demand for higher wages on the part of the workers. They also tell the workers that the only way to stop inflation is to bring down and freeze wages. Profits, they say, will be taken care of automatically. Indeed they are. They constantly

This is effective propaganda. Big business learned long ago that when a lie is shouted loud enough and often enough it will find believers. The purpose of the lie is to incite the workers of the lower income groups against those with higher incomes; to divide them and defeat them separately.

This is the story not only of steel but also of oil, rubber, chemicals, meat and of every large and small combine that preys on the "public" from its entrenched position.

If the steel strike continues and threatens other industries with shutdowns, the president may invoke Taft-Hartley and force the workers to return to their jobs. This would be the biggest strikebreaking job a president ever accomplished. Since Taft-Hartley is the most vicious class legislation ever enacted by Congress, it is my opinion that the workers may not heed the call.

This is not 1890 but 1959.

Notes in the News

DR. LINUS PAULING TO SPEAK IN NEW YORK - Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel Prize-winning chemist and leading opponent of nuclear-bomb testing will speak at a public meeting in New York's Carnegie Hall, Oct. 25 at 8 p.m., under the auspices of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, Inc. The Carnegie Hall meeting will be part of a two-day national conference of the Sane Nuclear Policy committee which seeks an agreement between the U.S. and the Soviet Union "to ban all nuclear tests under mutual in-

. . . TEACHERS STRIKE - Nine Public schools in the Cahokia school district near East St. Louis, Ill., were closed when 110 teachers struck Oct. 5. The teachers belong to the Federation of Teachers. They seek an annual wage increase of \$300. Superintendent of Schools Robert Catlett is seeking an injunction because "public employes cannot strike."

ELECTRONIC SQUAB - The Navy has shelved, but not completely abandoned, a long-secret project calling for a pigeon to ride in the nose cone of a missile, and, by pecking at the image of a target, guide the weapon home. A difficulty as yet unsolved by the U.S. rocket experts is that a pigeon has a brain of its own and might steer the nuclear device to a roost near the Pentagon.

AND A FEW OTHER FAULTS BESIDES A 12-count information filed Sept. 24 against Sheriff Patrick J. Burmeister of Weld County, Colo., alleges that he used prisoners in the county jail to perform labor and services for his private gain, failed to account to the county commissioners for receipt of proceeds from their labor and converted the proceeds to his own use. Burmeister is also accused of employing a prisoner as night jailer and releasing him from jail before expiration of sentence; failing to maintain the jail in "clean, safe and wholesome condition"; pro-

curing written statements from prisoners by threats and intimidation; and submitting fraudulent voucher receipts. On Sept. 22, Burmeister pleaded innocent to six charges of rape (involving a 17-year-old, county-jail prisoner), illegal conversion of county funds and inducing a witness to refrain from testimony in court. On Nov. 18, Burmeister will be tried on still earlier charges of confidence game and obtaining money by false pretenses. the Negroes who fought in the blood was he wanting to shed, But he is still sheriff.

SEEKS RIGHT TO TRAVEL TO CHINA - Waldo Frank, noted author, petitioned the Supreme Court Sept. 30 to review his suit against Secretary of State Herter. Frank had been invited to lecture in Peking on Walt Whitman, but the State Department denied him a passport. Leonard B. Boudin, General Counsel of the Emergency Civil Liberties Union is Frank's attorney. Boudin represented the artist Rockwell Kent and Dr. Walter Briehl in the two cases in which the Supreme Court curtailed the State Department's power to deny passports to persons whose political beliefs it did not approve of.

DOUBLE STANDARD - An attorney for six alleged former Communist Party members seeking a new trial in Denver charged is with Dellinger and Rustin." the federal government with inconsistency if When asked during the question them of the thirties. not outright discrimination. Court-appointed period if he "identified with lawyer Ira C. Rothberger recently objected to woman raped," he said that a a Justice Department protest against the gov- person suffering injustice can ernment paying for a defense item. "The U.S. either come out with revenge in A Negro woman, who was very dragging, pending the outcome government is now wining, dining and chap- his heart or with greater under- angry, told a dowager-type in steel. Illustrating this situa- Ohio. eroning the head of the foremost Communist standing. government in the world," Rothberger said to U.S. District Judge William Knous. "Now they protest the allowance of some insignificant the churches were the best unit amount for this." Rothberger wants to inves- of organization for the Negro Oh no. That's not enough, we negotiations coming up. If I oftigate the true facts of the case of Arthur people, Bayard Rustin answered want more than that." The Bery, who, along with five others, was twice that they had no allies, since the dowager smiled her pacifist to settle for, then I'll be cussed convicted under the Smith Act, and he wants president of the United States smile but looked admiringly at out as a traitor to my class; if the government to help defray the cost of the could do nothing, the Congress the proponent of armed self-de- I offer less I'll have a strike on

