Chinese Communists Continue Dispute

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THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XXIV — No. 2 | 222 | NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JANUARY 11, 1960 | Price 10c

Integrate Buses In Birmingham

"Ride Anywhere" Movement Finds No Resistance So Far

By George Lavan

Negroes in Birmingham are integrating the buses of that Jim Crow citadel and so far are not encountering any difficulties, the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights announced Dec. 29. This welcome news came from the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, president of the ACMHR, after a mass meeting at which many Negroes told of riding anywhere on buses in all parts of the city. Almost 600 persons present voted to increase the integrated riding, for which their organization has fought for three years.

A speaker at the meeting was Carl Braden, a white integrationist from Louisville, Kentucky, who is a field secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. Braden said he knows an appreciable number of white persons in Birmingham who support the Negro freedom movement but "are doing it under cover for the time being."

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

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

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

The leaflet continued: "There is NO law to make Negroes go to the back, and NO policeman or driver can make Negroes move!! PROOF: — Excerpts from federal decision: '. . . The mere refusal to obey a request to move from the front to the rear of a bus . . . IS NOT a breach of the peace . . . The police officers were **without** legal right to direct where they (Negroes) should sit because of their color. . .' The Terminal Supt. said: 'Negroes are free to sit anywhere in Terminal Station.'"

A resolution adopted at an ACMHR mass meeting declares: "(1) We reject any suggestion from any source that we voluntarily accept segregation in public facilities. (2) We are free NOW, as are all other citizens, to ride in ANY seat available on ANY bus, and to sit in ANY seat in the main waiting rooms of Transportation companies. We shall ignore segregation signs and shall ride henceforth First Class on First Class Fare. (3) We urge our people in riding buses or waiting in waiting rooms, to do so in quietness, with a calm dignity, and in a prayerful and understanding spirit."

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Wages of Sin Is Expulsion

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

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

The pastor was given six months in jail and a $500 fine.

A higher court recently ruled that the law under which the Negro minister had been convicted was obsolete.

British Unions Demand Shorter Working Week

Five million British unionists out of 8 million unionized workers in Britain are currently pressing employers for a 40-hour week.

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

An offer from the employers for a 42½-hour work week has already been turned down by the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions embracing 3 million workers. The bosses are now expected to offer a 42-hour week, says the Jan. 2 Newsletter, weekly journal of the Socialist Labor League.

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

In many British plants the basic work week under contracts with employers is 44 hours at present. A survey of 7 million workers by the Ministry of Labor last April showed that the average work week for men, women and apprentices was 46.3 hours and for men alone 48 hours. However, these figures include overtime.

Miners Make Demand

Besides the engineering and shipbuilding workers, those currently seeking the 40-hour week in contract negotiations include coal miners and employees in agriculture, the chemicals industry, the shoe industry, railroads, banks, civil air transport and the Post Office.

In its statement of support to its affiliated unions, the General Council of the TUC noted that a movement is under way in other countries of Western Europe and in the United States to reduce the work week.

In France, the 40-hour week prevails, and in the U.S., Canada and Australia, 40 hours or fewer make up the basic work week.

The council also pointed to the Soviet Union's objective of attaining a 35-hour work week by 1964-68.

Congressmen May Clam Up

There is a very definite prospect that usually verbose Washington politicians are going to try to become more tight-lipped.

Last month Congressmen and other Capitol Hill inhabitants left for the Christmas holidays in a nervous mood. At a hearing of the Senate subcommittee on constitutional rights a private detective demonstrated the latest technique in electronic eavesdropping.

He took off his jacket to reveal a tiny wire recorder that was secretly taking down everything said in the hearing room. A lot of people felt that the device might already be in use by federal agencies which like to spy on one another.

These suspicions were given a strong boost when Senator Hennings (D-Mo.) revealed Jan. 6 that eight different agencies have purchased the miniature recorders since last July. They are so tiny that the microphone can be concealed under a tie pin or wristwatch.

Hennings said that the mere fact of purchase didn't necessarily indicate "sinister or even improper purposes."

Japanese Farms

The average size farm in Japan is about two acres. If it is favorably situated, the farmer earns about $550 a year by growing rice and vegetables on this plot. Small tractors have come into wider use in the country.

Tools of the Trade

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

On Tour

The Cries of Alarm About the New Cuba

New York, N. Y.

Editor,

In city after city I have noted in the daily papers a propaganda lynch-campaign against the Cuban revolution.

Central to the attack is the usual capitalist theme: democracy must be defended against "Communist penetration" in Cuba; and something must be done about the "disintegration of orderly government" under the Castro regime.

The whole thing is so patently contrived that it makes the riggers of a TV quiz show look like rank amateurs by comparison.

No such excitement was shown about the brutal, corrupt Batista dictatorship in Cuba. Batista suppressed democratic rights, jailed and murdered his opponents, and kept the Cuban people in a state of economic hardship. But that gave no cause for alarm because capitalist property interests were protected by the dictator.

No concern is expressed about democracy in Spain. On the contrary, the daily papers gave glowing accounts of General Eisenhower's insult to the Spanish people when he paid a friendly visit to the fascist dictator Franco and joined with him in a hypocritical pledge to unite for "peace, justice and freedom." Why look over Franco's shoulder at the hardships of the working class and the jails full of political prisoners? After all his fascist regime protects capitalist property rights and that makes him part of the "free world."

Castro, however, has taken some steps under the pressures of the working people which threaten the superprofits of the imperialist exploiters of Cuban labor and resources.

Several big estates have been taken over and the land distributed among the peasants. A few capitalist-owned sugar mills and cattle ranches were confiscated in the interests of the people. To help finance social benefits, stiffer taxes were imposed on imperialist-owned Cuban industries.

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

So far the Castro regime has refused to let the imperialist government of the U.S. use Cuba as a pawn in its cold war against the revolutionary peoples of the world. Instead Cuba has justly demanded respect for its own national sovereignty; it has asserted its opposition to colonialism and called for the defense of the rights of small countries.

Recently the Cuban unions withdrew from the Inter-American Regional Organization of Labor, branding it an agency of United States imperialism which opposes the economic development and political liberty of Latin-American countries.

When newspaper reporters asked for his comments, George Meany, head of the AFL-CIO, denounced the Cuban charges as "hot air" and said American labor felt it could get along very well "without our Cuban friends."

Meany's remarks are consistent with his policy of throwing to the wolves whole sections of the labor movement in this country when they come under capitalist attack. If he could read a million and a half Teamsters out of the AFL-CIO to prove to the bosses that his heart is pure, why should he bother

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Armed Scabs Turned Loose At Albert Lea

JAN. 2 — Nine gun-toting scabs were arrested by Sheriff Stovern at the gates of the Wilson and Co. plant at Albert Lea, Minn., when the plant reopened last week after Governor Freeman lifted martial law.

The nine were released the same day on the grounds that Wilson and Co. had not yet been served with a court order which prohibits the carrying of firearms near the plant.

This same order limits the number of United Packinghouse Workers' pickets to four at each entrance. The AFL-CIO union has been on strike at six Wilson plants throughout the country since Nov. 1.

Meanwhile, on the advice of their local and national leaders, the Packinghouse strikers at Albert Lea have refrained from further attempts to stop the scabs. Wilson is currently employing more than 600 strikebreakers at the Albert Lea plant and plans to fill the whole plant with scabs.

This is the union-smashing pattern adopted several years ago by the Kohler Co. against the United Auto Workers.

Contract negotiations were re-

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Syracuse University Officials Offer a Lesson in 'Gradualism'

Two ugly incidents occurred at the New Year's Day Cotton Bowl football game between Texas University and Syracuse. One of Syracuse's three Negro players was spat on and a fight started when a Texas player hurled a racial epithet at another.

An even uglier incident occurred after the game. Involving "enlightened" Syracuse officials, it was reported by Arch Murray in the Jan. 5 New York Post.

