

What Chinese Say About U.S. Aims

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THE MILITANT

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What Do You Remember?

What were the big events in the troubled 1950's that stuck in your mind? For comparison, here's what loomed big in the headlines of the Militant:

1950

The decade began with the world still shaking from the victory of the Chinese Revolution. In America, however, the big news was Truman's order giving top priority to mass production of H-bombs. Then the class struggle flared.

In his eighth use of the law since its passage, Truman invokes a Taft-Hartley injunction against striking coal miners. British Labor party wins a general election, but with a reduced majority attributed to watering down its socialist mandate. U.S. unemployment soars to 12% in one-fourth of the country's labor-market areas.

On June 27, without consulting Congress, Truman plunges America into the Korean civil war. "Hands Off Korean People's Right to Decide Own Fate," reads a Militant headline. Henry Wallace announces his support

of Truman's "police action" in Korea. On a national radio hook-up, the Socialist Workers party convention denounces intervention in Korea and scores the intensified witch-hunt at home.

Truman breaks railway strike. Senate passes police-state law proposed by reactionaries like McCarran and "Fair Dealers" like Kilgore, Lehman, Humphrey, Douglas, etc. The law requires registration of Communist and Communist-front organizations, sets up concentration camps for use if internal security emergency is proclaimed.

Headlines in Dec. 4 Militant read: "Stop the War Now! Withdraw All Troops! Recall Gen. MacArthur!" In Dec. 11 issue: "When Are We Getting Out of Korea? GIs Ask; Demand Grows Here to Bring Troops Home."

1951

Wages frozen. War profits mount. Cost of living soars. Truman uses the army to smash another railway walkout, the fifth such strike Truman has broken in less than five years. Organized labor withdraws representatives from Wage Stabilization Board.

Huge strikes reported in Barcelona as Spanish workers stir for first time since Franco's victory.

Televised Kefauver crime probe shows link between underworld and capitalist politicians. Truman finally fires Gen. MacArthur as American forces suffer defeat after provoking Chinese entry into Korean war. Iran nationalizes oil wells. Third "Trenton Six" trial ends; four freed, two still jailed in frame-up. Mob in Cicero, Ill., prevents Negro family from moving into apartment.

Twelve Communist party leaders arrested under Smith Act. Cease-fire talks begin in Korea. SWP announces presidential ticket for 1952 elections.

The Oct. 15 Militant hails formation of Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to defend all witch-hunt victims regardless of political beliefs. British Labor government loses election.

Florida's notorious Sheriff McCall shoots two handcuffed Negroes granted new trial by Supreme Court. One, Walter Lee Irvin, miraculously survives and tells story, but McCall goes unpunished. Explosion kills 119 coal miners at West Frankfort, Ill. Company had not complied with recommendations of mine-safety inspectors. Harry T. Moore, Florida NAACP head, and wife Harriet are killed by white-supremacist bombers.

1952

Egyptian masses in great demonstrations demand end of British occupation. Revolution in Bolivia; tin mines nationalized. SWP convention names Farrell Dobbs as presidential candidate on socialist anti-war ticket. Negro leaders denounce Democratic and Republican conventions for sellout on civil-rights planks.

McCarthy's victory in Wisconsin primaries brings the senator to national leadership of witch-hunt which now strikes at Democrats who started it. Nixon on television fails to explain slush fund but introduces wife and rented dog to nationwide audience. Progressive party is torn by dispute over whether to

support Vincent Hallinan, its own nominee, or Democratic candidate Stevenson as "lesser evil" to Eisenhower.

James Kutcher, legless veteran fired from civil-service job in 1948 for admitted SWP membership, wins victory in U.S. Court of Appeals over "loyalty" purge, but is immediately fired again and must begin all over in long legal battle.

Voters, disoriented with inflation, taxes, and involvement in Korean war under Democratic party, give election victory to Eisenhower. Clemency campaign for the Rosenbergs stirs the country. British imperialists frame-up Jomo Kenyatta as civil war spreads in Kenya.

1953

Government begins eviction proceedings against legless veteran James Kutcher and aged parents who live in federal housing project. Stalin sets stage for new blood purge with arrest of Jewish physicians. In "state of union" message, Eisenhower threatens to "unleash" Chiang Kai-shek. Stalin, betrayer of the Russian Revolution, dies. Beria, secret police chief in USSR, frees Jewish physicians and exposes charges as frame-up. East German workers stage general strike against Stalinist rule.

"Revulsion Sweeps World at Murder of Rosenbergs," reads headline in Militant of June 29. Beria is purged by Malenkov-Molotov-Bulgarian - Khrushchev in first rift in "collective" leadership that followed Stalin. Four million French workers stage general strike. Imperialist-backed counter-revolution in Iran carries on reign of terror against workers and peasants.

Vito Marcantonio, defeated ALP congressman from New York, accuses Communist party of "stab in back." McCarthyites turn witch-hunt still further against Democrats. Militant headline, Dec. 7: "Fascist Menace Grave, SWP Warns America — Urges All-Out Labor Offensive to Smash McCarthyism."

1954

Recession hits America. Unemployment reaches four million. Viet Minh independence fighters trap French army at Dien Bien Phu. Washington threatens to enter war in Indochina. America watches McCarthy-Army dispute on television. Supreme Court on May 17 orders schools desegregated. Reuther sidetracks demand for 30-hour week at 40-hour pay; advocates "guaranteed annual wage plan."

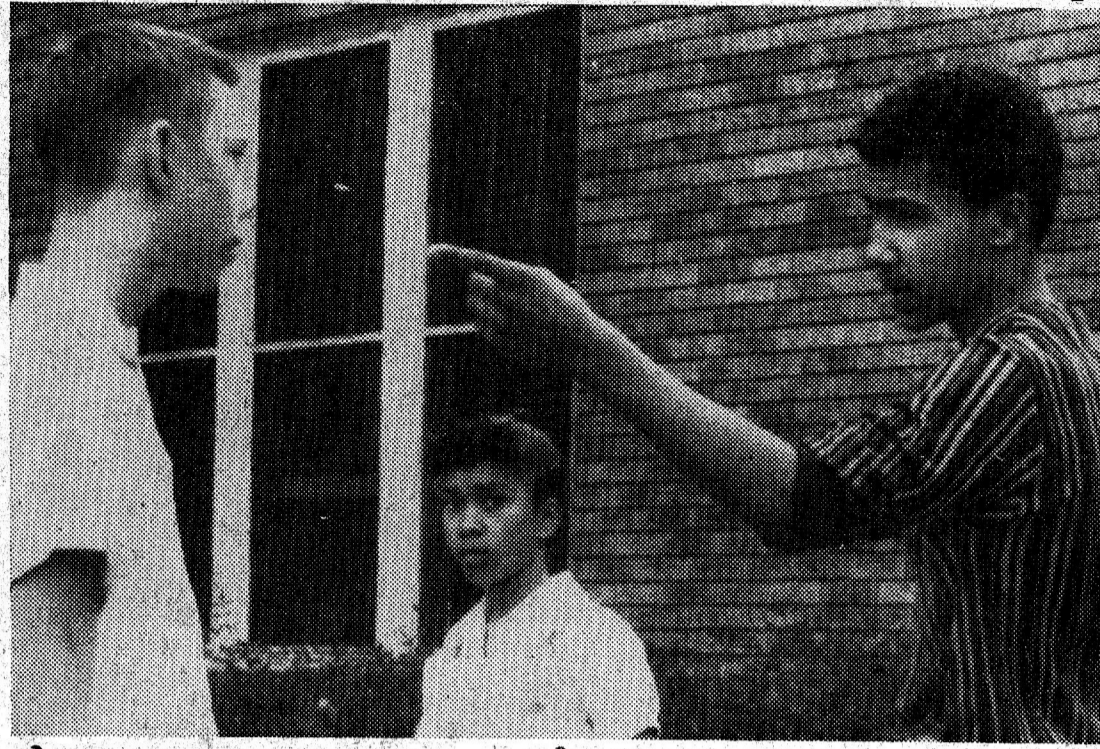
"War Launched by State Dept. Against People of Guatemala — United Fruit Co. Army Invades Land in Plot to Crush Government," reads Militant headline of June 28. Diplomats in secret conference at Geneva carve up Indochina. Unions singled out as targets in new

