

# When Uphaus Chose Prison

By William Price

It was after one a.m. when we walked out into cold deserted Madison Avenue from radio station WMCA. Willard Uphaus had just talked to an estimated 125,000 listeners in the New York City area. He had told the story of his refusal to turn over five small packages of three by five index cards, containing the names of summer camp guests, to a "subversive" hunting attorney general of New Hampshire.

"And you could face life imprisonment?" Barry Gray had asked him.

"Yes, that's about it, I guess," Dr. Uphaus had answered.

"There are not many people who could do such a thing; I doubt if I could myself," Gray had concluded. "We wish you the best of luck."

Knowing Dr. Uphaus' preferences, we shunned a cab and took a walk in the brisk night air. We commented on the receptivity at the radio show to his clear statement against informing which he said was based on the First Amendment guarantees of free speech and association, on his conscience and on the Biblical injunction not to "bear false witness." The program had been a crack in our almost total wall of silence in the commercial press, and radio-TV.

We also talked of New Hampshire and the World Fellowship camp at Conway and of Mount

Chocorua, a nearby favorite of amateur hikers.

"It only makes out like it's a mountain, you know," Dr. Uphaus said, relishing his own stride, "it's only 3,000 feet tall."

The hotels being full with a pre-Christmas invasion of business representatives, Dr. Uphaus finally stretched out on a couch across from the fireplace in my living room, much more content, he said, than he would have been in an expensive hotel room.

## Thoreau's Words

In the morning a well-worn volume of Thoreau came down from the shelves and over breakfast we thumbed through it to find, in Thoreau's speech, "Slavery in Massachusetts," his comment about an injustice of his time when a Massachusetts court had sent a fugitive slave back to the South.

"Only he is guiltless who stands in contempt of such a court," Thoreau had said in 1854.

I met Willard Uphaus again four days later when I arrived with a group of ten New Yorkers at the steps of the Merrimack County Court House in Concord, N.H., for the unique "purge hearing."

The Court House is a square white brick building set off from Concord's main street by a gently sloping lawn.

On the steps as our contingent drove up was a group of about fifty friends and supporters of Dr. Uphaus including his wife Ola whom he had married in 1938 when she returned from seventeen years as a missionary to China.

Rev. Lloyd C. Worley, pastor of the First Methodist Church of Hartford, Conn., asked the group to bow their heads in silent protest. Then he read aloud the First Amendment and sections from the Bible which has also been Dr. Uphaus' text during his four-year refusal to inform on innocent people.

But the camera angle was not quite right and a spokesman for half a dozen newspaper photog-

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## MD Fee Just Down Payment

The American people are now paying more for prescriptions than for medical fees.

According to the Social Security Administration, the public paid \$4,362,000,000 in 1958 for pills, potions, powders, eye glasses, etc. In the same year they paid doctors \$4,300,000,000. Since the 1947-49 period, medical care has gone up 53% in cost. No other item on the price index has risen so much, reports the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Are the profits of the drug manufacturers so sacred that America needs to force the sick and the aged to foot that kind of bill? It would seem high time to turn to socialized medicine.

## 5 Congo Parties Push For Independence

Five Congolese parties, meeting in a united-front congress Dec. 24-27, voted to demand "complete, immediate and unconditional independence" for the Belgian Congo from King Baudouin, now visiting the African colony. The five parties met in the wake of local elections last month in which national-independence supporters gained sweeping victories.

On his arrival Dec. 28 in Leopoldville, capital of the Belgian Congo, Baudouin was able to gauge the strength of the national-independence sentiment at first hand. Shouts of "Long Live the King!" were "drowned by a mass of Africans roaring: 'Independence! Immediate independence!' " a New York Times dispatch reports. Baudouin may meet with African nationalist leaders during his stay in Leopoldville. The Belgian government has scheduled a round-table conference in mid-January with African representatives to discuss the fate of the colony.

The five parties attending the united-front congress were Abako, political organization of the Bakongo tribe; one wing of the Congolese National Movement; the African Socialist party; the Socialist People's party; and Abazi, the political organization of an ethnical group. Patrice Lumumba, prominent leader of another wing of the Congolese National Movement, was in jail and his wife was not represented. Josef Kasavubu, Abako leader, chaired the conference and Albert Kalondji of the Congolese National Movement was vice-chairman. The parley was held in Kisantu, 70 miles from Leopoldville with 200 delegates in attendance.

The congress "impressed observers by its tight discipline and determination," says the New York Times. It adopted three resolutions.

The first demands immediate and total independence and sets Jan. 5, the anniversary of last year's political rally broken up by the Belgian police, as the date for "discussing with Belgium ways and means to pass over power to the Congolese Government."

Another resolution declares that the future form of the Congolese state should be a federation of six autonomous republics,

headed by a federal parliament elected by universal suffrage.

An economic resolution, drawn up by the Socialist People's party, charges that the capitalist character of the present Congolese economy "exploits the masses for the profit of individuals." It demands a state-controlled economy based on human needs and insists on a law to stop the export of capital.

Frightened by the swift growth of the national-independence movement during the past year, Belgians in the Congo "approach the new year with dread," says Homer Bigart in the Dec. 24 New York Times. They "have stopped buying cars, refrigerators and luxury items, lest 1960 bring independence to the Congo and the new African Government find Europeans redundant."