Following the game, an awards dinner was held at the swank Century Room of the Adolphus Hotel in Dallas. When the room was opened to the public after dinner the three Syracuse Negro players were compelled to leave. Some of their teammates, the coach and some faculty members left with them. Others stayed.

If you think that's a pretty nasty business, its because you don't understand the nature of "progress." A Syracuse official who insisted on remaining nameless, pointed out that "the same agreement" had been made for the Cotton Bowl game three years previous. And — here's where the "progress" comes in — "Up to that time no Negro had ever been allowed in the room — one of the most exclusive places in the whole city of Dallas."

Another mark of "progress": "Nobody actually stood up and asked the Negro kids to leave. They weren't embarrassed in that manner . . ."

Then why did they leave? "It had just been agreed beforehand that when the room was thrown open to the public the Negro boys would leave." Isn't "gradualism" wonderful in what it can win?

Steelworkers' Rank and File Won the Battle

Socialists Fight Curb on Ballot In Minnesota

"A thorough study of the revised election laws indicates that only the two major political parties are eligible to have presidential electors on the ballot in Minnesota," Tom Kelly, state elections officer, told the United Press International Dec. 30.

This startling declaration was based on the recodification of the election laws by the 1959 legislature. The legislature dropped the provision whereby minority parties, by securing the signatures of 2,000 voters on a nominating petition, can get on the ballot.

In a statement the same day, Vincent R. Dunne, State Chairman of the Socialist Workers party, announced that the SWP will fight the new election code as a violation of democratic rights.

"Our party has been on the Minnesota ballot for many years; our presidential candidate, Farrell Dobbs, appeared on the ballot in 1956; and we intend to be on the ballot again in 1960," Dunne said.

Statement by Watts

In New York, Rowland Watts, Legal Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, stated Jan. 4 that "The American Civil Liberties Union has just been advised that the 1959 recodification of the Minnesota election law has been reported by the United Press International to eliminate all 'splinter' or minority parties from the 1960 Presidential elections and in effect to restrict a place upon the ballot to the major parties. The law now is reported to require a five per cent vote in the previous election without any provision for nominating petitions.

"If this report is correct, the ACLU considers this a clear violation of the democratic right to participate in the selection of federal elective officials, and will, if a proper case is presented, support a legal challenge."

Victory Helps Every Union Against Antilabor Crusade

By Tom Kerry

The unbreakable solidarity of the steel workers in the face of the combined employer-government assault on their union, has thwarted the big-business drive to gut the organized labor movement.

The steel corporations had elected to act as a spearhead for the employing class in a campaign to restore open-shop conditions in American industry. The crusade was carried forward under the slogan of "management's right to manage." That is, to establish for management the exclusive right of fixing work rules and determining conditions of employment in the plants.

This emerged as the central issue in the steel industry dispute. If the steel corporations had succeeded in imposing their terms on the steel workers it would have set a precedent for all of American industry. In a real sense the contestants represented the class interests of the two primary forces in American society — capital and labor. The triumph of the steel workers marks a victory for the entire labor movement.

True, the victory gained is of a limited character. An assault has been warded off, an important battle has been won; but the big-business-inspired class war against labor continues. The unions are on the defensive. The initiative remains with the employers and their agents in government.

The employing class retains its monopoly of political power and intends to use that power to tip the scales in the war against labor. The capitalist class rules through a combination of force and deception. The situation today is somewhat comparable to that of the period following World War II. In 1946 the corporations launched a full-scale attack on the unions which failed to accomplish its purpose. The scene then shifted to Washington where their political agents in 1947 succeeded in enacting the infamous Taft-Hartley law.

In the current battle, the steel corporations counted heavily on Taft-Hartley, Landrum-Griffin and the threat of additional antilabor legislation to soften up the steel workers. They misjudged the mood and temper of the workers. All of their carefully laid union-wrecking plans and finely spun calculations foundered on the rock of union solidarity.

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

The effort to portray Vice-President Nixon as a hero of the steel settlement and — don't laugh — a "friend of labor" is a palpable fraud. Credit for the settlement of the steel industry conflict on terms acceptable to the union should go where it belongs — to the rank-and-file steel

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Anti-Semitic Acts Plague World

Report Incidents In 17 Countries

By Harry Ring

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

Swastikas were smeared on synagogues in London, New York, Mexico City, Glasgow, Vienna, Milan, Rome, Oslo and Melbourne. Reports of similar incidents have come from Greece, Canada, Holland, Ireland, Northern Ireland, France, Sweden and Denmark.

In Germany, the anti-Jewish acts are reported to be the worst since the end of World War II. The arrest of two youths who defaced a synagogue and a memorial to the victims of Nazism in Cologne has not halted the spread of the plague. Cities in Bavaria, Lower Saxony, the Rhineland, Westphalia and Hesse caught the infection.

In England, the outbreaks are described as the worst since 1947, when the Jews in Palestine fought for emancipation from British rule. In London's Notting Hill district, scene of last year's anti-Negro riots, the walls of a synagogue were plastered with swastikas and with the inscription, "Juden Raus" ("Jews Get Out.") The building housing the Jewish Chronicle was defaced and its windows were stoned. The entrance to the European headquarters of the World Jewish Congress was also stoned. In Leeds, a half dozen store windows were smeared with swastikas. Similar incidents were reported in other British cities.

Worst Since 1930's

In New York, swastikas appeared on synagogues in Manhattan, Brooklyn and Queens neighborhoods. Anti-Jewish vandalism in the city was the most extensive since the days of Father Coughlin's fascist movement in the 1930's.

Swastikas appeared on the doors of a public school in Elmhurst, Queens. In East Elmhurst, windows of a synagogue were smashed. Windows were also broken in a Brooklyn synagogue and a nearby Hebrew school. A fire was started at another Hebrew school. In Jamaica, Queens, the racist outbreak was directed against a Negro church. Thirty windows were broken one week and 28 the next week.

In Newark, N.J., a merchant found the words "cheap Jew" painted on his shop window. In Cincinnati, the words "death to Jews" and "Hitler defeated but not dead" were scrawled on the desks of an elementary school attended by many Jewish children. In Marshaltown, Iowa, the only synagogue in the central part of the state was defaced with swastikas.

During Christmas week, the American Nazi party flooded the mails of the nation's capital with anti-Semitic literature. George Lincoln Rockwell, a commander in the U.S. Naval Reserve, heads the Nazi outfit. He has been associated with the Southern racists who bombed an Atlanta, Ga., synagogue. He was never indicted, even though his letters to the bomb plotters were made public.

When newsmen queried the Navy Department as to how Rockwell kept his Naval Reserve post, they were told his Nazi party was not on the Attorney General's "subversive" list. Besides, a spokesman added, the Navy believes in "free speech" on "political matters."

The Navy's respect for free speech seems to extend only to fascistic and racist groups, however. It has hounded hundreds of persons suspected of left-wing affiliations.

In West Germany, the Adenauer government sought to convince the world that it was taking measures to cope with the anti-Semitic wave. The government initiated proceedings to outlaw the German Reichs party to which the two men accused of the Cologne outrage belonged.

Actually, the Adenauer regime has consistently accommodated itself to the former Nazis and has restored them to public

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The TV Music Was Integrated But the Cameras Were Rigged

Did you know that TV cameras are rigged along the lines of race prejudice?

The fact was made public by Norman Granz, manager of Ella Fitzgerald, the famed Negro jazz singer, in an article in the Dec. 30 issue of the show-business magazine Variety. Granz reports a scandalous case involving the recent "Tribute to Gershwin" on the "Bell Telephone Hour."

The producers had invited Miss Fitzgerald to participate in the show and it was agreed that she would appear with the Teddy Wilson trio, a Negro group.

Granz then informed a representative of the show that Miss Fitzgerald would insist on her regular guitar accompanist, who happens to be white.

Barry Wood, producer of the show, thereupon called up, according to Granz, and said, "If you insist on using the guitarist, okay, but it would have to be a Negro guitarist instead of the white one."

"I asked Wood why that was necessary," Granz reports, "and he said that the sponsor, the Bell Telephone Company, never allows a mixed group to appear on its show."