police-state law, the Communist Control Act. UAW in bitter strike in Kohler, Wis. Square D union-busting attempt in Detroit foiled as UAW pickets all UE strikers.

SWP runs candidates in elections in Pennsylvania, California, Wisconsin, New Jersey, New York, Michigan, Illinois and Minnesota. Racists take offensive against school integration in New Milford, Del., Baltimore, and Washington, D.C. Algerian war for independence begins. Senate votes censure of Sen. McCarthy, a turning point in America's biggest witch-hunt. Wm. Remington, framed-up witch-hunt victim, beaten to death in federal prison. Militant headline of Dec. 13 reflects a

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A New Scene in the Land of Jim Crow



This scene captured the fighting self-confident spirit of Southern Negroes as they pushed the fight for equality to a new peak during the fifties. The boy with the firm-looking stance is John Gray. He lives in Little Rock, Ark., and was 15 when an alert photographer caught this dramatic action Sept. 16, 1958. Gray is reprimanding two white boys who tried to force John and his sister Mary off the sidewalk as they were on their way to school. The fight ended with John chasing the two white boys down the street. In Little Rock, heroic Negro students won world headlines as they calmly walked through racist mobs to break down the barrier of school segregation.

Is It Correct to Call Socialist Fund Reuther a Twister?

By Tom Kerry

James Connolly, martyred Irish revolutionary socialist, executed in 1916 by the British for his leading role in the Easter Rebellion, was a master of invective. While his main targets, at whom he aimed his bitter shafts of denunciation, were the British colonial overlords and the exploiting Irish capitalists and landlords, Connolly reserved his choicest epithets for the scoundrels in the labor movement who deceived and misled the workers. These latter he dubbed: Twisters.

To Connolly a twister was an object of infinite odium and contempt, deserving to be spurned and spat at by all honest workers. Webster's International Dictionary defines a twister as: "One who turns his statements this way and that to escape telling a truth which may have an unpleasant effect; also, the lie or evasion thus uttered."

It is not a word to be used lightly. But there are those whom it fits like a beard on a beatnik. Take Walter Reuther, for example, president of the United Automobile Workers union, vice-president of the AFL-CIO and president of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department. Since the enactment of the union-cripping Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin "killer" bill, Reuther has been busily engaged trying to prove that co-author and inspirer of the measure, Senator John Kennedy, is a much maligned, tried-and-true friend of the labor movement.

Ticklish Moment

At the invitation of Reuther, presidential aspirant Kennedy appeared as a guest speaker at the recent Atlantic City convention of the UAW. Scarcely more than one month had elapsed since the adoption by Congress of the K-L-G measure. Union members were indignant at the hatchet job done on labor by its so-called friends in Congress. There were rumors on the convention floor that several dele-

gations had threatened to walk out of the hall when Kennedy appeared on the platform. It was a ticklish moment for the Reuther machine.

These are the facts: The K-L-G bill was adopted in the House of Representatives by a vote of 352 to 52. In the Senate the vote was 95 to 2. The only votes cast against were those of Senator Wayne Morse, Democrat of Oregon, and William Langer, Republican of North Dakota, recently deceased. With the exceptions noted, every "friend" in the Senate voted for the "killer" bill.

Under the circumstances, it would seem, that even the most agile verbal acrobat would be hard put to twist these facts and figures to evade the obvious conclusion — that those who voted for the bill were not "friends" but enemies of the labor movement. Facts and figures to the contrary notwithstanding, Reuther was out to resell Kennedy to the labor movement as a "friend" and to use the UAW convention as a launching pad for his campaign.

To soften up the delegates for Kennedy's platform appearance, UAW vice-president Leonard Woodcock, a twister in his own right, was pushed forward to present the Reuther version of "the record." It was an amazing performance. With the nimbleness of a slippery-fingered operator of a carnival shell game, Woodcock proceeded to juggle the facts and figures in a dazzling display of virtuosity that had the delegates gasping. One of the reporters at the press table was so impressed, he was moved to remark: "Figures don't lie — but liars do figure!"

Our Hero!

Before Woodcock finished, Kennedy had emerged as a veritable "Hero of Labor." He was portrayed as a doughty warrior who never once abandoned his post in the forefront

Humble John Q. Sucker Proposes a Pill Petition

"When paying \$8.50 for my weekly bottle of pills I used to believe that I received something like 85 cents worth of pills in return: I see from the papers that it's rather in the neighborhood of 8.5 cents.

"This makes me very proud. After all, I, poor, humble John Q. Sucker, am permitted to contribute not \$1, not \$2, no, \$8.41 1/2 to the drug companies' worthy, benevolent, research activities! Let us show our appreciation and petition them to hike their prices just a little more to enable them to do even more valuable research in pillology, so we all may live longer and more expensively."

This letter to the editor of the New York Times is typical of the public's reaction to the disclosures made before the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly subcom-

Socialist Fund Campaign Goes Over the Top

By Reba Aubrey Campaign Director

We made it! \$16,000 in full and on time. That's what the final scoreboard for our Socialist Publications Fund records as you can see by turning to page two. It was not easy to do, what with the steel strike and some of our staunchest supporters either out on the picket line or laid off. But we did it, and that to me is about the strongest evidence you can get in times like these of the seriousness of America's revolutionary socialists and their confidence in the future.

Two areas, Denver and Connecticut, went over the top. And quite unexpectedly, at least to me, "General" scored a similar smashing victory.