... Integration

VOLUME XXIII

(Continued from Page 1) grown up accustomed to this that court that nowhere in all when a showing is made in of the state of North Carolina more and more taking for has a single Negro ever been granted that these conditions admitted to any one of the more than 2,000 schools attended by white students. . .

Would not your legal position be greatly strengthened, would it not be almost unassailable, if you could point to one or more instances in your county where a Negro has been admitted to a white school, or to instances in other counties where that has occurred?"

The Supreme Court, buckling under the tremendous pressure exerted by the Southern officals, accepted these state laws as good desegregation coin. In 1957 the high court refused to hear an appeal from a lower federal court's okay of North Carolina's placement law. Last year it similarly upheld Alabama's placement law.

Just this September scheduled integration of three Negro children in Dollarway, Arkansas, was stopped by a U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals to give precedence to that state's placement law.

This case is being appealed to the Supreme Court where the NAACP hopes to mount a full-dress legal assault on the law's constitutionality.

NO DEMOCRACY THERE

Seventy-five per cent of the population of Jefferson County, Miss., is Negro, none of whom

of the Socialist Workers Party,

died here yesterday at the age

the SWP, he helped build the

Cleveland branch.

. . . Steel Strike Leo Gleisser

CLEVELAND, Oct. 3 - Leo of the Left Opposition against Gleisser, a long-time member Stalinism. Comrade Leo's education spanned two continents. Born work being held up. in Russia, he received his un-For the past 34 years he dergraduate degree there. In practiced as an attorney but the United States he studied at his real interests were in the Columbia and Western Reserve

ment. As a charter member of proficient in seven languages. The Cleveland members of the Socialist Workers Party Before the founding confer- will fondly remember Comrade ence of the Socialist Workers Leo Gleisser for his achieve-

Party in 1938, he was an ac- ments as a revolutionary sotive participant in the struggle cialist. It Was a Lively Debate

By Constance F. Weissman -Some 400 people, an unusual | Court could do nothing. "Ne-

number in these times, turned groes have no allies whatsoever. out to hear Robert Williams and I don't believe either in guns or Conrad Lynn debate with Dave prayer but a mass movement of Dellinger and Bayard Rustin on Negroes marching to create con-"Should Negroes Meet Violence fusion without violence. A revowith Violence?" Judging from lutionary movement." the applause, the audience was about two to one in favor of an irate supporter of Williams guards?" felt that the chairman, the Rev. state his pacifist position. So he [in Birmingham, Ala.]." shouted at the venerable pacifist, "Sit down!"

Williams brought down the pacifists on the committee nearangry.

play, "A Raisin in the Sun," was mind yet." called on to come to the platform to ask her question, she modestly refused. She asked if dition of fighting for their own fought.

When Williams said that "we still have our weapons" (in Monroe, N. C.) there was vigorous applause. Rev. Muste remarked, "At least we have the courage to call a meeting where such things can be said."

Dave Dellinger quoted a friend as saying, "My heart is with Williams and Lynn but my head

When asked why he thought could do nothing, the Supreme fense.

Williams to Rustin: "Are you

A. J. Muste, had no right to churches like Shuttlesworth's efforts.

not advocate revolution for soly hit each other they got so lution of the Negro problem. But I admit that a government that will not defend its people has no When Lorraine Hansberry, right to exist. As to the other author of the prize-winning aspect, I have not made up my

Lynn, when asked if the ends justify the means, and whose Civil War had not started a tra- answered that he was not going to discuss how many angels can rights. Dellinger answered that dance on a pin. However, he felt the Negroes would be better off that the French and Russian if the Civil War had never been Revolutions "accomplished something."