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

But when the show went on the air, NBC camera men saw to it that the Bell segregation rule was enforced. The audience saw only Miss Fitzgerald and Teddy Wilson at the piano. The rest of the integrated group was heard but not seen.

A Minister Shot Away Part of Parker's Head

By John Thayer

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

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

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

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

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

"I'm Proud of That"

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

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

Although in the first days of the grand jury hearing, the prosecution had not named the individuals it wanted indicted, defense attorneys for them were present in court. This fantastic legal situation was brought about by the fact that everyone in Poplarville, where the lynching took place last April, knows who the lynchers are. And the lynchers, dispensing with the pretense of innocence, retained attorneys and sent them to court beforehand.

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

Names Listed

Thus correspondent Claude Sitton, writing from Mississippi, was able to tell how on the night of April 24 thirty-five or more white men gathered at a farmhouse six miles outside Poplarville and decided to lynch Parker. Two men were dispatched to invite the husband of the white woman in the case to join the mob. He refused. (The woman herself, it should be noted, was very dubious in her identification of Parker as the rapist; two of the three other witnesses, friends and relatives of Parker, have since escaped from Mississippi and told how they were coerced into accusing Parker by threats of beating and frame-up by the sheriff.)

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

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

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

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

"They Challenge Segregation at Its Core!"

(For the information of our readers, we are publishing the text of a brochure on the struggle against Jim Crow in Birmingham, Alabama, "They Challenge Segregation at Its Core!" It was prepared by the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights in co-operation with the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.—Editor.)

In a Birmingham Railway Terminal

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

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

Here in the hills of North Alabama lie some of the richest natural resources in the world—coal, iron ore and limestone, all the essentials for making steel. But Birmingham's economy has been tightly controlled by distant out-of-state corporations; the result has been great extremes of wealth and poverty, and the deep insecurity of the majority of its people has provided a fertile ground for the ugly growth of race prejudice.

Thus today, Birmingham is the most rigidly segregated city of its size in the Western Hemisphere. About 40% of the city's population of 364,000 is Negro. These people have been denied the basic rights due every human being. As a result, Birmingham today is not a "Magic City" but for all its citizens, white and Negro, something close to a "police state."

Not only are the schools, the parks, the buses segregated in the traditional Southern pattern. In Birmingham also, it is unlawful for Negroes and white people to play checkers together, to play baseball together, to eat in the same places or attend the same educational or entertainment events unless they are completely separated. Housing has become more rigidly segregated; the better jobs, in public agencies as well as private industry, are denied to Negroes.

All these regulations and prohibitions are rigidly enforced by an inflexible police department and by terror. People have been arrested for simply meeting in a private home to discuss these injustices. The Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Council enforce their own laws, unhampered by police. White people who are repulsed by these practices have been forced into silence by economic pressure and by terror.

A World-Wide Fight

But the world-wide movement for human equality could not forever pass Birmingham by. The winds of freedom that are sweeping the earth are blowing in the American South—and Negroes in Birmingham have felt their promise and have risen to the challenge of history.

In May, 1956, Alabama politicians — desperate in their effort to hold back the future — outlawed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Almost immediately, a committee of Negro ministers came together and called a mass meeting of the city's Negroes. At this meeting the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights (ACMHR) was organized. Said the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, president of the new movement:

"They could outlaw an organization, but they couldn't outlaw the movement of a people determined to be free."

In its original statement of principles, the ACMHR stated:

"As free and independent citizens of the United States of America, and of the State of Alabama, we express publicly our determination to press forward persistently for freedom and democracy, and the removal from our society of any forms of second-class citizenship . . . We Negroes shall never become enemies of the white people. But America was born in the struggle for Freedom from Tyranny and Oppression. We shall never bomb any homes or lynch any persons; but we must, because of history and the future, march to complete freedom with unbowed heads, praying hearts, and an unyielding determination."

Action Begins

The organization's first effort was directed toward getting the city of Birmingham to hire Negroes on its police force. When petitions and delegations to officials failed, a suit was filed in October, 1956, against the Personnel Board demanding the right of Negroes to take examinations for all civil service jobs—police, clerical, etc. The Personnel Board later removed the "white only" designation from all jobs, and Negroes were allowed to take examinations. None, however, have ever been hired, and new court action is now being prepared.

Also in 1956, a couple from Milwaukee were arrested by Birmingham police because they sat in the waiting room reserved for whites in the city railroad station. The ACMHR went to their defense and filed suit in federal court.

Then in December, 1956, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that segregation on buses in Montgomery, Alabama, was illegal. This was the climax to the historic year-long Montgomery bus protest.

Immediately, the ACMHR asked city officials in Birmingham to comply with the law of the land and rescind bus segregation in this city. They refused. So the ACMHR leaders announced that on December 26 some of its representatives would ride the buses unsegregated anyway — in order to test the segregation law.

The Terrorists Reply

On the night before they were to ride — on Christmas Night, 1956 — a bomb wrecked the home and damaged the church of the ACMHR president, Mr. Shuttlesworth. He was in bed just over the spot where the bomb went off. Members of the ACMHR say he was saved to "lead the movement."

Undaunted, Mr. Shuttlesworth on the next day led a large group of Negroes in mass violation of the bus law. Twenty-two were arrested, convicted in City Court, and fined $50. They then filed suit in federal court, in January, 1957.

In June of that year, an ambiguous court ruling in the railroad station segregation suit led Mr. Shuttlesworth to decide it was time to test segregation there again. He announced to the press that he and Mrs. Shuttlesworth, who is his co-worker in the movement, would be in the waiting room on a certain day, preparatory to taking a train trip. When they got there, a mob was waiting and they narrowly escaped injury. A white minister, the Rev. Lamar Weaver, who offered them support, was attacked by the mob and later was driven out of town.

The following September, Mr. and Mrs. Shuttlesworth and another adult, the Rev. J. S. Phifer, took four Negro young people, including two daughters of the Shuttlesworths, to the Phillips High School (white) in Birmingham in an effort to enroll them.

They were met by a mob. Mr. Shuttlesworth was beaten with chains and hospitalized. Mrs. Shuttlesworth was stabbed in the hip. One of the children suffered an injured foot.

As soon as Mr. Shuttlesworth recovered, a suit was filed against the Board of Education, asking admission of Negro pupils to the schools nearest their homes.

In June, 1958, another attempt was made to bomb Mr. Shuttlesworth's church. A courageous ACMHR member saw the bomb in time, picked it up and threw it into the street, but the repercussions damaged one side of the church. The damage from this and the earlier bombing (Dec. 25, 1956) has not yet been completely restored.

In October, 1958, while the ACMHR's suit over bus segregation was still pending, the city repealed its bus segregation law. In its place they adopted a new law which does not mention race but gives bus drivers police powers to seat passengers — and makes it a "breach of the peace" for a passenger to disobey the seat assignment ordered by the driver.

The federal court then dismissed the ACMHR's suit challenging the original law, on the theory that the question was moot. This dismissal was appealed by the ACMHR.

Meantime, in October, 1958, thirteen Negroes rode the buses unsegregated again to test the new law. They were arrested and charged with conspiracy, breach of the peace, and disorderly conduct. Mr. Shuttlesworth, who did not ride, was also arrested and charged with inciting the others to ride. They were all convicted, remanded to jail, and held five days incommunicado.

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

The convictions were appealed and those arrested were released on bond. Then, a new injunctive action was filed against the city and the bus company.

Meanwhile, Birmingham Negroes voluntarily began a campaign of staying off the buses in protest. Although the newspapers blacked out all news of it, everyone knew that the bus company's business was seriously decreased for a time.

Threats of Death

Today the struggle of the ACMHR has been going on for more than three years. In that period, not a day passed that Mr. and Mrs. Shuttlesworth and other leaders of the movement and many rank-and-file members have not received threats of death over the telephone and through the mail. Phones ring all night; strange cars circle the blocks where leaders of the movement live.

Each night since the first bombing in December, 1956, volunteer guards have sat all night watching the Shutlesworth home and church.