Each of the other cities hit the 100% mark exactly. Some of them, I suspect, were still just a bit shy of the mark at zero hour. So they dug down real deep to make the difference. They put the Socialist Publications Fund ahead of everything else. That's the way socialists are.

The warmest congratulations go to each of the cities that participated in the campaign; but as first vice-president in charge

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Minn. Militia Herds Scabs At Albert Lea

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 20 — The National Guard is riding herd on some 300 scabs in the struck Wilson packinghouse plant at Albert Lea, about 100 miles south of here. The object at present is to prevent the union from closing down the plant and to gain time for the scab operation.

The plant was at first shut down by the troops Dec. 11 under a declaration of martial law issued by Gov. Freeman after a thousand striking members of the United Packinghouse Workers, Local 6, had engaged in a pitched battle against scabs armed with guns, knives and blackjacks. Wilson had locked its workers out Nov. 1 and refused to negotiate a new contract.

Major General Cook then authorized a "partial" and "temporary" reopening of the plant. The excuse was that the scabs would be permitted to work only for a week to finish processing meat on hand that would otherwise spoil. However, the guard then permitted the company to ship out 1,400 dressed hogs and 39 cattle.

Originally, General Cook told reporters that the crew of 300 scabs would be reduced each day with only 100 remaining on the seventh day to finish the processing. Now he has added that a "limited number" of scabs will be needed for about 30 days to allegedly complete the operation.

Meanwhile the company is continuing its campaign to pressure the governor into permitting full-scale scab operation of the plant under protection of the militia. A federal judge is now considering Wilson's demand for an injunction reversing the present shutdown order.

Negotiations between the company and union, which is on strike at all five Wilson plants, are scheduled to open in Chicago this week. The company had previously refused to negotiate unless the union renounced "illegal" acts.

The cheap hypocrisy of this demand is underscored by the company's use of armed scabs and its request for tear gas and riot guns "for use within the plant area."

Wilson's anti-union drive has been sparked and directed by James D. Cooney, its \$104,523-a-year president. Cooney is credited with closing down the company's Chicago plant four years ago. That action threw workers with as much as 40 years seniority onto the streets.

In addition to its present scabbing operation at Albert Lea,

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Cold War Tour Aimed at China

Eisenhower Hints He Made Military-Aid Offer to Nehru

By Daniel Roberts

President Eisenhower's visit to India, Dec. 10-14, has been painted up in most parts of the world as a mission of peace. The evidence indicates, however, that the real purpose of his trip was to pull Prime Minister Nehru and the Indian capitalist class more openly into Wall Street's cold war against the People's Republic of China.

Thus Eisenhower and Nehru discussed the Sino-Indian border dispute. Afterwards, addressing a crowd of about a million people in New Delhi, Dec. 13, Eisenhower strongly hinted that the U.S. would extend military aid to India against China.

The tip-off on what Eisenhower sought in India, however, was given by Joseph C. Harsch, special Washington correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, who wrote, Dec. 18, that President Eisenhower "obviously has been exploring with Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru the theory that the great common concern of the future will be not Soviet expansion but Communist Chinese expansion and that in this future task the Soviets in fact if perhaps never by admission will be associated with us."

Again, Walter Lippmann wrote in the Dec. 10 New York Herald Tribune (when Eisenhower was in India) that "in the years to come the main issue of global politics will be the containment of China." "Containment" is the State Department's euphemism for war preparations. It was first applied to Washington's military build-up against the Soviet Union, whose leaders, the State Department said, "threatened" the world with "Communist aggression."

Now the main "threat," according to Lippmann, comes from China. Furthermore, "the problem of Chinese expansion is not primarily an Indian problem." It is "primarily a Russian problem." "It may well require the combined power of the Soviet Union and of the West to keep [China] within acceptable limits."

Nevertheless, according to Harsch, "containment of the Soviet Union is still the one and only agreed common purpose" among the U.S., British, French and West German leaders. It provided the basis for the talks among the Western heads of state, Dec. 19-21. "The old task

cannot be abandoned though the new task should be taken up," says Harsch.

"What we are really talking about here is whether Western policy, if it had the opportunity to choose, should elect to side with the Soviet Union against Communist China or with Communist China against the Soviet Union." The choice doesn't exist now, says Harsch, but it may exist very soon.

Thus involved in Eisenhower's diplomatic moves to relax tensions with the Soviet Union is a deeper aim of foreign policy to drive a wedge between Moscow and Peking. At present Washington figures that the most likely way to bring about a split is by playing up to Moscow and by calling on Nehru for an assist. To their disgrace Khrushchev and the other top Soviet bureaucrats give evidence of going along with Washington's scheme. For instance, on Dec. 18 the Associated Press reported from Geneva that a Soviet diplomat "who frequently talks with Geneva newsmen" recently sought out several reporters for an "informal chat." He said he could be quoted as a Soviet official but not identified by name. The substance of his remarks were that "the Soviet Government was anxious to continue the recent improvement in relations

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He Won the Harshes Epithets

Miners' Gains Highest in World

By Joseph Keller

John L. Lewis, for forty years the president of the United Mine Workers and founding president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), announced on Dec. 15 that he is resigning his UMW top post next month. He will be succeeded by the present UMW Vice - President Thomas Kennedy, a national officer of the union since 1925.

Between 1933 and 1953, the capitalist press hurled harsher epithets against Lewis than against any other man in recent American history. Even his forthcoming retirement as UMW president has not caused complete relaxation of the employing class and its spokesmen so far as Lewis is concerned. A Dec. 17 New York Times editorial demonstratively put quotation marks around the word "resigns" in its headline: "John L. Lewis 'Resigns'." It notes that he will still be available "at least as an unofficial 'elder statesman' for the union, little as that phrase becomes so fiery a man."

He saw the uprisings of the industrial workers between 1933 and 1935 and determined to harness the fate of the miners to a crusade for industrial unionism as against the antiquated craft union policy of the old AFL leadership. At the historic 1935 AFL convention, Lewis led the revolt that brought the formation of the Committee for Industrial Organization on Nov. 9, 1935.

Lewis thought at first that he could count on the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, a professional Democratic party politician, to use his powers of office to aid the workers in their unionization drive. Lewis handed out nearly a half-million dollars in UMW loans to the Democratic party in 1936 at Roosevelt's request. Most of the loans were never repaid — either in cash or political benefits.

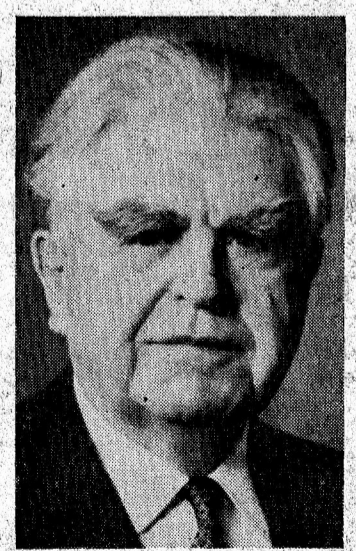
During the General Motors

United States, in the midst of war, and defy them to their faces. And he won. He has been proud to be a labor leader and, by and large, has let others strive to be "labor statesmen."