The Belgian authorities hope that a recent outbreak of inter-tribal war in the interior of the Congo and of the revival of tribal sorcery killings can serve as pretexts for denying the Congolese demands for national independence.

## Davis Begins Prison Sentence For Stand on First Amendment

NEW YORK, Dec. 28 — Dr. H. Chandler Davis, an associate editor of America's leading mathematics journal, is scheduled to enter a federal prison Jan. 4 to serve a six-months sentence, the Committee of First Amendment Defendants reported today.

The talented young mathematician will be the third person to be imprisoned in a two-month period for refusing to testify or inform before a "subversive" hunting Congressional or state committee.

Dr. Davis was hailed before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1954 while an instructor at the University of Michigan. He defied the committee on First Amendment grounds in a move to test the constitutionality of its inquiries into the political beliefs of citizens.

His stand brought a six-month sentence for contempt of Congress. On Dec. 7, the Supreme Court refused to review his conviction.

## On Tour

### '60 Can Be Best Year In Decades

Detroit, Mich.

Editor: Readers of the Militant will be interested in a report of a talk I had with George Breitman, a former editor of this paper now living in Detroit.

Mainly we discussed the changing political climate which is becoming apparent in the motor city as in every town I have visited. But in view of the circumstances of our meeting a few comments of a more personal nature also seem in order.

As his friends know, George has been ill the last few years, and was in a hospital during my visit. He didn't want to spend much of our conversation on the state of his health; he has arthritis and associated ills, which he assured me were not so serious as irritating because they incapacitated him from time to time.

"I don't like to talk about it," he said half-jokingly. "Everybody tells me I am very objective. But when I hear somebody else talking about his illnesses, I feel sorry for him. Because I am objective, I have the same reaction when I hear myself talking about mine — that is, I begin to feel sorry for myself. Of all human emotions, I think self-pity is the most destructive."

So, mostly we talked about politics and the current problems facing revolutionary socialists. But along the way I learned a few other things.

George noted that while the hospital has Negro employees, it has no Negro patients — in a city where more than a quarter of the population is Negro. So he made inquiry and learned that it is the hospital's policy not to admit them. Then he asked to see the head of the hospital and lodged a protest. His next step will be an appeal to the hospital board of directors.

His room showed signs of other activity typical of a socialist organizer and educator: a pile of newspapers and magazines, many books and some notebooks. Five of the books were by or about Frederick Douglass, three about Samuel Adams.

I learned that he was preparing a series of three talks for the local Friday Night Socialist Forum (where I had spoken). To be given in February, they will deal with the general theme: The American Revolutionist — Methods, Traditions and Personal Qualities, together with an evaluation of the three American revolutions. The opening talk will be on Samuel Adams and the First; then on Frederick Douglass and the Second; then on James P. Cannon and the next American revolution. If his enthusiasm about the project is a good indication, Detroit forum-goers are in for something worthwhile in February.

I won't attempt in this report to cover all the political questions we discussed. But I

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# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

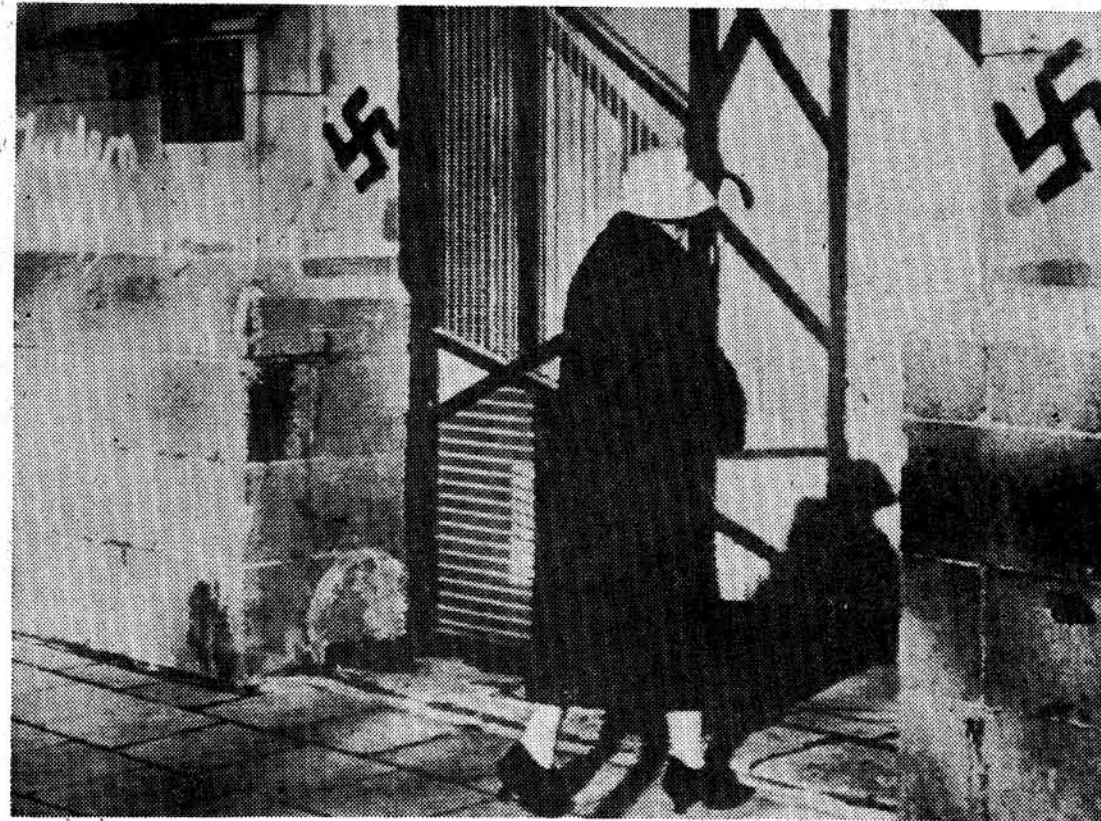
Vol. XXIV — No. 1

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NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JANUARY 4, 1960