> Lynn said he was for a party dedicated to establishing a planned society that would solve our economic problems. "Negroes are part of this problem because they are the most exploited."

There were so many radical papers and leaflets being distributed at the meeting that a well-known literary critic and his wife said that it reminded

After the meeting, the crowd

Two pickets walk the line at Swift plant in Denver, Colo. On strike since Sept. 4, the United Packinghouse Workers and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen accuse the company of refusing to bargain in good faith. About 18,000 workers are involved in various cities. In Denver, pickets staged a 90-minute mass demonstration at the stockyard gates. As police watched silently, the pickets sang "Solidarity Forever."

THE MILITANT

On Denver Picket Line

(Continued from Page 1) teel is being imported and that therefore there is no danger of even so-called essential defense

The delay of the injunction for several days - until Eisenhower's return to Washington revolutionary - socialist move- University. A linguist, he was from Palm Springs, California blatantly illustrates his stance in the battle between the men who make steel and the men who make the profits from it.

> The president is again on vacation, the guest of a golfing crony, George E. Allen. Eisenhower's advisors thought it would be too raw to apply for the injunction from Allen's estate since he is a director of Republic Steel, one of the giant corporations shut down by the women and our homes? . . . The only deterrent to the brute is

Inasmuch as interrupting Eisenhower's vacation was out of the question, it was decided to hold off the declaration of a "national emergency" until he was back in Washington.

Though the Steelworkers will be forced back into the mills Williams' position on self-de- aware, Mr. Rustin, that in the under T-H, it may turn out that fense. The clash of opinion led South today the churches are the quality and quantity of steel to some rudeness. For example, being defended by armed they produce under compulsion will reflect their psychological Rustin: "Yes, I've been in inability to put forth their best

One thing that the labor-hating big-business newspapers and Williams was asked how he even the businessmen's magacould be against revolution un- zines admit is that the Steelless he believed an oppressive workers are sticking tough house when he said that at his government can be changed by against the companies' main dehearing before the NAACP, the peaceful means. Williams: "I do mand - surrender of established working conditions.

Class Line-Up

ondary. It was the companies' one side or another of the Steel- Till. workers' picket line.

All the major corporations,

during 1957 and 1958, began community along the strategic unionist Sat, Oct. 17, 8:00 p.m., stockpiling gigantic quantities of lines of non-violence." steel. Moreover, they promised He claimed that the church pices Twin Cities Labor Forum. not to put any heat on the steel corporations to settle when and if steel supplies ran low; for they know that Big Steel is engaged in a major assault on unionism and that a victory would set a pattern allowing them to cut into the established work practices in their own plants. Conversely, all the unions realize that their own working conditions will be subject to attack if the Steelworkers

The renewal of union concontinued to discuss in groups. tracts in other industries is white woman: "You took away tion, Business Week (Oct. 3), our diamond mines, our country, quotes "a key negotiator for a our names. Now you say we can large company" as saying: "My sit down on a bench next to you. hands are tied. I've got my big fer more than steel is willing my hands."

Debate Question Of "Violence" in Negro Defense

"Should Negroes Meet Violence With Violence?" This was the subject of a stimulating debate Oct. 1 at the Community Church in New York City. The meeting, sponsored by Liberation, a paci-fist monthly, featured Robert F. is the only possible basis, at

affirmative. Williams, president of the

Union County, N. C., branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was recently suspended from his post for six months on charges of advocating armed self-defense for Negroes against racist violence. Conrad Lynn, wellknown civil liberties attorney, supported Williams' position in the debate.

The opposing speakers were Bayard Rustin and Dave Dellinger, members of the editorial poard of Liberation.

Robert Williams began by commenting on the praise given to the Negroes of Monroe, N. C. for "their non-violent action" by Rev. Martin Luther King of Montgomery, Alabama, chairman of the Southern Leadership Conference. The praise concerned a march by Monroe Negroes on the local police station. "He [King] failed to tell you," said Williams, "that I personally led this march . . . the police respected this march because they had learned to respect us."

Source of "Respect"

Williams explained the source of this "respect." He told how hospital construction, public the Negroes had armed themhealth projects, scientific or selves as a measure of self-protection against the growing power of the Ku Klux Klan. They finally stopped the Klan by a show of guns when the sheetwearing fraternity prepared to attack the home of one of the Negro leaders.