Lewis emerged as a great national figure during the depression decade of the thirties. He was the head of a sick union in a crippled industry. He ruled his union with a bureaucratic club and tolerated no opposition. He had the philosophy — and still does — of class collaboration or what he still chooses to call "free enterprise." But Lewis also has tremendous self-respect as a miner and a miners' leader and he never stepped back for any man.

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JOHN L. LEWIS

and tried to do a job of organizing for the CIO. His first open break with Roosevelt came in the Little Steel Strike of 1937. After 20 workers had been murdered and hundreds wounded by state troops and local police, Lewis appealed to Roosevelt to use his influence to stop the slaughter. Roosevelt replied: "A plague on both your houses." In a public address on Labor Day, Lewis denounced Roosevelt.

"It ill behooves one who has supped at labor's table and has been sheltered in labor's house to curse with equal ease and fine impartiality both labor and its adversaries when they become locked in deadly embrace."

By the 1940 presidential elections, Lewis and Roosevelt were in deadly opposition. On the eve of the war, Lewis had the great opportunity to open up a whole new epoch for American labor by entering the path of independent labor political action. On a couple of occasions he had mentioned the possibilities of a labor party. But his horizon was too narrow. After exposing the Democratic party and Roosevelt as enemies of labor, Lewis simply went over to the other wing of the capitalist two-party system, the Republicans, and backed the Republican candidate.

Lewis, who had said he would resign as CIO president if Roosevelt won, refused to run again at the November 1940 CIO convention. He was replaced by UMW Vice - President Philip Murray whom Lewis had ap-

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What Do You Recall in the Fifties?

(Continued from Page 1) big new problem of the times: "CIO Convention Gives Alarm on Automation Peril to Jobs."

1955

Southern Democrats and labor-haters take key posts in new Congress. War expenses constitute 65% of new budget, social welfare 3 1/2%. Senate liberals sell out on civil-rights promises on opening day, failing even to introduce resolution to change filibuster rule. Militant begins exclusive, eyewitness series on great strike in Vorkuta labor camp in the USSR by Brigitte Gerland, a German Trotskyist. Tories win British elections.

Congress gives Eisenhower blank check to plunge U.S. into war over Quemoy and Matsu, tiny islands off China coast held by dictator Chiang Kai-shek. Malenkov dumped as Soviet premier in further narrowing of post-Stalin "collective" leadership. List of FBI informers, exposed as perjurers, is increased as Harvey Matusow confesses to lying.

Kohler strike solid at end of first year. Albert Einstein, titan of science and sympathizer of socialism, dies. First conference in world of Asian-African nations is held at Bandung, Indonesia, as imperialist powers watch in alarm.

Strike wave in South. Scandal in sale of Salk polio vaccine angers country as greed of drug manufacturers for profits endangers children. Rev. George W. Lee, first Negro to register to vote in Humphreys County, Miss., is lynched. Supreme Court retreats from original school desegregation decision with "implementation" ruling setting no deadline. Khrushchev, warring Yugoslavia, admits that Stalin's charges against Tito were "fabricated."

UAW wins strike settlement but 170,000 GM workers stay out on local grievances. First "summit" meeting held but cold war continues despite "Geneva spirit." Emmett Till, 14-year-old Negro boy, lynched because he allegedly whistled at a white woman. Peron regime overthrown in Argentina by military coup d'etat.

Emmett Till's lynchers acquitted; Negroes through country hold protest meetings. Independence revolt in Morocco. AFL and CIO merge into single federation; promise big organizing drive in South and among white-collar workers. Negroes in Montgomery, Ala., begin boycott of Jim Crow buses.

1956

Witch-hunters deprive James Kutcher of disability pension but storm of protest forces first open "loyalty" hearing in America and restoration of the legless veteran's pension. Racist mobs keep Auerhine Lucy from entering University of Alabama. Twentieth Congress of Soviet Communist party hears Khrushchev make startling admission of some of Stalin's crimes. Bus boycott begins in Tallahassee, Fla.

Text of Khrushchev's speech on Stalin's crimes becomes available — printed in full by Militant. After tough eight-year fight, James Kutcher wins job back; becomes only avowed socialist on government payroll. Workers in Poznan, Poland, stage three-day general-strike uprising. Stalinist bureaucrats slowly abandon original charges that demonstrations were insti-

gated by imperialist agents and admit social discontent was real cause. Matyas Rakosi, the "Stalin of Hungary," forced to resign by mass pressure. Government rehabilitates Laslo Rajk, executed in 1949 as "Tito-fascist."

Egypt nationalizes Suez Canal. Democratic convention weasels on civil-rights plank, nominates Stevenson. SWP presidential ticket, Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, gets backing of former Progressive party leaders, Vincent Hallinan and Clifford McAvoy.

Armed factory workers and anti-Stalinist CP leaders in Poland force concessions from Kremlin; Gomulka is made premier. In Budapest police fire on mass demonstration, provoking full-fledged revolution; soviets or workers' councils promptly appear. British, French and Israeli invade Egypt in blitzkrieg.

Bloody events in Egypt and Hungary vie for headlines. Soviet forces at first drawn back, are ordered to crush Hungarian revolution; working-class strongholds are last centers of resistance. British workers stage greatest mass demonstration since end of World War II, protesting attack on Egypt. British French and Israeli troops forced to halt. Defeated Hungarian workers carry on general strike for six weeks against appalling odds. Smashing of Hungarian political revolution against Stalinism causes crises in Communist parties throughout world. Eisenhower gains second term. Montgomery Negroes win boycott, sit where they please in buses.

1957

Eisenhower Doctrine proclaimed as U.S. moves into Middle East "power vacuum" created when British-French adventure in Suez collapses. Wave of racist bombings in South — churches and homes of ministers active in boycott blasted in Montgomery. Eisenhower presents Congress with largest "peacetime" budget in history — \$45 billion, two-thirds of it for war expenditures. UAW convention sets shorter work week as major goal for next contracts. King of Jordan, invoking Eisenhower Doctrine, sets up military dictatorship. Negroes stage prayer-pilgrimage march on Washington, demanding civil rights. Popular pressure mounts for ban on atomic and hydrogen bomb tests.

Khrushchev - Bulganin - Zhukov oust Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich from "collective" leadership. Supreme Court rebuffs witch-hunters in Watkins, Nelson and Jencks decisions. Southern Democrats see no need to filibuster civil-rights bill since it has no teeth. Gov. Faubus of Arkansas uses National Guard to keep nine Negro children out of Little Rock high school. Eisenhower finally sends federal troops to Little Rock to enforce court's desegregation order.