Repeatedly members of the ACMHR have petitioned the city for police protection. None of their letters or petitions has ever received an answer.

Instead the police have joined in the harassment. Guards at the Shuttlesworth home have been searched and arrested. The city's famous police commissioner, Eugene "Bull" Connor, issued a decree that no Negro minister should urge his people to stay off the buses. Mr. Shuttlesworth's response was typical:

"Only God can tell me what to say in my pulpit. And I'm going to tell my people to stay off those buses if I have to go to Kilby Prison."

And he has. So have others. There has already been one arrest. The Rev. Calvin Wood was arrested and charged with advocating a boycott because he preached against bus segregation. He was convicted, fined $1,000 and sentenced to six months. His case is on appeal.

Another man was arrested for distributing literature in alleged violation of Alabama's antiboycott law. Each week, city detectives attend the ACMHR mass meeting. One man, the Rev. Charles Billups, was arrested on a charge of interfering with the entrance of a detective at a meeting; it was said he "touched the officer's' coat." Later this same minister was tied to a tree and beaten by the Ku Klux Klan.

Meantime, other ACMHR members have been threatened with loss of jobs and some have actually been fired. The threats of violence continue.

Struggle Continues

But nothing apparently can stop these people. Today, the ACMHR is sponsoring or preparing legal action on five fronts: against discrimination in public employment, against segregation in facilities for interstate travel (the train station case), against bus segregation, against school segregation (the first suit was lost, but a new one will be filed), and against general intimidation, as in the case of the Rev. Calvin Wood.

Each Monday night since 1956, the ACMHR has held a mass meeting in one of the city's churches. There the people come, in the face of threats, economic pressure and intimidation, and pledge anew each week their loyalty to the struggle. In times of intensity, they sometimes meet several times a week or every night.

Mr. Shuttlesworth described the movement in a recent statement as part of the "world-wide revolution which is a divine struggle for the exaltation of the human race." He added:

"We here in Birmingham, Alabama, are part of this universal fight between Right and Wrong . . . To this cause we are dedicated without reservation and there can be no turning back. Destiny seems to have chosen the American Negro — particularly the Southern Negro — to be the front-line soldiers here in our country . . . What a glorious opportunity to sacrifice . . . What a great privilege to work for the fuller purposes of life! . . ."

Negroes in Forefront

In Birmingham, Negroes are today carrying on their struggle for equality virtually alone. Repeatedly, they have asked officials to sit down and discuss their grievances in a give-and-take manner. This was done on every issue before court action was taken as a last resort. The answer has always been silence. No white people in Birmingham today are raising their voices in support of the Negroes' efforts for equality.

This does not mean that all Birmingham white people are defenders of segregation. Negroes who rode the buses unsegregated report that white people generally treated them with courtesy and no hostility. Many white people say privately that they believe the cause of the ACMHR is just, and many more believe officials should at least be willing to consider its demands. There was a time, in the early days of the CIO, when Negro and white workers in Birmingham worked together to organize unions. In more recent years, there have been interracial committees and meetings to discuss community problems.

But today white supremacist forces have taken over most of the Birmingham labor movement. Interracial groups have ceased to meet because of intimidation and economic pressure. Segregationist forces in Birmingham have created an atmosphere in which the white people who hold liberal ideas are terrorized. The White Citizens Council has stated that it will drive out of Alabama any white person who breaks the line of segregation. They have proved that they can do it.

They would like also to drive out Negroes who believe in integration. But the simple fact is that they cannot drive out thousands of Negroes. Birmingham Negroes have demonstarted that they are behind this movement for freedom; their solidarity is their strength. The white people who would support them do not have numbers on their side. So for the present the burden falls on the Negroes to carry on. They carry the battle for a better world for everyone.

Wherever you live, if you believe in human dignity and brotherhood, Birmingham Negroes are fighting your battle. Birmingham is the strongest bastion of segregation in America. When equality and right win there, the key line of segregationist defense will be breached. From then on, victory for human rights will be easier everywhere. Birmingham in a sense is the test for America's future. As Birmingham goes, so will go your future and the future of your children and your grandchildren.

Help Is Needed

But Birmingham Negroes cannot continue to fight alone. They need the help, moral and financial, of every believer in democracy in America. Court costs have been staggering. Since June, 1956, a total of $50,000 has been raised and spent by the ACMHR, most of it on court litigation. Most of this has been contributed by the Negroes of Birmingham, many of whom make scarcely enough to live on.

If you live where such great sacrifices are not required, you can help with your dollars. You can help also with your pen, by writing to federal officials and also to Birmingham officials, asking an end to injustice in Birmingham.

Today, before you forget it, do the following:

(1) Write Birmingham Mayor James Morgan and ask him to set up an interracial committee to work seriously toward an orderly integration process in Birmingham.

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

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

(4) Write the Birmingham newspapers (the Birmingham News, the Birmingham Post-Herald, the Birmingham World) and let Birmingham know the ACMHR has your support.

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

William F. Warde Analyzes Dewey's Views on Education

By Flora Carpenter

In observance of the one-hundredth anniversary of the birth of John Dewey, the International Socialist Review published in its winter issue the first of two articles considering the famous philosopher's theories of education from the Marxist point of view.

William F. Warde, who studied under Dewey, presents a succinct account of the theories that have had such weight among educators the world over for several generations. He indicates the historical setting that brought forth Dewey's theories and relates them to the social background.

"Dewey's theories," Warde writes, "blended attention to the child as an individual with rights and claims of his own with a recognition of the gulf between an outdated and class-distorted education setup inherited from the past and the urgent requirements of the, new era.

"The educational system had to be thoroughly overhauled, he said, because of the deep-going changes in American civilization. Under colonial, agrarian, small-town life, the child took part in household, community and productive activities which spontaneously fostered capacities for self-direction, discipline, leadership and independent judgment. Such worthwhile qualities were discouraged and stunted by the new industrialized, urbanized, atomized conditions which had disintegrated the family and weakened the influence of religion."

Warde stresses the progressive character of Dewey's contributions. In the second article, to appear in the spring issue of the International Socialist Review, he will consider what happened to Dewey's theories in practice.

Another centennial observed by the magazine is John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry. Arthur Jordan describes Brown as an intelligent, well-read man, who came to believe, only after long experience as an ameliorationist, that slaveholders "would never be induced to give up their slaves until they felt a big stick about their ears."

How and why Brown determined to use the weapon of revolutionary terror in the struggle against slavery is a story that has been buried under racist epithets of "madman" and "fanatic." Jordan tells the true story and tells it well.

A critical appreciation of Isaac Deutscher's "The Prophet Unarmed," is offered by Joseph Hansen, editor of the Militant.

Hansen recommends the second volume of Deutscher's biography of Leon Trotsky as "the first anywhere near adequate history" of the most "decisive years in the political history of the Soviet Union"—the struggle begun by Lenin and continued by Trotsky against the rising reaction headed by Stalin.

While stressing the importance of Deutscher's contribution, Hansen takes issue with what he considers to be an overemphasis on Trotsky's "prophetic" insight and underemphasis on Trotsky's scientific approach to revolutionary-socialist politics.

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

Tim Wohlforth continues his lively column on topics in the radical press. Shane Mage publishes two letters on "Democracy and Planned Economy in Yugoslavia."

A feature of the issue, "American Radicalism: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow," by James P. Cannon, was reviewed in the last issue of the Militant.

BOOKS

Pacifist Novel Reprinted

JOHNNY GOT HIS GUN, by Dalton Trumbo. Lyle Stuart, New York, N.Y. 1939. Reissued 1959. 309 pp. $3.95.

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

Upon publishing this new edition, Trumbo thought of touching it up but decided against it. In the preface he writes: "Is it possible for anything to resist change, even a mere commodity that can be bought, buried, banned, damned, praised, or ignored for all the wrong reasons? Probably not. **Johnny** held a different meaning for three different wars. Its present meaning is what each reader conceives it to be. . ."