Price 10c

## Outrage Shocks West Germans



Unidentified woman enters synagogue in Cologne, West Germany, Dec. 26. On its walls are swastikas caubed the night before along with the words, "Juden Raus" — "Jews Get Out." West Germans were deeply shocked by the anti-Semitic outrage, says Sydney Gruson in the Dec. 27 New York Times. Cologne police arrested two members of the German Reichs party, one of whom they say, confessed to the desecration. The Reichs party is an anti-Semitic outfit, but under public pressure, it expelled the two and dissolved the Cologne district headquarters. The federal government is now weighing whether to ban the organization.

## Labor Party Is Still Main Political Need

By Tom Kerry

Variations of the policy of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies," has dominated the politics of American union leaders since the time of Samuel Gompers, when it was openly proclaimed as the policy best suited to the needs of the working people.

With the expansion of American industry, the growth of the unions, the increasing intervention of the government in labor-management disputes — especially with the advent of Roosevelt's New Deal — the policy underwent a subtle transformation. Organized labor became part of a coalition within the Democratic party. To reward "friends" and punish "enemies" was transmuted into supporting Democrats as against Republicans for public office.

Today, the policy as interpreted by Gompers is thoroughly discredited. Although, immediately following the enactment of the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law, some union leaders publicly declared that the labor-Democratic coalition had proven a liability and suggested a return to the policy of supporting "friends" in either party, this was more an outburst of irritated frustration and an implied threat than a serious proposal for a return to Gompers.

Nevertheless, it is a matter of common knowledge that the labor-Democratic coalition has led to a series of defeats for the unions on the political arena. If the trend continues — and there is no reason to think it won't — the prospects for the future look very bleak. After more than 20 years of coalition politics a formidable body of anti-labor legislation has accumulated, with more to come.

Given a continuation of the policy of coalition, to which the union leaders remain committed, what is the perspective for the future? Merely to hold forth the promise of more-of-the-same is not very hopeful. The ranks are growing more dissatisfied and discontented with a policy that has repeatedly led labor into a booby trap. To retain their support the union heads must hold out some hope for a fundamental change.

To this end, Walter Reuther, president of the AFL-CIO United Automobile Workers, has become the advocate of a policy of "realignment." Stated briefly, the proposal is that "conservative" line up in one party and "liberals" in another. "Unless there is genuine progress toward the realignment of forces within the two existing parties," states the political resolution adopted at the recent UAW convention, "progressive forces will continue to face serious obstacles."

Admittedly, the most "serious obstacle" is the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition in Congress. Reuther's realignment gimmick is based on the hope that somehow or other, the Dixiecrats can be prevailed upon to walk out of the Democratic party. This would presumably open the way to the establishment in the South of a two-party system

comprising, on the one hand, "loyal" Democrats of "liberal" persuasion, and on the other, conservative Demo-Dixiecrats and Republicans.

It is a neat scheme — slick and polished — as Reuther's brainstorms usually are. But what makes Reuther imagine that the Dixiecrats are at all concerned about accommodating him? In domestic politics they have made the South a haven for the run-away shop, have stymied union organization and exerted a downward pull on the national wage level. In national politics they play a balance-of-power role to the benefit of the capitalist ruling class. In Congress, by virtue of the seniority system, they occupy the chairmanship of the most powerful committees and dominate the legislative process.

Their power rests on the perpetuation of the Jim Crow system. Big business, which controls both major parties, is a direct beneficiary of this. There is only one power able to effect a meaningful realignment in the one-party South — the organized labor movement. And it can be done only through the formation of labor's own independent political party. This is the key to the most critical problem of American labor politics.

## Krupp Dispenses \$1,190 To His Jewish Ex-Slaves

There may be as many as 2,000 Jews still alive who worked as slave laborers for Alfred Krupp, the German "cannon king," during World War II. These pitiful survivors have now been assured of compensation for their fearful ordeal.

Krupp announced on Christmas Eve that he will grant a cash payment of 5,000 marks — \$1,190 — to each and every Jewish survivor who can prove that he or she was a forced laborer in a Krupp enterprise. Moreover, the purse will be paid regardless of the length of slavery.

The estimate of 2,000 claimants was made by the Conference on Jewish Claims Against Germany. But Krupp officials, who seem to have carefully checked how many survivors there might be before deciding on the compensation, said that there couldn't be more than about 1,200.

Public-relations spokesmen for Krupp explained that the giant company was willing to make the payments even though it assumed no legal responsibility in the matter, since the West German government, as the successor to the Hitler regime, was responsible for compensating victims of the Nazis.