Kommunist, Kremlin magazine, attacks Daily Worker editor John Gates, a leader of faction wishing to de-Stalinize the American Communist party. USSR launches first earth satellite in demonstration of Soviet technological advances. The National Guardian endorses SWP candidates in New York City and other elections. Khrushchev urges Gen. Zhukov from "collective" leadership. Unemployment mounts in America. New York subway motormen leaders jailed, but strike holds firm.

1958

Despite growth of unemployment, Reuther drops demand for shorter work week; advocates "profit-sharing" gimmick. Revolution in Venezuela ousts dictator Perez Jimenez. Khrushchev ousts Bulganin from "collective" leadership; assumes personal rule in Stalin's style. Deep split in American Communist party highlighted by

resignation of John Gates. SWP urges united socialist ticket for 1958 elections. Campaign to free Morton Sobell, frame-up victim, wins his transfer from Alcatraz to Atlanta. World scandal over Atomic Energy Commission's falsification of test results which pointed up need for test ban. Soviet Union ends tests of nuclear weapons without waiting for other governments to act. Rocks hurled at Nixon on tour in Latin America; Vice-President is told to go home. French fourth republic overthrown by militarists and reactionary colonial interests in Algeria. De Gaulle assumes Bonapartist rule.

Union contracts at Chrysler, Ford and GM expire but Reuther keeps men working without contracts. Conference in New York City puts united socialist ticket into state election. Puppet regime in Hungary executes Imre Nagy. Anti-imperialist revolution breaks out in Iraq. Eisenhower sends troops to Jordan. World protests halt execution of Negro in Alabama for \$1.95 theft. U.S. again at brink of war with People's Republic of China over offshore islands held by Chiang. Rural people's communes established in China. Reuther signs contracts for smallest gains in UAW history.

Faubus closes Little Rock high schools to prevent integration. Ten thousand in Washington, D.C. Youth March for Integration. Right-to-work laws defeated by voters in northern states. Democratic sweep in congressional elections hailed by labor leaders as "greatest victory yet." North Carolina jails Negro boys, eight and nine, on charge one was killed by seven-year-old white girl. Detroit celebrates bleakest Christmas since the depression of the thirties—200,000 unemployed.

1959

In further retreat from original school desegregation decision, Supreme Court upholds Alabama Pupil Placement law. Cuban revolution headed by Fidel Castro overthrows U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship. Soviet Deputy Premier Mikoyan tours America. Independence demonstrations erupt in the Belgian Congo, supposedly the most satisfied colony in Africa. Entire continent seethes with unrest. UAW calls on Congress to pass 35-hour week bill. British suppress African nationalists in Nyasaland and Rhodesia. Negro union leader in Birmingham sent to chain gang for anti-Jim Crow cartoon.

Counter-revolution crushed in Iraq. Peking moves into Tibet against feudal elements. Emergency unemployment conference in Washington, D.C., called by AFL-CIO. Some 26,000 in Youth March for Integration. Mack C. Parker, Negro prisoner, lynched in Mississippi.

Robert F. Williams, North Carolina NAACP official, urges Negroes to "meet violence with violence in self-defense"; is suspended by NAACP national office. New York City hospital workers strike against sweatshop wages and conditions. FBI walks out of Mississippi lynch case. Supreme Court, threatened with curbs by congressional witch-hunters, backtracks on liberal decisions of previous year.

At fiftieth convention, NAACP delegates heatedly debate self-defense issue raised by Williams. After one-year shut-down, Little Rock high schools open with eight Negro students integrated despite mob. The heavily Democratic Congress passes notorious Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin anti-labor bill. U.S. threatens military intervention in Laos to uphold corrupt, anti-Communist regime. Nixon tours the Soviet Union. Unions in New York City resume Labor Day parade after 20-year lapse. Soviet rocket hits moon. Khrushchev well received on goodwill tour of America. Negro unionists form national labor council.

Campaigning on "moderate" program, British Labor party suffers smashing defeat. Ceylon's Prime Minister assassinated by Buddhist monk. After striking three months, 500,000 Steelworkers are forced back into mills under Taft-Hartley injunction. Mississippi ignores FBI information and refuses even to indict known lynchers of Mack C. Parker. TV viewers shocked by revelations of rigging of big-money quiz shows and other corruption.

The Socialist Labor League Under Attack

By Murry Weiss
First of two articles.

Two events of signal importance occurred in England during the past year. One was the defeat of the Labor party at the polls in October, the other was the emergence of a militant Marxist left-wing group inside the Labor party.

This group, centered around the Socialist Labor League (SLL) and its two publications, the Newsletter and the Labor Review, was officially launched in May 1959, but its roots go back many years. A section of the SLL came from a left-wing group in the Labor party that originated in the British Trotskyist movement of pre-war days. Another group came from the Communist party as a result of the crisis in 1956 which followed the Khrushchev revelations, the Poznan uprising in Poland and the Hungarian workers' revolution.

The group that came from the Communist party started the Newsletter under the editorship of Peter Fryer, former correspondent for the London Daily Worker in Hungary. Fryer broke with Stalinism as a result of his experience there and began collaborating with the Trotskyists, first in publishing the Newsletter and later in organizing the SLL.

Target of Attack

From the first, the Newsletter and the SLL came under concerted attack from the employers, the government, the conservative and semi-fascist press, and the bureaucracies of both the Labor party and the trade unions. Such attacks against left-wing formations in the Labor party are not new. But the persistence of this latest reactionary assault, its quantity and its frantic, virulent and malicious quality, do indicate that something new is involved.

The British employers themselves give us the clue to what is behind the present witch-hunt. Like their counterparts in the U.S., the British capitalists have been engaged in a drive to grind down the trade unions, the British capitalists rely on the right-wing trade-union officials to weed out "troublemakers" among the workers; that is, to attempt to victimize and silence honest trade-union militants who defend labor's interests against the employers.

What seems to be happening in England, however, is that the workers in recent years have been increasingly inclined to turn to the militants and radicals for leadership in the fight to defend their living and working standards. This has been coupled with increasing inability among the officials to isolate these left-wing leaders.

Here are a few samples of what the employers' press and other agencies have been saying as a result of this "intolerable" situation:

A year ago, Oct. 30, in the Financial Times: "The new militant Left-wing movement . . . could conceivably develop into quite an important industrial irritant. . . . The weekly Newsletter . . . now wields considerable influence."

Sunday Times, Nov. 9, 1958: "Not only the Labour Party and the trade unions but the government, too, will be foolish if they belittle as theatrical nonsense and irresponsible vagaries this new development."

Economist, Nov. 22, 1958: "Six hundred members may not sound much, but strategically placed, they can do a great deal of damage. The leading lights of the movement, moreover, are practiced political and industrial agitators."

People's Guardian (union-busting employers' paper in printing industry), July 11, 1959, during the printers' strike:

A Fighting Section of British Labor



Longshoremen have long been in the forefront of British labor's fight for a decent standard of living. Shown here is a section of the 50,000 striking dockers who stood up at the close of World War II against the combined efforts of the government, employers and top union brass to drive them back to work. British Trotskyists are widely respected among the dockers for their militancy and consistent support of workers' struggles.