Trumbo is referring to the book's ups and downs. Ironically this gruesome tale of World War I's "living dead" was first published on Sept. 3, 1939, just two days after World War II began. During the war, after it was out of print, wealthy pro-Nazi Americans pushed its sale, second-hand copies going for as high as $6, according to Trumbo. The author called on the FBI to investigate this. However, the FBI seemed less interested in the "pro-Nazis" than in Trumbo, who says, "It serves me right."

In 1953, Trumbo became one of the famed "Hollywood Ten," who were accused of being Communists. He invoked the Fifth Amendment before the House Un-American Committee; spent a year in jail for contempt of Congress; and was blacklisted in the movie industry. However, he continued as an underground writer in Hollywood and, under the pseudonym of "Robert Rich," won the 1956 Academy Award for "The Brave One."

The blacklist proved unworkable because Hollywood needs writers as skilled as Trumbo, as anyone may judge for himself if he reads this powerful book.

— L. K.

Juicy One

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THE MILITANT

Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN Managing Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly by the Militant Publishing Assn., 116 University Pl., N.Y. 3, N.Y. Phone: CH 3-2140.
Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's policies. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. XXIV — No. 2 Monday, January 11, 1960

Let the Opposition Speak!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Whether this is a fair presentation of the opposition position cannot be determined as long as the critical voices are gagged. Whether they are right or wrong, we think the critics should be allowed to present their point of view to the party and to the Chinese working people. We also believe that socialists throughout the world should be invited to study the opposing viewpoints in the controversy and asked — in the tradition of Lenin — to contribute their opinions.

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

The Profits-Price Spiral

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

Blough's intimation that his stockholders would greatly appreciate a richer serving of gravy was not exactly news. On Dec. 23 Charles M. White, chairman of Republic Steel, gave the tip-off at a news conference. When the reporters asked this lieutenant of the steel kings if they would freeze prices provided the union failed to win a wage adjustment, White said: "I won't say that we are not going to raise prices."

Blough sought to convince his television audience that any future price boost would only absorb increased costs due to wage boosts. But the stock-market speculators, an alert crowd, had already indicated earlier in the day how they sized up this way of "absorbing" costs. As Burton Crane of the New York Times put it, "Stocks opened the New Year yesterday with a whoop of wild celebration at the settlement of the steel strike." U.S. Steel shot up 2¾ points. A peculiar way of mourning "the inflationary wage-price spiral that has been sweeping this country for the past 20 years."

What are the facts? Since 1946 eleven wage increases have been conceded by the steel bosses. During the same years they marked up the price tag on steel 21 times. Statistics compiled by the Senate Anti-trust and Monopoly subcommittee demonstrate that for every dollar in wage increases, three dollars have been added to the price of steel. The truth is that the steel monopolists determine their prices by what they think the traffic will bear.

In 1952 the steel kings enjoyed a net profit of $6.80 on every ton of steel produced by the workers. In the next five years productivity lowered the relative cost of steelmaking while prices were jacked up. By 1957 the net take on a ton of steel was $17.91.

Does the giant corporation headed by Blough have to raise prices to cover the latest pay rise? Consider this one fact: In the second quarter of 1959, U.S. Steel made an hourly gross profit of $2.50 on each of its workers. After taxes, the company could have paid out an additional $1.20 an hour in wages and still kept the stockholders in mink coats and Rolls Royces.

It's a Political Struggle

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

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

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

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

The Democratic party constitutes a political blind alley for the workers and Negroes in the rest of the country but for the Negro people of the South it is a cruel vise. The Republican party is no real alternative in the North, and even if it existed in the South, it would be no alternative there. A conscious break by workers and Negroes from the Democratic Party — North and South — towards independent political action, no matter how small its beginnings, will be the first realistic step towards breaking the stranglehold of racism on Congress and on state and local government in the South.

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

Khrushchev Blames Underlings For Sag in Grain Production

By Daniel Roberts

How to increase agricultural production remains one of the most crucial problems confronting the Soviet government. This was reflected at the Soviet Communist party's Central Committee meeting Dec. 22-25 which dealt exclusively with farm problems.

One of the main considerations before the session was a serious decline of grain delivered to the state this year. According to Paul Wohl in the Dec. 29 Christian Science Monitor, total state grain procurements were 54.1 million tons in 1956, 35.4 million in 1957, 56.8 million in 1958 and 47 million this year.

In his report to the Central Committee, Khrushchev blamed this year's decline on the party leaders in Kazakhstan — the Soviet Union's second largest republic where in 1956 millions of acres were plowed up for the first time under Khrushchev's policy of cultivating virgin lands. Hundreds of thousands of settlers moved into the area to work on huge state farms fully equipped with machinery. Last year, Kazakhstan boasted that it had supplied one-third of all the grain received by the state. But grain deliveries from the area fell by 26% this year.

According to Khrushchev, bad handling of machinery was the reason for the poor Kazakhstan performance. More than 18,000 tractors — half of the total — were not repaired on time for spring sowing, and other machines broke down quickly. Nearly 4 million acres had not been harvested by Nov. 1 and tons of grain were lost under the snow. The Kazakhstan party leader Belyayev, sent specially to the area by Khrushchev, was accused of telling Moscow everything was going well, whereas "as a matter of fact things are bad, very bad."

Besides reduced harvests in Kazakhstan, grain procurements from the Ukraine were 18% smaller than last year. Khrushchev, however, blamed weather conditions for the drop in the Ukraine harvest. All in all, according to Wohl's estimate, this year's grain production was less than 120 million tons. The Soviet Union aims at achieving a total grain crop of between 164 and 170 million in 1965, the last year of the seven-year plan.

Rise in Meat

Though the grain harvest dropped this year, state procurements of vegetables, potatoes and sugar beets were larger than last year. Meat production fared best of all, increasing during the first eleven months by 32% over last year. Milk procurements were up 15%, eggs 25% and wool 11%. These increases are all substantially higher than those called for by the plan. According to Wohl, the sharp increases seem to be due primarily to the sale to the collective farms of several million head of cattle that had been privately owned by collective farm members and employees. "There is no other explanation for the report . . . that the number of collective and state farm cattle increased in one year by 18 per cent."

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

Thus, according to an article by Donald S. Watson, a farm newspaper editor, writing in the Oct. 29 Christian Science Monitor, the Soviet Union has about 900,000 tractors as compared to almost 5 million in the United States. Edmund K. Faltermayer says in the Aug. 10 Wall Street Journal that 45 million farm workers — 43% of the total Soviet labor force — feed a population of 209 million, while in the U.S. 8.1 million farmers feed 175 million people. Furthermore, U.S. farmers grow about twice as much as Soviet farmers, despite U.S. crop-control programs designed to curtail agricultural production. Soviet per-acre yields of grain, according to Faltermayer, are one-third below the U.S. and two-thirds below Western Europe.

These figures testify to the continued predominance of hand labor in agriculture and to a comparatively low rate of chemical-fertilizer use. Furthermore, neglect of farm machinery, such as Khrushchev complained took place in Kazakhstan this year, is a chronic problem carried over from Stalin's time. In addition, transportation bottlenecks and shortages of pasteurizing and refrigerating processes cut down on state procurement of dairy products for use throughout the country.

Nevertheless, Soviet farming has made significant progress in all branches since Stalin died. In 1953, for instance, beef and dairy cattle in the Soviet Union did not number more than in the pre-revolution year of 1916 and totaled considerably less than in 1928, just prior to Stalin's forced collectivization drive. The 1916 figure was 58.4 million head of cattle; the 1928 figure was 66.8 million. In 1955, official Soviet figures listed 67.1 million head and in 1956, 70.4 million.

The gains are apparently due to two main factors. One is the opening up of 89 million acres of virgin land to grain crops in Soviet Asia and their operation through mechanized state farms. (The state farms now encompass 27% of all Soviet land in cultivation and absorb 10% of the farm labor force.)