However, the public-relations spokesmen said that Krupp, out of a warm desire to help "heal the wounds of World War II," had generously decided to put up the \$2,000,000 needed. How magnanimous the gesture was can

## Kerosene Fire In New York Kills an Infant

NEW YORK — On Christmas Eve, Mrs. Carleen Cole, 32, was held without bail on a homicide charge. A kerosene stove in her apartment had accidentally overturned. In the resulting blaze a two-year-old child perished.

Kerosene stoves have long been used in the slums of America's largest and wealthiest city; but in 1957, they were finally banned. A law was also passed requiring all buildings housing more than 10 families to have central heating by Nov. 1, 1958. Buildings housing three to 10 units were given a deadline of Nov. 1, 1959.

While city officials prepared to prosecute Mrs. Cole, the state legislature was considering a recommendation from Democratic Mayor Wagner to exempt from the central heating requirement all buildings "scheduled" to be acquired for any kind of future housing project.

When questioned about the tenants freezing if Wagner's recommendation were accepted, a City Hall spokesman cynically responded: "They haven't frozen for the last 100 years."

Maybe. But according to the Fire Department 200 of them died in the past 10 years from kerosene fires.

At the time this was considered a light sentence. Among the charges leveled at the "Ruhri Emperor" was that he had "not only accepted but actively sought to employ concentration camp inmates and for that purpose built factories near the camps at Markstaedt and Auschwitz." Many prisoners died in Krupp's slave-labor factories.

In 1951, the U.S. High Commissioner for Germany, John J. McCloy, decided Krupp had paid a sufficient penalty and he was released after serving three years of his 12-year term. However, he was ordered to dispose of his vast empire by Jan. 31 of last year.

When that deadline arrived, Krupp blandly announced he simply couldn't find a customer. The Allied powers graciously granted him another year.

It is now widely assumed that when the new deadline arrives this Jan. 31 the dissolution order will simply be cancelled.

After all, Krupp's willingness to depart with nearly 2½% of last year's profits to compensate surviving Jewish ex-slave laborers certainly demonstrates that he really is a decent chap.

## Use of Troops Is Continued At Albert Lea

### New Twist in Strikebreaking Seen in Packinghouse Battle

By Carl Feingold

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 25 — Labor circles here are discussing the new twist in strikebreaking seen in the packinghouse strike at Albert Lea against Wilson & Co. The pattern encountered by the local Packinghouse Workers ran like this: First, the company hired scabs. When militant action began against the strikebreakers, step two was taken. Democratic Gov. Freeman called out the National Guard to restore "law and order."

To make it look good, the troops closed down the plant for a few days. Then the militia reopened the plant "temporarily" so that the scabs could process meat stuff to be on the verge of spoiling.

The next step was taken by the company to help get the labor-endorsed governor off the hook. The company filed suit in federal court to regain full use of their plant and the court ruled against the governor, instructing him to let the company reopen the plant but allowing him to use troops to maintain "order" as the scabs took the workers' jobs.

The formula, it can be seen, is a neat one. The company keeps the plant open and the scabs working under protection of the National Guard. The governor appears clean because he tries to close the plant down but is forced to reopen it under federal court order; and the court is only upholding "constitutional law" which provides for the protection of that holy of holies private property. Only the strikers get hurt, but then that was the object.

Spearing a crackdown-on-labor drive involving the entire meat packing industry, Wilson began hiring scabs in November to work the Albert Lea plant. These were recruited from adjacent farm areas in southern Minnesota and Iowa. By the time the scab work force had reached about 500, the strikers from Local 6 of the UPWA began an aggressive campaign. Some 1,000 pickets began massing at the plant gates to stone scabs and company officials.

Once begun, such action soon extended beyond the immediate area of the plant gates. Farmers who were discovered to be scabs found their corn cribs cut open and corn dumped.

Sympathy was widespread for the strikers. Support came from other packinghouse workers in nearby plants. School children were reported to be gathering stones for use by strikers.

Officials of Albert Lea and Freeborn county appealed to the governor. They were unable, they said, to cope with the situation and were faced with the danger of "riots" and "insurrection." They asked the governor to close the plant down to reestablish "law and order," for it was their opinion that even under martial law the National Guard couldn't patrol the coun-

tryside and prevent strikers from seeking to persuade scabs that it is unsafe to cross a picket line.

It was in response to this request that Gov. Orville Freeman called out the National Guard, declared martial law and closed down the plant. However, in a few days the governor permitted it to be reopened "temporarily" to permit scabs to finish processing some meat that might spoil. Strange as it may seem, the union leadership approved this

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## They Vetoed A Rockefeller As President

By Joseph Hansen

Nelson Rockefeller's announcement that he is withdrawing from the Presidential race has been handled by the capitalist press as a major political event. The reason is clear. In their world it is firmly believed that you can buy anything if you have sufficient dollars, including the White House. Rockefeller has the dollars; therefore the presidency was his if he wanted it; therefore his bowing out was astonishing.

Rockefeller gave as his reason that the "great majority of those who will control the Republican convention stand opposed to any contest for the nomination." He said that he did not care to engage in the "massive struggle" that would be required to overcome the decision in favor of Nixon.

In other words, the Republican bosses have already decided and the convention is a mere formality. But the decisions of the Republican machine are not final. They are subject to the will of the ruling capitalist oligarchs, as Taft indicated in an analysis of his defeat at the 1952 Republican convention. Since Rockefeller is a prominent member of this ruling clique, why would he concede to the lowly hacks of the Republican machine?