We have had arms in Monroe and we still have them. I'm glad to say that there has been no violence in Monroe. But I dare say that we would have had violence, had we no arms, and the Negroes would have been the victims.

"How in a society that is not yet civilized can we protect our to be stronger. Words of kindness wispered into the ears of a brute are an invitation to sui-

"... I am not advocating revolution but I am advocating the use of violence in our own self-

Williams concluded: "If it hadn't been for the violent men in history the pacifists wouldn't have been here tonight." The audience applauded the southern Negro leader.

Opposing Position Bayard Rustin opened with.

'I am not speaking here tonight for pacifism but for a certain type of tactic relevant to the struggle for Negro freedom." The strategy proposed by Williams would be ineffective, he felt, on two grounds. He held Subject: "What Does the Khruthat organized armed defense by shchev Visit Mean for Amerigroups of Negroes could lead can Labor?" This is the principal issue of only to an arms race between the strike, wages are purely sec- the Negroes and whites. The Negroes would lose because of decision to take away from the fewer numbers. Moreover, ers' songs. Fri., Oct. 16, 6:00 workers much of the on-the-job armed self-defense "is not a p.m., 777 West Adams. Festivprotection they had won in the practical measure for individuals ities begin at 6 p.m., dinner at past 20 years that caused the na- and would not have saved the tional line-up of class forces on lives of Matt Parker or Emmett

"What is needed," Rustin said, "is a mass movement that is orafter confabs with Big Steel ganized deep in and under the

Williams as a speaker for the present, for such a mass movement in the South. "You can't build it on labor," he asserted.

NUMBER 41

"Armed Camps"

movement will be ready.'

"Perhaps in ten years the labor

Conrad Lynn replied, "Tuscaloosa and Monroe are armed camps and the Negro is respected there. When the Negro is respected he can sit around the table as an equal."

Lynn was warmly applauded when he stated that "the Negroes will have to lead the fight opposing the Republican and Democratic parties. We need a new party of the underprivileg-

Dave Dellinger held that "Violence plays into the hands of the extreme segregationists." He felt that the Negroes would be better off today if it were not for the natred produced by the violence of the Civil War a century ago.

In the discussion period Bayard Rustin contended that the policy of non-violence can aid Negroes in cementing the necessary alliances for a political, economic and social revolution in the South.

Conrad Lynn pressed the view hat the present situation is far different from that of 1876. "Today the Negro is prepared to defend himself arms in hand. Also the struggle takes place in the social context of a fight between capital and labor with labor as the ally of the Negro.'

Lynn's closing suggestion to the pacifists was that "they send their delegations to the Ku Klux Klan rather than to the Negroes in the South."

JOBLESS RATE

The jobless rate was back to 5.5% in August as compared with 4.9% earlier in the year according to PAI, a labor news

Calendar Of Events

NEW YORK

"Hitchhiking through Algeria," Shane and Judy Mage will tell about the exciting experiences they first reported briefly in the Nation. With color slides! Fri., Oct. 16, 8:30 p.m., 116 University Place (near Union Square). Auspices Young Socialist Alliance. Subscription \$1.

CLEVELAND

The Militant Forum opens its fall series Sat., Oct. 17, 8:00 p.m., at 10609 Superior Ave.

CHICAGO Spaghetti dinner and work-

MINNEAPOLIS

"The Steel Strike and the Anti-Labor Offensite," Wayne Leverenz, Wisconsin socialist 322 Hennepin, 2nd floor. Aus-

epin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon to

Newark Labor Forum, Box 361,

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Local Directory

BOSTON Boston Labor Forum, 295 Hunting-CHICAGO

Socialist Workers Party, 777 W.

Adams, DE 2-9736. CLEVELAND Socialist Workers Party 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Wednesday nights 7 to 9.

The Militant, P.O. Box 1904, University Center Station, Cleveland 6 DETROIT

Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. TEmple 1-6135. LOS ANGELES Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop

702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-MILWAUKEE

MINNEAPOLIS

Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hen-

150 East Juneau Ave.

PHILADELPHIA Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 P.M., followed by open house.

SAN FRANCISCO The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Rm. 4 Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone PR 6-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321.

SEATTLE 1412-18th Avenue, EA 2-5554. Library, bookstore.

ST. LOUIS