"Blatant incitement to involve other major industries in the printing dispute is made in the current issue of the Newsletter, the weekly journal of the Socialist Labour League, which has been the spearhead of so much industrial trouble during the last year or so."

And in a Bulletin last summer of the Economic League, employers' "intelligence organization": "The Trotskyist record in recent months is a wholly destructive one. They sought to prolong the official London bus strike, they captured the leadership of the last unofficial dock strike in the Port of London. They took a leading part in the pointless unofficial strike on the South bank site. . . . Trotskyism spells Trouble, wherever and whenever it appears."

Watch Those Trotskyists!

In other words, the militant Marxist left wing in the unions and the Labor party, formed around the Socialist Labor League, are in the thick of battles of the British working class. Against the program of struggle and tested leadership which they offer, the British capitalists have mobilized counter-forces and warned their lackeys in the Labor party and trade-union bureaucracy . . . to be alert!

Such warnings are unnecessary. The British Labor bureaucrats and trade-union officials may show as little vigor in leading the struggle for workers' demands as their lifeless American cousins. By the same token, however, in a fight against the left wing, in carrying out a witch-hunt and a purge against Marxists, they are as energetic and businesslike as George Meany or Joe Curran.

Since the fall of 1958 the Labor party brass has proscribed the Newsletter and the Socialist Labor League. Membership in the SLL violates none of the constitutional rules of the party, but it has been made grounds for expulsion. An expulsion drive has been under way for a full year and its lack of success is due only to the protest it aroused among the ranks, and to the tenacious struggle the SLL has waged in defense of its right to remain in the Labor party.

It is obvious that in the Socialist Labor League, the British labor bureaucrats see the nucleus of a possible new leadership for the unions and the La-

bor party; a leadership that will take the socialist program off the dusty shelf where they have placed it and show how it can be used as the vital force needed to bring Labor to power in Britain.

When You Turn Right, Kick to the Left

According to a well-known law of politics, when the bureaucrats of labor move to the right they lash out with redoubled force against the left. The British bureaucrats led the labor movement to defeat in the recent elections; they are losing the industrial battle with the employers; the very existence of the SLL is a constant reminder that thousands of shop stewards, rank-and-file union militants, party workers, intellectuals and youth, are doing their own job of "rethinking" the causes for the Tory victories and restlessly searching for an explanation.

Since the founding of the Newsletter in May 1957 and the formation of the SLL, the British Marxists have waged a dogged campaign to rearm the Labor party with a fighting socialist program against the capitalists and the right-wing opportunists. The action program of the SLL is direct and to the point: It is summed up by Gerry Healy, the general secretary, as follows:

"A vigorous fight against unemployment. Defense of shop stewards. Nationalization of basic industries under workers' control. Withdrawal of British troops from the colonies. An end to the manufacture of the hydrogen-bomb

and the building of rocket bases."

Each one of these five points is a reproach and an offense to the Labor party leaders. Each plank corresponds to the real interests of the great majority of the working people of Britain. That, in itself, is bad enough from the viewpoint of the bureaucracy. But when such a program is in the hands of people who not only possess the burning will to transform it into action, but who are also eminently capable of going into action — that, indeed, is cause for alarm among the conservative labor leaders.

Assembly of Labor

On Nov. 15 the capacity of the SLL to wage a struggle was again tested. It had called a National Assembly of Labor to consider a program of action to meet the political and economic needs of the British working class. Seven hundred delegates, observers and visitors responded. The Assembly resolved unanimously to endorse the resolution of the National Committee of the SLL. There were 283 delegates representing factories, building sites, docks, coal mines, railways, peace organizations, labor youth sections, Co-op parties, Co-op women's guilds, colonial organizations, Labor party and Communist party groups.

Here then was striking evidence of the capacity of these Marxist fighters to fuse with the living mass movement of workers and to build a cohesive, broad grouping in the struggle for

basic demands. It was an impressive demonstration. Despite the virulence of the attacks against them, despite the year-long attempt of the party bureaucrats to drive them from the movement and the unions, the Assembly showed that the SLL was forging ahead and gaining wider support.

Another very important reason for the uneasiness among the British ruling class and its supporters over the growth of the SLL, is the fear that a new force has emerged that will replace the feeble and politically bankrupt Communist party of England. For years the British capitalists "enjoyed" a toothless, opportunist, isolated and unimportant Communist party. The labor bureaucrats likewise had little to fear from this discredited Stalinized party that had lost the support of revolutionary-minded workers.

When the shattering revelations of Khrushchev, coupled with the revolutionary events in Eastern Europe, brought a significant group of skilled intellectuals and experienced trade-union militants out of the CP and into the common formation with the Trotskyists, the situation was radically altered. Worse yet, for the peace of mind of the capitalists and bureaucrats, the newly fused Marxist group, founded on a rigorously principled program, showed outstanding capacity to avoid sectarianism and to follow up the promising beginnings with new and re-invigorated efforts to make Marxism a living force in the daily lives of the British workers.

The energetic campaign launched by the Newsletter and Labor Review against the H-bomb was a model in bringing the clarification of principles to an amorphous mass movement for peace. The campaign to reverse the disastrous electoral policies of the Labor party leadership was another model of Marxist propaganda. Recent industrial struggles have found the SLL militants on the job ready and able.

There can be no doubt about it. The witch-hunt against the SLL is a great menace to the further progress of the British socialist movement. But it is also a measure of the important successes the movement has scored. Will these successes be consolidated and lay the ground for a new push forward? We have the fullest confidence that it will.

However, further progress and the consolidation of the gains require another ingredient: namely, that the British Marxist movement demonstrate its capacity to pass through those extremely difficult, painful but indispensable internal struggles and tempering without which a truly Leninist party cannot emerge.

Next week: Some critics of the Socialist Labor League.

Why not pass this copy of the Militant on to a friend?

... Socialist Fund Campaign

(Continued from Page 1)

of worrying about deadlines, I want to express extra warm thanks to Boston, Detroit, the Twin Cities, San Diego and Connecticut. They maintained a steady pace from the beginning and then stepped it up to finish well in advance.

Boston provided a wonderful example of diligent effort. Going back over my correspondence, I found a note from Fund Director Franklin written early in November. He said, "Hoping to make it on time and trying very hard." If you've followed the scoreboard closely you know that Boston broke all records by reaching its target a solid month ahead of schedule. Who could ask for more?

New York, Los Angeles and Chicago found themselves scrambling right up to the last moment to make that deadline. Considering the amount of money they contributed, I think everyone must be wondering, how in the world did they ever do it? Some loyal, self-sacrificing comrades are in those branches; that's for sure.

Seattle and the Bay Area also had to make last minute spurts, coming in under the wire in the nick of time. Seattle reported that they had to celebrate first in order to achieve final victory. A Saturday night party netted just enough to close that final gap.