But a far more important factor in raising farm productivity is the policy of giving greater material incentives to the collective farmers. Immediately, after Stalin's death, says Faltermayer, measures were taken to boost peasant income. Cash payment per "labor day" work units was raised from 1.4 rubles in 1952 to 3.8 rubles in 1956 and is now upward of 5 rubles on the collectives. Taxes on peasants' earnings from their private gardens also were reduced. Finally, last year, Khrushchev abolished the notorious tribute the state instituted under Stalin, which compelled the collectives to deliver part of their grain and other crops to the state at exceedingly low prices. These economic incentives encouraged the peasants to produce more and to deliver more products to the state.

Wide Differences

The average cash income of the Soviet peasants is now about $400 a year. However, the average cancels out not only important income differentials within each collective farm, but wide earning differentials between the poor and rich collective farms. The income of the latter have been of especially great concern to the government. CP leaders have blamed inflationary tendencies in the country on the increased demand for consumer goods resulting from higher individual earnings of farmers on the "rich" collectives. At the Central Committee meeting Dec. 22-25, the party leaders decided that in the future collective farms should allocate a bigger share of their earnings to reinvestment funds and a smaller share to individual income. But to offset this measure, the party leaders also promised to lower prices of consumer goods sold to collective farmers.

The Central Committee also decided to increase the work norms on the collective farms and to lower the price the state would pay for grain. However, the party leaders dropped a proposal to curtail the scope of the individual peasant economies. Though the plots owned privately by collective farmers are only about an acre or less in size, and though their combined acreage forms a very small proportion of the total Soviet area under cultivation, collective farmers get about a third of their total cash income from their individual holdings in addition to food for their own family consumption.

Furthermore, according to Faltermayer, half of the nations milk production and 40% of Russia's total meat supplies are provided by the peasants' individual livestock. A considerable share of the nation's fresh vegetables is supplied by the privately owned gardens.

The American Way of Life

The Boss Is a Real Screwball

In psychoanalysis they call it an ambivalent attitude — admiration mixed with contempt, perhaps deriving ultimately from an unresolved Oedipus complex. Around the lunch bucket you hear it in terms like these: "A screwball of the first water. But you've got to hand it to him; he sure knows how to make money."

Now it turns out that such talk about the boss is not evidence of emotional ills rampant among the American working class. The boss really is a smart madman. And so are all our rulers. That's the conclusion reached by a prominent sociologist after an objective study of the question.

Prof. Walter A. Lunden of Iowa State University told the American Association for the Advancement of Science at a Dec. 29 meeting that "Ruling groups contain a larger proportion of the extreme mental types of the gifted and the mentally sick than the rank and file of the ruled population."

If you happen to be working in a plant where conditions are especially bad, here's something to think over: The greater the power of the rulers, political leaders or big executives, the more corrupt and criminal they tend to be.

On the other hand, if their power becomes limited, "criminality of rulers and executives tends to decrease qualitatively and quantitatively. When the power of the ruling bodies is greatly limited, their criminality may become equal to or fall below that of the ruled populations."

In other words, if you can get the state to wither away, as Marx and Engels forecast would happen in the socialist society of the future, you get rid at the same time of a lot of criminality.

Prof. Lunden, of course, does not think that every boss or ruler is a crook. He leaves room for exceptional types. "Not all leaders tend to show higher rates of criminality, but a great majority of them do."

"Present day society," in the opinion of the Iowa professor, "tends to promote and to advance to high positions certain types of men."

These can be listed as follows:

- **"The inadequate psychopath, placid and emotionally blunt person, often taken for a profound man.**
- **"The aggressive obsessive-compulsive boss, conceited, ambitious, domineering and intolerant.**
- **"The ethically aberrant personality endowed with acute intelligence, but morally wily and cynical."**

Doesn't that sound like bosses you have known?

Prof. Lunden said that these conclusions are borne out by evidence concerning ruling groups in Europe, Asia, North and South America.

A more blunt person might have said that capitalist society should be held responsible for the tendency to bring the cynics, dictators and psychopaths into dominant position, but the cautious sociologist only said that we are passing through the end of a 600-year period of culture in which advanced technology has produced power, violence and crime in high places.

Lunden is no pessimist. He holds out hope for a change. "Very gradually the West is calling and hoping for new types of leaders and rulers who combine a high moral sense with sound scientific knowledge."

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

— Paul Abbott

He'll Be Right

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

More than 250 companies will go out of business because of frauds. Kickbacks will total more than $5 billion. And employees will steal more than $4 million a day, or a billion dollars a year.

Most of the thefts will be committed by supervisors and executives.

In Other Lands

Khrushchev Plans Visit to Asia

Indonesia, India On His Itinerary

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

In Indonesia, Khrushchev is "described by official circles as being concerned that Communist China's recent actions against Indonesia and India have damaged the prestige of the Communist bloc in neutralist Asia. He is said to be determined to 'mend the damage,'" reports Bernard Kalb in the Jan. 2 New York Times. Khrushchev has in the past indicated his neutrality in both the frontier conflict between China and India and the dispute between China and Indonesia over the status of Chinese nationals in Indonesia.

According to the Jan. 2 Christian Science Monitor, the China-Indonesia dispute has "completely spoiled" the plans of China's foreign minister, Marshal Chen, for a good will trip to Djakarta at the end of 1959.

Meanwhile further differences between Moscow and Peking were evidenced by the way each handled the eightieth anniversary of Stalin's birth on Dec. 21. Pravda, leading Soviet Communist party organ, virtually repeated in outline Khrushchev's speech at the party's Twentieth Congress in February 1956, denouncing Stalin's crimes. Pravda included the fact that Lenin in his last "testament" had called for Stalin's removal as General Secretary of the Communist party.

On the other hand, the Peking People's Daily, leading Chinese CP publication, dealt lightly with what it called Stalin's "mistakes" and praised him as Lenin's "continuator." The Chinese singled out for particular praise Stalin's last major writings on economics published in 1952.

The Chinese placed their main emphasis on the struggle against imperialism. The People's Daily said that Stalin "was an implacable enemy of imperialism" who had "stressed the need to maintain a high degree of vigilance against imperialism and the need to expose imperialist intrigues before the masses."

Though Pravda praised Stalin for having fought Czarism and capitalism, it did not refer to any role he played in the struggle against imperialism.

Thus Moscow's and Peking's articles on Stalin reflected what each have been saying about the international "thaw" during the previous months. The Chinese CP leaders have repeatedly warned that the diplomatic "thaw" did not mark a genuine change in American foreign policy, that American imperialism sought to mask its war preparations through peace demagogy, and that it was necessary to expose this demagogy. The Soviet CP leaders have credited top American government officials with genuinely seeking peace.

U.S. Syndicate To Equip Soviet Textile Factory

The Soviet Union signed a contract Dec. 28 with a syndicate of more than 40 U.S. companies to construct and provide machinery for a 50,000-spindle textile plant in Kalinin, between Moscow and Leningrad. The syndicate is Intertex International, Inc. of New York.

The total deal comes to $30 million, including $20 million for machinery and $10 million for construction costs. The contract exceeds the total value of United States exports to the Soviet Union in 1958. It is also the first agreement of its kind between this country and the USSR since the years before the war.

The Soviet agreement with Intertex calls for cash payments, although the Soviet government originally sought credits and had been offered them by a British group that was in competition with the American group for the contract.

The Cameroons Becomes New African State

The Cameroons Republic was proclaimed as an independent African state on New Year's Day. It is situated on the West Coast of Africa about 800 miles to the east of Ghana. The Cameroons is slightly larger than California and has a population of 3.5 million, of which about 13,000 are white.

The new republic was a German colony before World War I. It became a French colony under a League of Nations "mandate" after the war and continued as a French colony under United Nations "trusteeship" after 1946. In 1958 the UN decided on independence for the area.