New York post correspondent Massolo indicated the answer to that: "Despite his own great wealth most of the nation's industrial leaders let Rockefeller know they preferred Nixon."

Many political commentators think that Rockefeller, because of his winning TV personality, would have a better chance than Nixon to win the election. Therefore, the Republicans are making a mistake in not choosing Rockefeller.

These commentators leave out

## Edge Still Held by Democrats In Pushing Up Cost of Living

The cost of living rose to a new all-time high as of mid-November — although the steel workers had not as yet received any wage increases. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Consumer Price Index rose to 125.6 with the 1947-49 average as the base of 100. This means it takes \$12.56 to buy today what \$10 bought in the 1947-49 period.

Over 52.7% — or more than half — of the cost-of-living rise since the 1947-49 period occurred under the Democratic Truman administration. The index when Truman left office at the end of 1952 was 113.5, an increase of 13.5 points from the base period. An additional 12.1 points have been added since under the Republican Eisenhower administration.

Under both administrations, the tremendous federal expenditures for war purposes, an average of more than \$40 billion annually for direct mili-

tary spending, have stoked the inflationary furnace. The entire period of inflation extends back two decades to the start of World War II in September 1939. The consumer price index then stood at 59.4 of the 1947-49 base figure. By 1946, the index rose to 83.4, or 40.4% higher than 1939. In 1952, the consumer price index soared to 113.5, or 91.7% above the pre-war figure.

Today, the official cost-of-living index stands 109.7% higher than in 1939. Some 83.5% of the total rise since 1939 was registered under the Democratic administrations of Roosevelt and Truman.

However, if the Republicans stay in office as long as the Democrats did, at the rate the cost of living has been rising since 1952 the Republicans should run the Democrats a very close second in the matter of slashing the buying power of the American dollar.

# New Technological Equipment Found in America's Bedrooms

By Herman Chauka

One of the dirtiest forms of invasion of privacy is spreading like a plague. In the trade it's called "bugging." Spying with electronic devices.

Latest revelations of the spread of this police-state practice, along with a chilling demonstration of new techniques in the foul "art," came at a Dec. 15-16 hearing of the Senate Constitutional Rights subcommittee which is considering proposals to loosen the already loose federal law against wire-tapping.

Members of the committee were given a rather upsetting personal taste of what these bedroom keyhole peepers can do when Harold Lipset, a San Francisco private detective put on a demonstration.

Lipset told the committee that it's a simple business to record a private conversation these days. Committee Chairman Hennins indicated that as a Democrat from Missouri he would like to be shown.

The detective showed him. He calmly opened his jacket to show the miniature recorder, about the size of a paperback book, with which he had been secretly recording the hearing. He then walked across the room and picked up a similar device he had casually planted on his way in.

The easily concealed device displayed by Mr. Lipset is included in a price list of "office equipment" circulated among federal agencies by the General Services Administration. Retailing for around \$300, anyone with the money can buy it.

Congressmen were somewhat shook up by the committee hearings, according to Courtney Sheldon, Christian Science Monitor correspondent. "Almost everyone left in pre-Christmas Washington has an ear cocked in the direction

of the committee, wondering if their worst suspicions will be confirmed.

"There obviously is concern among some Congressmen," he explained, "that what they say in private to some public officials is being recorded. This may prove true in some instances."

Sheldon recalled that in a recent interview, a Cabinet official remarked that a salesman had just tried to interest him in one recorder the size of a cigarette package and another that could be stuck to the door of a room to record conversations on the other side.

Testifying before the committee, Paul Williams, a former U.S. Attorney, urged that the law should permit federal agencies to use wire-tap evidence in court. He cited New York City, where the police have such a right, and said that if the cops didn't enjoy this right he didn't think the city would be "a livable place."

He couldn't have picked a better example. According to Samuel Dash, who recently made a study of illegal wire-tapping and bugging New York cops made about 30,000 taps in 1957 and less than a thousand of them were legally authorized.

During one of the recent shakeups of New York's graft-ridden "finest" it was established that a favorite police method of blackmailing bookies was to tap their phones for evidence.

In 1958 the City Transit Authority was caught red-handed bugging the headquarters of the striking Motormen's Benevolent Association.

Individual and family privacy, one of our most basic rights, is fast becoming a thing of the past with the deepening degeneration of capitalism. If it gets much worse, neither New York nor the rest of the country will be "a livable place."

# Guilty of Daring to Battle for Marxism

By Murry Weiss  
(Second of two articles)

The main objective of the combined attack leveled by the British capitalist press and the Labor party and union bureaucrats on the Socialist Labor League (SLL), which I discussed last week, is to brand the British Marxists as "troublemakers," "outside agitators," and "irresponsible strike instigators"; and, on such charges, purge them from the Labor party.

In face of a witch-hunt like this, it would seem the obvious duty of every honest socialist in Britain to defend the members of the SLL and stand up for their democratic rights. Many British socialists have done exactly that. They are against purges.

The Tribune, edited by Michael Foot, has expressed its opinion vigorously. The New Statesman likewise. The New Reasoner, if only in a footnote, explicitly opposed the purge. Many of the Labor party organizations denounced the party leadership and championed the democratic rights of those under reactionary attack.

The Communist party, however, took a different position. It joined the witch-hunters. R. Palme Dutt, British CP leader, offered the dark hint that behind the SLL's left-wing activities can be found "American imperialist gold."