Cleveland, Philadelphia, Milwaukee, Newark, Allentown and St. Louis sent in their final contributions accompanied by the generalization: "It was a tough fight, but we made it." Knowing what efforts the comrades in these places had to undertake, those are eloquent words in my book.

"Hero" across the center in luminous paint. He seemed slow getting started and for a while I thought he was riveted at attention. But apparently he had his mind on the simple fact that to win a war the most important battle is the last one. That 130% convinced me he knew his strategy.

Among those who made his victory possible, I want to thank H.C. of Ohio who contributed \$25 in the final week of the campaign. To E.M. of Vancouver I also wish to forward the General's thanks for a contribution of \$1.50.

Now, to all those who have been making wisecracks about how worried I was during the last stages of the campaign. You've heard the tunes from the Three Penny Opera that are so popular on the radio. There's a real song by the character Mack

the Knife that's in my head right now.

At the very last moment, as he is on the gallows and about to be hanged, the queen's messenger comes dashing up with a reprieve. Mack has just got through cursing his fate and then saying his prayers. When he sees the reprieve, he at once bursts into song, 'Oh, I had no doubt . . ."

Now that it's over, I will admit that there were moments when I seemed to have doubts. But all the time I really knew we could do it. Of course you who were digging up the contributions knew it better and you sure proved your point.

So our warmest thanks and fraternal greetings to every one of you who so willingly made a sacrifice to help spread the message of socialism. It was a real successful campaign.

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Denver	\$ 40	\$ 45	113
Connecticut	100	105	105
Allentown	110	110	100
Bay Area	800	800	100
Boston	350	350	100
Chicago	1,000	1,000	100
Cleveland	750	750	100
Detroit	600	600	100
Los Angeles	4,400	4,400	100
Milwaukee	300	300	100
Newark	265	265	100
New York	4,200	4,200	100
Philadelphia	400	400	100
Pittsburgh	10	10	100
St. Louis	80	80	100
San Diego	245	245	100
Seattle	500	500	100
Twin Cities	1,700	1,700	100
General	150	195	130
Final Total	\$16,000	\$16,055	100

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Literature and Revolution

By Leon Trotsky
\$1.98

Written in 1924, this is a Marxist classic. It deals with the attitude of the working class and its party to art and artists after conquest of state power.

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(Continued from Page 1)

... Strike at Albert Lea

Wilson is using police to help run strikebreakers through the picket lines at its Cedar Rapids and Omaha plants.

At the beginning of the week, scabs at the Cedar Rapids plants had their cars damaged by flying rocks as they crashed through a picket line of 500. Police and deputy sheriffs attacked the pickets and arrested seven of them.

Mississippi ignores FBI information and refuses even to indict known lynchers of Mack C. Parker. TV viewers shocked by revelations of rigging of big-money quiz shows and other corruption.

The embattled strikers are receiving help from other Packing-house locals who, in heartening demonstrations of solidarity, are sending contributions of food and cash to help ease the hardships.

About a thousand Armour workers from Mason City, Iowa, rented a theater at Albert Lea where they staged a Christmas party for the children of the strikers. They brought several hundred dollars worth of candy, nuts and fruit for the children.

Members of the Armour local have already collected and sent

two truckloads of canned goods to the strikers as well as \$100 in cash.

A number of the Wilson workers are convinced that if the National Guard is removed from the plant they can defeat the company's union-busting drive and win a decent new contract. Meanwhile, they say, "Don't Buy Wilson Products."

But It Was Only A Freudian Slip

In a speech to U.S. Embassy employees in Paris, President Eisenhower suggested that instead of getting upset by criticism, they should relax "and have a drink of Coca-Cola — oh, oh — I mean have a soft drink."

He explained that he amended his remark because he had been accused in the past of being commercial in his remarks. One of his close golfing friends is William E. Robinson, chairman of the Coca-Cola Company.

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Give Chinese Leaders the Floor

During the past three months, the publications that voice the opinions of the Communist party in this country — the Worker, Political Affairs, and the People's World — have been silent about the reaction of the Chinese Communist party leaders to the international "thaw."

For instance, when Soviet Premier Khrushchev spoke in Peking, Sept. 30, the Worker reported his speech but didn't mention the article of China's Foreign Minister Chen Yi that appeared in the Peking People's Daily three days later while Khrushchev was still in the Chinese capital. Yet Khrushchev and Chen Yi made entirely different appraisals of American foreign policy. Khrushchev said that President Eisenhower truly sought international relaxation of tensions, whereas Chen Yi warned that the U.S. government had not renounced "its policy of aggression and war."

Following his visit to China, Khrushchev repeated the substance of his Peking remarks on several occasions. Thus, in his Oct. 31 foreign-policy speech in Moscow, he stated that "... a more reasonable understanding of the balance of forces on the international scene is gaining ascendancy in the West. And such an understanding inevitably leads to the conclusion that plans involving the use of armed force against the socialist world should be relegated to oblivion."

Moreover, said Khrushchev, "Many prominent United States leaders, with the President at their head, understand [the anti-war] sentiments of the American people, are alarmed by the situation which has arisen as a result of the arms race and the cold war, and want to find ways to strengthen peace."

The Chinese CP leaders on the other hand, while welcoming the "thaw" as a setback for U.S. foreign policy, warn that American big business is still driving toward war. They say that "U.S. imperialism, in order to put an end to its political isolation and strategic predicament, has been making some gestures for relaxation of tension in an attempt to deceive the American people, paralyze the fighting will of the people of the world against imperialism and for peace and conceal its moves for stepped-up arms drive in preparation for war." (Hsinhua News Agency release, Nov. 27.)

Khrushchev says the "thaw" is evidence that U.S. imperialism is relinquishing its preparations for war. The Chinese leaders say that imperialism seeks to use the "thaw" to further war preparations. These are diametrically opposite appraisals, yet the CP in this country has never even alluded to the difference in views expressed by Moscow and Peking.

The American CP leaders themselves

advocate the point of view advanced by Khrushchev. The Camp David talks between Eisenhower and Khrushchev mark a break in U.S. foreign policy, they say. The drive to war has been interrupted. Popular pressure can force big-business policy makers to liquidate the cold war. Thus lasting peace can be secured under capitalism.

All socialists should, of course, carefully study and debate the American CP's viewpoint. But shouldn't the contrary opinion of the Chinese CP leaders be simultaneously discussed?

We wish to speak quite frankly. Though we have supported the Chinese revolution in all its stages of development and defended the People's Republic at all times, we do not believe that, judged overall, the Chinese CP has given genuinely socialist leadership to the country. In the case of their evaluation of the "thaw," however, we think they are in the right. What they have said on this question is highly useful for the struggle against war.

Of course, if peace can really be won under capitalism, if big business can really be won to the acceptance of "peaceful competition" between social systems, then humanity has indeed reached a miraculous turning point, and socialists should all pitch in to help the "pro-peace" capitalists prevail over their warmongering brethren.