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

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

Trotsky Prominent Among Rare Books Kept by Kremlin

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

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

"The Rare Books section is really that portion of the library closed to the public. Here I never saw more than a dozen people in a reading room that would seat a hundred. It is a fascinating place. There are the books and periodicals the ordinary Soviet citizen is not permitted to see. There, religiously preserved, are complete files of all Russian publications before, during and after the revolution. Full page headlines extoll Trotsky for his organization of the Red Army, while in the official histories of the revolution, Trotsky is never mentioned. There also are all of Berdyaev's books published before his banishment in 1922, but not a single copy of the eighteen later published abroad."

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XXIV — MONDAY, JANUARY 11, 1960 — NUMBER 2

Clean Up that Poetry

By L. P. Wheeler

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Does Honesty Pay?

By L. Marcus

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

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

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

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

Attwood offers a timely quotation from a recent speech by former U.S. Ambassador Kennan: "If you ask me whether a country . . . with no highly developed sense of national purpose, with the overwhelming accent . . . on personal comfort . . . with a dearth of public services and a surfeit of privately sold gadgetry . . . with insufficient moral discipline even to keep its major industries functioning without grievous interruption — if you ask me whether such a country has, in the long run, good chances for competing with a purposeful, serious and disciplined society such as that of the Soviet Union, I must say that the answer is 'no'."

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

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

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

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

Notes in the News

NOW IT'S CELERY — The destruction of 24,800 stalks of contaminated celery was ordered in Philadelphia Dec. 29 by U.S. District Judge G. A. Welsh. Federal attorneys said the celery, which goes under the brand name, "Fresh Heart," was treated with an excess of the deadly pesticide parathion. The celery will be buried in a local dump. A company spokesman said none of it had reached the public, so far as he knew.

* * *

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

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

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BLUE CROSS PLANS NEW RATE HIKES — The Associated Hospital Service of New York is planning to boost its Blue Cross hospital insurance rates as much as 95% in the next four years, according to the Dec. 30 New York Times. Last September the State Insurance Department obligingly approved a 26.5% rate boost and one of 22.3% a year before that. A substantial percentage of Blue Cross income goes for handsome salaries for its executives and to generously reimbursed advertising agencies. Union spokesmen have charged that Blue Cross heads are far more concerned with the financial needs of the hospitals than the needs of patients. Plans are under study for building union-operated hospitals to provide reasonable insurance rates.

* * *

THE PRICE OF POVERTY — Despite the advance of medical knowledge, disease and death is on the increase in New York, the world's richest city. The City Department of Health reported Jan. 4 that in 1959 the infant mortality rate increased for the fourth year in a row, with the heaviest toll suffered by the Negro and Puerto Rican communities. There was an average of 26.5 infant deaths in the city for every thousand live births. The shocking gap between middle-income white areas and low-income Negro areas was indicated by the fact that in central Harlem the infant mortality rate was 45.3%. In Sunset Park, Brooklyn, a "good" area, it was 15.4%. The department reported that one-third of the city's school children did not receive the dental care they needed.

* * *

IMMUNE FROM LAW — The New York State Commission Against Discrimination on Dec. 29 refused to take up the case of Dr. J. C. Campbell who was barred from treating patients at a Roman Catholic hospital in Albany because he is a member of the advisory board of the Planned Parenthood Association. The commission chairman, Elmer Carter, said the law did not provide for action against non-profit religious organizations. The board of St. Peter's Hospital said it had barred Dr. Campbell because membership in the birth-control group is contrary to its principles.

...Rank and File Won the Battle

(Continued from Page 1)

workers.

The steel corporations maneuvered themselves into an untenable position. Their insistence that a vote be taken on their "last offer" was based upon the assumption that the steel workers could be induced to vote against the union. Preliminary polls had indicated the contrary. In its Dec. 21 issue, the magazine Steel, circulated among corporation executives, stated flatly that the workers would reject the last industry offer.

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

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

Nixon's Role

Nixon's contribution was to convince the corporations that it would be to their interest to settle before the vote was taken.

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

Nor could the corporations count on Congress to enact the kind of legislation they wanted in a presidential election year. New York Times correspondent James Reston reports that Nixon "reminded the company presidents that the Democratic party controlled the Congress and that there was scarcely a Democratic Senator in the upper chamber who was not running for President." In this situation, Reston continues, Nixon "suggested to the presidents that they could definitely not expect in an election year to get a new labor bill to their satisfaction."

What Nixon told the corporation presidents, in effect, was: Now is not the time for the administration and Congress to give the corporate moneybags the kind of support they need to deliver a smashing blow against the unions. Force must give way to deception. It was all right in 1959 and it will be open season again in 1961 — but in 1960 Nixon aspires to become president. And for that he needs to be painted up as a "friend of labor," an apostle of peace, a man of the people.

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

Pitched for Employers

The Eisenhower-Nixon administration played the employers' game from the beginning. The corporations opposed government intervention to head off a steel shutdown. They had amassed huge inventories in preparation for the strike and had received advance assurance of support from the employing class. Despite urgent pleas from the union heads for a fact-finding study of the dispute, the Eisenhower - Nixon administration refused to move.

After a prolonged strike of 116 days — in the course of which the Eisenhower - Nixon administration threw all its resources into jamming the Kennedy - Landrum - Griffin bill through Congress — steel stocks were depleted and steel users began clamoring for supplies. It was a crucial turning point in the strike.

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

But the steel workers had made it abundantly clear that they were in no mood to capitulate and were prepared to resume their strike after the expiration of the Taft-Hartley injunction. With the prospect of a more costly settlement following a resumption of the strike by an aroused rank and file, Nixon intervened — to get the steel corporations off the hook. If big business has a better "pal" in Washington one would be hard put to find him.

And what of the issue of "inflation" — the stick that the Eisenhower - Nixon administration handed the steel barons at the beginning of the dispute to beat the union into submission? According to the padded figures presented in a television broadcast by United States Steel Corporation chairman, Roger Blough, the cost in wage and fringe benefits will be little more than the average increase in labor productivity. There could therefore be no justification for a price increase. But the corporations demanded and got their pound of flesh.

The Jan. 5 Wall Street Journal reports that part of the agreement was that the steel producers would delay an increase in prices until after the 1960 election. "The major producers," says the WSJ, "have agreed to forego any general price increases for several months, possibly through 1960. This agreement was part of an unwritten understanding with Vice-President Nixon and Labor Secretary Mitchell." It is understood that the corporations will be amply rewarded for their patience.

...Worldwide Attack on Jews

(Continued from Page 1)

office, high and low. The West German public schools teach that although Hitler committed "excesses," he had also done good things for the country. The result has been the spread of Nazi-like youth groups with a membership estimated between 40,000 and 70,000.

Reporting from Bonn in the Jan. 3 New York Times, Sydney Gruson writes: "The Socialists have accused the Government of laxity in getting to the root of the problem and they have reopened the question of former Nazis sitting as judges and being employed as school teachers."

A key reason why Adenauer will not undertake denazification is that the occupying allied powers, particularly the United States military authorities, are firmly opposed to any move that will alienate the German industrialists. These German financiers, who put Hitler in power in 1933, are now cashing in as members of the "free world" alliance.

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

Spokesmen for Jewish organizations are trying to determine whether the present world-wide outbreak of anti-Semitism is simply a chain-reaction process or an internationally organized movement. The answer to this question is as yet uncertain.

But one fact can be clearly established. Anti-Semitism always erupts when the dominant political currents are those of conservatism or reaction.

In Western Europe, capitalist rule has been restabilized during the last decade, and in this country, big business has been promoting a war drive, racism, a witch-hunt and attacks on the labor movement for the last decade and a half. In fact, the Western world in the period following the second world war has evolved according to a pattern similar to the one following the first world war.

A series of revolutionary working-class upheavals followed World War I. But outside of Russia, all revolutionary attempts were defeated. In 1933, 15 years after the war, German fascism came to power. Fascist tendencies then gained strength in almost every other major country.

At the close of World War II, the European working class again sought to abolish capitalism and to reorganize society on socialist lines. But again, the working class revolutions were betrayed by Stalinist and Social Democratic leaderships and beaten back. The revolutionary energy was dissipated, and Western Europe underwent a steady shift toward capitalist reaction.