In the British Stalinist paper, World News and Views, Oct. 24, 1959, one J. R. C. describes the Socialist Labor League as "a disruptive, Trotskyist organization." He tries to prove how sinister the League is by citing the recent National Assembly which was attended by some 700 delegates and observers. His proof does not testify to his sense of humor. The League's program at the Assembly, he said, "skillfully conceals the Trotskyist character of the organization."

The SLL is against the cold war; it proclaims opposition to the manufacture of the H-bomb; it is for strengthening the fight for the 40-hour week; for higher wages; defense of jobs and the shop stewards; against rent increases; for a fight against colonial oppression and racism in England; for the extension of nationalization under workers control; and for a fight against the Labor party and the trade unions.

All this doesn't fool our astute J. R. C. Since the Trotskyists are also in favor of a struggle for workers democracy in the Soviet Union that makes the SLL "anti-Soviet."

Moreover, since the SLL is opposed to placing any confidence in the Kremlin and the imperialists in the struggle for peace, proposing instead the socialist road to peace, J. R. C. has "proof" that the SLL is really opposed to peace!

### Dual Unionism Charge

So far J. R. C. is simply repeating routine Stalinist distortions and slanders. Of special interest, however, in these circumstances is J. R. C.'s treatment of the way the SLL participates in industrial struggles and opposes the betrayals of the trade-union bureaucracy. "On the question of industrial struggle," J. R. C. says, "the bright idea of the Socialist Labor League is to set up a network of rank-and-file committees as a parallel organization to the trade union movement and to official shop stewards committees."

The article concludes with the following advice: "So all trade union branches would be well-advised to consider the hidden motives of those who are organizing the apparently innocuous 'National Assembly of Labor'."

The charge of "dual unionism" is as odious and unfounded coming from a CP hack as it is when uttered by right-wing trade-union officials. Ironically, it was Stalinism that derailed the workers' movement throughout the world with its ultra-left adventurism of dual unionism in the early thirties; and it was the Trotskyists within the communist movement who waged a great battle against this ruinous policy.

When the trade-union bureaucrats, however, charge the SLL with dual unionism in Britain, they mean that it is impermissible for the rank and file to oppose their false policy and misleadership. More precisely, they mean it is impermissible for workers to organize a grouping in seeking a new policy and a new leadership.

### Centrist Critics

The British Communist party fears the growing influence of Trotskyism for reasons of special concern to Moscow. The fears of various centrist and sectarian radical groups have a different origin. They see the emergence of a new militant



Gerry Healy, national secretary of the Socialist Labor League, addressing recent Assembly of Labor. Seated at left is Brian Pearce, co-editor of Labor Review. At right is SLL chairman Brian Behan.

center of Marxist leadership in the class struggle that can make political life considerably less comfortable for them.

The Political Secretary of the Independent Labor party, Wilfred Wigham, who is among the most active of a new galaxy of shouters of alarm, expressed it this way:

"The mushroom growth (only a small mushroom as yet) of the Socialist Labor League within the last two years, with the help of considerable prominence and sensational criticisms in the capitalist Press, has focused the attention of some Left intellectuals on the SLL . . ."

One group of these intellectual critics of Trotskyism is centered around the magazine New Reasoner which now appears as the New Left Review after a merger with Universities and Left Review. The grouping, which calls itself the "New Left," is composed of former CP intellectuals who broke with Stalinism during the shake-up that followed the Khrushchev revelations and the Hungarian revolution.

Trotskyism has proved attractive to them but they have also found it — repellent. They profess to see in the Trotskyist movement the modern continuation of a lot of old evils generally involving discipline, centralism, and so on. They lump together Leninism and Stalinism and regard Trotskyism as simply another example of the same evil. The evolution of these intellectuals is certainly not concluded and one can expect them to deepen their thinking on this question. The SLL takes a friendly attitude toward them, urging them to discuss the basic principled questions of Marxism and to participate in working-class struggles.

A prominent member of this general grouping of British radical intellectuals, Peter Fryer, has recently moved away from the SLL after several years association as one of its leading writers. At first he offered no political motivation for his shift; then in statements to the press he accused the leadership of the SLL of employing "Stalinist methods." (See Militant, Dec. 14.) His evidence for this is trivial and obscure and saturated with the inference that his own disenchantment should be proof enough.

Fryer's break precipitated a new flurry of anti-Trotskyist campaigning among the centrists. For example, the Independent Labor party weekly, the Socialist Leader, Nov. 21, 1959, cites Fryer's departure. This issue really bears down on the menace of Trotskyism. A screaming front-page headline announces: "Stalinism in New Clothes." The article is ostensibly about the National Assembly of Labor, but the real subject is the Trotskyist villain Gerry Healy, a bloody blackguard to believe this sheet. Here is a typical bit: "Gerry Healy, old-line bureaucratic Trotskyist leader, who with bald head sweating spoke in a style more appropriate to a meeting of peasant guerrillas than a twentieth-century workers' conference."

To this is added revelations, or rather hints of revelations, that the meeting was bludgeoned by dictatorial strong-arm methods.

The charge, however, evaporates as the story itself reveals that the dictatorial control is supposed to have been manifested in the following incident: After the delegates had voted against giving someone the floor the SLL leaders appealed to the body to alter its decision. The Assembly agreed! This showed, we are told, that the SLL obviously had tight control of the meeting! The reason for such

blatant absurdities on the front page is indicated on page five, where ILP theoretician Walter Kendall announced that the crisis in the SLL has "mounted to explosive force" because of the departure of Peter Fryer.

Adopting the posture of a profound delver into the theoretical roots of this "explosive crisis," Kendall points with pride to his "prediction" of the crisis in the Oct. 31 issue of the Socialist Leader. In that article, Kendall claimed that world Trotskyism was in crisis due to its inability to explain how the Chinese revolution triumphed despite the leadership of the Chinese Communist party.

Naturally, he says nothing about the articles, resolutions and theses written by the Trotskyists on this question. He needs the crisis in order to show its "consequences": "Within the American (Trotskyist) Socialist Workers Party a split developed over this and related issues. One section led by Joyce Cowley left the party altogether. In Britain a similar situation seems to be arising."

Here, of course, Kendall shows ignorance of somewhat astonishing degree. Comrade Cowley would be quite surprised to hear that she left the SWP, let alone led a group out of it. And because of China! Kendall's report on a crisis in the SLL achieves a similar level of accuracy.

Kendall frequently gives lip service to Leninism in his articles and grants that its essential contributions should be preserved. He is equally patronizing with Trotskyism. But from there on it's all down hill in the direction of the centrist critics of Bolshevism.

The SLL leadership, he says, "is filled with a messianic vision that it (he?) alone held the key to a solution of all working class problems." This is the familiar sneer of the centrist muddleheads who pride themselves on "not having all the answers" — a mannerism which they equate with open-mindedness. If Kendall were serious about his cliches he would attempt to show precisely what tendency has better answers than the SLL — and on what issues. To charge that the Trotskyists think "they alone have a key" is simply an evasion of his own political responsibility.

Kendall asks a question in the Oct. 31 issue of the Socialist Leader that tells a lot about his politics. "It is not enough," he

advises in an article on "The Crisis of Trotskyism," "to blame the present state of affairs on the betrayal of false leaders. We have to ask . . . Why is it that the workers give their leaders the power to betray?" (Kendall's emphasis.)

If you imagine that Kendall might attempt even a weak answer to his own emphatic question you are not familiar with this species of centrism. He is really hinting that the socialist struggle against the labor bureaucracy is overrated since the workers too have their shortcomings. Thus the responsibility of building a leadership capable of leading the way to socialism is washed out in an amorphous formula: the leaders are a little to blame and so are the workers.

### Sectional Aloofness

Instead of joining the SLL struggle against the right-wing bureaucratic witch-hunters, the ILP leaders have adopted a position of sectarian aloofness spiced with an "analysis" of the "morality" of the SLL.

The ILP itself is opposed to socialists working in the British Labor party. They themselves were in the Labor party up to 1932, they argue. But 27 years ago the ILP "decided that if it was to continue to work for socialism it would have to break away from a party already by that time utterly discredited as representative of workers' interests or Socialist strategy." (Wilfred Wigham, Sept. 6 issue.) So? So it has now become dishonest for socialists to stay in the Labor party where the majority of the British working class happens to be.

Wigham comments on the SLL's work in the Labor party as follows: "To the uncommitted observer the tactic of entering a party whose policies you describe in the very first clause of your official policy statement as 'policies of class betrayal' appears simply as dishonest." Wigham does "not accept the capitalist moral code, but we have a Socialist morality," he declares. Isn't this Sunday sermon remarkable for the inspiration it offers? Particularly to British socialists under attack from the bureaucrats?

Who has decided, other than the "sectarian" pontiffs of the ILP, that the Labor party is the private property of the officials, to be approached with all the piety due the institution of pri-

vate property in capitalist society? Should revolutionary Marxists give up fighting for the interests of the Labor party rank and file because they have been proscribed by the bureaucrats?

Wigham's moral sermonizing doesn't even have the merit of stating the facts. According to the constitution and by-laws of the Labor party, groups representing differing views on program are entirely permissible. All that the SLL has asked is that the bureaucrats stop violating the constitution and recognize that members of the SLL have the same rights as members of the Fabian Society and the Victory for Socialism group, not to speak of the trade-union bureaucrats themselves who have built a massive machine to exert their factional views and position.

Walter Kendall concludes his article in the Nov. 21 issue with a few choice centrist platitudes that deserve to be cut in marble. Socialists, he tells us, should "break away from trying to CAPTURE the leadership of the class" and turn "towards raising the level of its leading members at shop, union branch and Labor party level." (Kendall's emphasis.)

How . . . proposes to do this, while adhering to the ILP's "moral" stand against participating in the Labor party he does not reveal. But aside from this small contradiction, where does the struggle to "capture" the leadership of the class conflict with the struggle to raise its level of consciousness?

### A Regrettable Attitude

Before closing, it is necessary to mention another grouping that has joined the campaign against the Socialist Labor League. The May 30, 1959, Newsletter reported that a group of supporters of a Liverpool publication called Socialist Fight united with the right wing of the Labor party to pass an amendment to a resolution protesting the ban on Newsletter and the SLL. The amendment stated: "The League (SLL) could only hamper the development of the movement in its struggle for socialism."

What is shocking in an incident of this kind is the fact that Socialist Fight considers itself Trotskyist and is associated with Trotskyists internationally who belong to a faction headed by Michel Pablo in the Fourth International.