An incident symbolizes the process. Last week a huge swastika was scrawled in the square in Milan where revolutionary partisan fighters had hung Mussolini by his heels 15 years ago.

The primary responsibility for the present anti-Semitic flareup rests right here in the United States. Throughout its cold-war drive, the big-business government in Washington has worked hard to refurbish the forces of reaction around the globe. And reaction and anti - Semitism march hand in hand.

...Albert Lea

(Continued from Page 1)

ported near the breaking point on Dec. 31. Wilson still refuses to sign a contract unless the union surrenders on two basic principles. The company wants the UPWA to give up local working agreements and to drop its demand that all discharged strikers be reinstated.

The company's latest union-busting move is a petition filed by a company union for bargaining elections in three Wilson plants. Under the Taft-Hartley law, if the National Labor Relations Board orders an election, only the scabs will be allowed to vote.

Gov. Freeman has announced he will withdraw the National Guard from Albert Lea sometime next week. To replace the Guardsmen in preventing pickets from massing against the scabs as happened on Dec. 8, 9 and 10, Sheriff Stovern has sworn in about 50 or 60 city and county officials as deputies.

...About the New Cuba

(Continued from Page 1)

about the rights of a few million Cuban working people? You just won't be accepted by the capitalists as a labor statesman if you get out of line with their policy.

When Meany, with his sources of information, says charges of imperialist intervention in Cuba are "hot air," the kindest thing to be said about him is that he is politically ignorant and unfit to lead labor.

Items on the financial pages of the daily papers indicate credit pressures against the Cuban regime on the world financial market. Capitalist politicians in Washington talk openly about cutting U.S. import quotas on Cuban sugar. Economic attacks of this nature are accompanied by other harsh measures.

Cubans have called attention to FBI activities in their country, protesting against the presence of these imperialist political police. Anti-Castro plotters are allowed to use Florida as a staging area for counter-revolutionary forces. Meanwhile the press conducts a national campaign of lies and slander calculated to arouse popular support in this country for action against the Cuban revolution.

With ample cause for concern, Premier Castro has expressed the belief an invasion of Cuba will be attempted in 1960. If it should be tried, the answer of the Cuban masses seems to have been indicated in a recent demonstration of almost a million workers and peasants who protested against any intervention by the United States.

Working people in this country should be urged by their leaders to uphold the right of the Cuban people to manage their own affairs without imperialist interference. The principle involved is in line with the just demand of labor in the U.S. that the capitalist government keep its hands off the unions and stop interfering with the right to strike.

The question of United States policy toward Cuba should be made a central issue in the 1960 elections. Lies and slander circulated by the imperialists should be exposed and they should be told: **Hands off Cuba!**

Through its presidential campaign the Socialist Workers party will undertake this act of international working-class solidarity and the party will be ready to cooperate with all others who want to take similar action.

Fraternally,
Farrell Dobbs

Seek to Deport Puerto Rican Leader's Wife

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Jan. 7 — Jo Ann Santiago is the mother of three children born in America. Her husband is active in the Puerto Rican community here. She has lived in New York since she was six years old. But the government has decided that she must be separated from her family and sent to Canada.

Why Canada? It's a long story. Her parents lived in the United States, but just before she was born, they went to Canada temporarily to help a sick relative. Jo Ann was born there and her parents didn't return to the U.S. until she was six years old.

Some 30 years later, immigration authorities decided that a crime of some kind was involved. The six-year-old child was admitted on a 90-day visa. When the visa expired, she failed to leave her parents and return to the land of her birth.

In 1958 Mrs. Santiago tried to straighten out the technicality involved. An amendment that year to the McCarran Act provided that immigrants who came here before 1940 could adjust their status to secure permanent residence.

But there was a catch. Applicants had to sign an oath of political purity. Mrs. Santiago refused to answer the questions about her political beliefs and associations.

"I believe the government has no right to pry into such things," she told me in an interview today. "It's something I've always felt strongly about. I remember when I applied for a job when I was in my teens. The application required that you state your religion. I took one look at it and tore it up."

Defied Committee

Mrs. Santiago's husband Jose hit the front pages last November when he defied the House Un-American Activities Committee during its hearings here on "Communist penetration" of the Puerto Rican community. Previously he had become head of the Puerto Rican Liberation Movement. It was after this that the government moved against his wife.

On Jan. 12 Mrs. Santiago's lawyer is scheduled to appeal for a federal stay of deportation. If the move fails, she faces immediate expulsion.

"We don't know what will happen then," said Mrs. Santiago. "I don't even know if my family would be able to join me there."

Jo Ann Santiago is a slim, pleasant-looking woman. I got the impression that she is a real fighter. She told me how the family felt.

"It's been hard in every way. My husband has been blacklisted. At first my 16-year-old daughter was so upset that the school authorities advised she stay home for a month. Now she's joined in the fight. She goes to meetings with me and helps put out the mailings. My six-year-old boy helps distribute leaflets."

You can help by sending a contribution to the Santiago Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1422, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N.Y. And send a protest to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C.

Hiroshima Deaths

The Japanese hospital for Hiroshima atom-bomb victims reported 38 deaths in 1959 as against 30 the previous year.

1960 Election Is Panel Topic In Cleveland

CLEVELAND, Jan. 4 — Walt Davis, who won election as a trade-unionist to the school board last November, will moderate a panel discussion on "The Challenge of 1960," Sunday, Jan. 17, 8 p.m., at the Unitarian Society, 8143 Euclid Ave.

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

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

The meeting is sponsored by the Social Action Committee of the Unitarian Society. Free parking is available at the Sears parking lot on Euclid Ave.

Calendar Of Events

CLEVELAND

Interested in socialism? Join a weekly class in a study of Frederick Engels' classic work, **"Socialism from a Utopia to a Science."** Begins Thurs., Jan. 14, at 8 p.m., 10609 Superior Avenue, Third Floor.

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LOS ANGELES

School of International Socialism presents its winter lecture series.

Theodore Edwards on "THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1917":

"The Dynamics of the Russian Revolution and the Role of the Bolshevik Party." — Sunday, Jan. 17, 11 a.m.

"The October Revolution — Its Balance Sheet." Sunday, Jan. 24, 11 a.m.

Milton Alvin on "THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION TODAY":

"How the Stalin Regime Was Formed and Defeated Its Rivals — 1918 - 1928." Sunday, Jan. 31, 11 a.m.

"The Consolidation of the Stalin Regime — 1929 - 1945." Sunday, Feb. 7, 11 a.m.

"The Soviet Union as a World Power — Its Present Position and Future — 1946 - 1960." Sunday, Feb. 14, 11 a.m.

Forum Hall, 1702 East Fourth St., Los Angeles 33. Telephone, AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238.

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NEW YORK

THE ANTI-SEMITIC FLARE-UPS. Who is responsible? What can be done? Hear: **Harry Ring,** staff writer for the Militant. **Friday, Jan. 15, 8:30 p.m.,** 116 University Place (near Union Square). Contribution 50 cents. Auspices: Militant Labor Forum.

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SAN FRANCISCO

Hear FARRELL DOBBS on "Labor's Role in the 1960 Elections." **Friday, Jan. 15, 8 p.m.** Longshoremen's Memorial Bldg., 400 No. Point St. (near Fisherman's Wharf). Contribution 75 cents, students 50 cents.

Local Directory

BOSTON
Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200.

CHICAGO
Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736.

CLEVELAND
Socialist Workers Party 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Thursday nights 8 to 10.
The Militant, P.O. Box 1904, University Center Station, Cleveland 6, Ohio.

DETROIT
Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. TEmple 1-6135.

LOS ANGELES
Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-1953 or WE 5-9238.

MILWAUKEE
150 East Juneau Ave.

MINNEAPOLIS
Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon to 6 P.M. daily except Sundays.

NEWARK
Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N. J.

NEW YORK CITY
Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852.

OAKLAND - BERKELEY
P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif.

PHILADELPHIA
Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 P.M., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820.

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

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

ST. LOUIS
For information phone MO 4-7194.