It is regrettable that Pablo has not thought it advisable to restrain his followers from such rabid factionalism. We do not deny the right of Pablo to express whatever differences he wishes with the British Trotskyists; but to join in attacking them instead of closing ranks in their defense in circumstances like these is certainly not in the tradition represented by Leon Trotsky.

The Socialist Labor League, as can be seen, is faced with a formidable combination ranging from the most reactionary sections of the capitalist press to centrists and sectarians seeking factional advantage at no matter what cost to the British socialist movement.

But the League has demonstrated its capacity to stand up under the assault. It is gaining influence despite the blows thrown from all quarters. And it is winning the admiration of honest socialist fighters everywhere.

We are certain that the British Trotskyists will continue to give just as good an account of themselves in the future as they have up to now in this battle. We wish we could do more to help them.

# BOOKS

## The Story of Segregation

FAUBUS' FOLLY. The Story of Segregation, by Curtis M. Vaughan. Vantage Press, New York. 1959. 160 pp. \$3.50.

In a chapter entitled "Negative vs. Positive Leadership," the author asks: Why, when the majority of the people in the South are for school desegregation, has there been such a "fuss"?

He offers his own answer: "We think the answer lies in the fact that strong vested interests profit from racial segregation in the South. We think the stubborn resistance to desegregation on the part of the political leaders of the South is ample proof that they serve these forces of exploitation."

A socialist could not put it better. Yet the author is not a socialist. He is a retired geographical researcher, who worked for the U.S. Army. He comes from North Carolina, where he was born on a farm. Like Anne Braden and Robert Williams and Don West, he addresses himself to his fellow Southerners.

Devoted to the South, especially to the poor white, he is gravely concerned about the mistakes being made in the name of segregation. He believes that if the South is to progress, education of the Negro is absolutely essential. He believes in constitutional government, and is convinced that the great majority of Southerners do, too. He shows that it is to the interests of the privileged few to promote strife between the Negroes and whites, and that this strife diverts attention from the main issue — that of assuring a supply of cheap labor.

So well does he analyze the economic causes of inequality and segregation that it is surprising that he does not naturally arrive at Marxism. For instance, "The agricultural products and the land upon which they are grown are not equally owned by all the people; hence, many must labor to produce goods which belong to another, and for this labor they receive money with which they may buy a part of their own production. Relatively little cash is left to purchase the manufactured products, which, in our society, are the symbols of a high standard of living."

Again, he writes: "The whole state of Arkansas is a huge orchard in which 480,000 Negroes and 1,450,000 white people labor. They pick the apples so cheaply that sales are good, and a small number of owners reap huge profits, then select another group of cynical politicians to preserve the social atmosphere which is favorable to business."

Mr. Vaughan has written this book in a style of exhortation, which reads like a call to action. He feels that the problem of racial segregation will be solved by attacking it as the economic problem of poverty, and that those fearful leaders who advise waiting another thirty years for the solution should be renounced. Part of solving the problem is recognizing its nature, realizing that even if there were only one race in the South today, the evil forces of the exploiters would find some means of dividing the people into two groups in order to exploit both.

He writes eloquently of the importance of education which will fit the poor whites and Negroes for better jobs. It is his contention that many cannot leave the South because they would not be able to find employment elsewhere because of their low educational level.

Yet in spite of all his careful thinking and impassioned sincerity, Mr. Vaughan does not come up with a solution to the economic problems. He feels that good leaders should tackle them, should suggest ways which will make industry serve humanity; lessen the economic terror of major illness; raise the dignity of man; promote unions . . . Of course, just exposing all the tie-ups between large industry and politicians to keep a labor surplus in the South — "A labor surplus has for years constituted what is known as a 'social climate favorable to business'" — is ammunition for the foes of segregation and makes this book worth-while.

He suggests the formation of an industrial commission through which "much of the manufacturing of the South might be farmed out to small home-type plants on a piece-work basis, and thus afford extra income to thousands [of agricultural workers] each winter."

There should be an all-out effort to teach the Negro personal property management, slums should be abolished, five-million new one-family homes should be constructed in the next five years.

Where will the money come from? "Money is merely a symbol, a bookkeeping device for measuring the accomplishments of a people . . . What more useful work can there be than raising the standard of living of every man and woman in the South?"

If the challenge is not met by the American people, the author points out that "Even now the Communist world is waiting for our way of life to fail, and the neutral world is waiting to choose sides."

Besides his discussion of the economics of the South, the author devotes several chapters to the sources of the Negroes' subjection, which seem to this reviewer to be open to question. He traces it to their social organization in Africa, in which they were subject to tribal discipline and had no experience in planning for their own existence on the land. The American Indian, on the other hand, "was by nature a migratory hunter, proved to be a highly unreliable servant, preferring escape into the forest to any form of service . . . The Negroes of Central and West Africa had, by contrast, developed beyond the hunting society to the stage of sedentary agriculture; they were thus admirably suited to the production of cotton, and the great plantations of the South soon began to develop."

The objection to this reasoning is that the social organization of the tribes in Africa cannot explain the status of the Negroes in the United States today.

— Constance F. Weissman

## Time to Call a Halt

Teachers in Westbury, Long Island, were warned by the superintendent of schools not to accept Christmas "payola" gifts from students. "If a kid gives you a \$50 gift," he observed, "you're going to think a long time before you flunk that kid."

## Literature and Revolution

By Leon Trotsky

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