But if this outlook is illusory, as we firmly believe, then the independent working-class struggle for socialism remains the only realistic road to peace and any veering from that road threatens catastrophe.

The Chinese CP leaders, to be sure, have not spoken out against the harm that Khrushchev does to the struggle against war by promoting the illusion that peace can be attained under capitalism. But they dispute the premise for the illusion. They warn against the notion that American capitalism is really altering its basic foreign policy. They see no let up in the imperialist drive toward war, only a more insidious manner of pursuing it. Their viewpoint, we think, deserves at least as much consideration in socialist discussions as Khrushchev's opinions and those of the American CP leaders.

Until last week, all that was available were quotations culled from the Chinese papers by the bourgeois press. Official Hsinhua News Agency releases are now arriving in this country, however, which give the opinions of the Chinese leaders in full detail. Elsewhere on this page we have printed excerpts. We believe that every socialist publication should similarly inform its readers of the viewpoint of the Chinese Communist party on the "thaw." It's at least news.

Witch-Hunt Still Goes On

The need to abolish the witch-hunter's guide — the U.S. Attorney General's "subversive" list — remains as urgent as ever. This fact has been underscored again by a vigorous protest which the American Civil Liberties Union and the Workers Defense League have lodged in a current case of Army use of the list for political harassment.

The Dec. 14 weekly bulletin of the ACLU reports that "the Army's Counter-Intelligence Corps is probing members of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation who were former members of the Independent Socialist League or the Socialist Youth League. The latter two groups, now defunct, were once on the Attorney General's list."

Both of these organizations were removed from the list by Attorney General Rogers in 1958 after protracted hearings. But apparently this doesn't cut any ice with the Army brass which isn't particularly concerned with fine points in its pursuit of suspected dissidents.

The list provides a highly elastic yardstick for the Army and other government agencies. Their category of "subversive" organizations includes any that are or have been on the list — or, equally, any organization that they think ought to be on the list.

The present protest to Secretary of the Army Brucker, signed by Roland Watts, legal director of the ACLU, and Norman Thomas, chairman of the WDL, points out that the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation itself has never been on the list and has never been responsibly cited by anyone as "subversive."

The two civil-liberties spokesmen also noted that the validity of an organization's listing and the list itself have been repeatedly challenged under the government's various security programs. They also reminded Brucker that, legally, the list is supposed to apply only to civilian government employees.

In reply, Brucker said that former ISL or SYL membership was not the basis for initiating an investigation. At the same time he brazenly stated that once an investigation was begun because of other activities, all aspects of a person's political life would be checked.

This police-state approach is consistent with the nature and function of the list itself. Created by the Truman administration, the list has included hundreds of organizations, arbitrarily branded "subversive" by a single individual, the Attorney General.

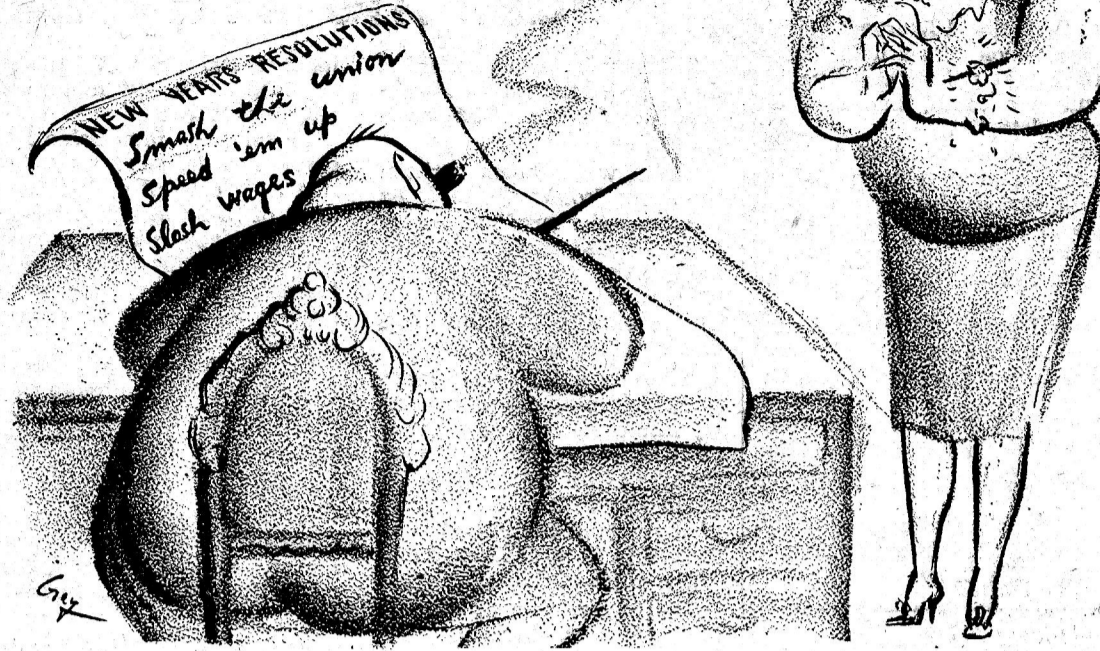
The list has become the most valued heresy-hunting weapon of federal and local agencies, congressional and state "red-hunting" committees and private employers seeking to weed out and blacklist militant unionists.

Southern authorities, seeking to smash the NAACP and other pro-integration organizations, have added them to their version of the list, since they are "subversive" of the supremacist way of life.

The blacklisting of political opponents that began in 1947 has not stopped even there. In the South, the ACLU is "subversive." The Dec. 7 ACLU weekly bulletin cites the case of William Murphy, a law professor at the University of Mississippi. His membership in the ACLU was cited by state officials as evidence that faculty members were "teaching integration, subversion and the desertion of religious faith."

Nor does it take a very long memory to recall that at the height of the McCarthy era, the Democratic party found itself denying it was a "subversive" organization.

The ACLU-WDL protest against Army use of the list to persecute members of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation should have the support of everyone concerned with the preservation of civil liberties.



"Excellent, dear. Now you're showing you've got what it takes to hold down the driver's seat."

What the Chinese Leaders Say About Shift in U.S. Diplomacy

[In previous issues we have reported the refusal of top officials of the Chinese Communist party to join Khrushchev in painting up Eisenhower's shift in diplomacy as a genuine move toward peace. Some of the texts of the critical Chinese statements are now reaching this country. For the information of our readers, we are publishing typical excerpts below.—Editor]

According to the Nov. 23 Hsinhua, the Peking People's Daily of that date devoted half of its sixth page to a series of reports under a general headline: "U.S. Intensifies 'Cold War' while Paying Lip-Service to Peace."

In summarizing these reports, the People's Daily says: "The U.S. government, while talking sanctimoniously about peace, is going all-out to intensify the 'cold war' and stepping up its war preparations. It has decided to maintain in the coming fiscal year a staggering military budget of \$41 billion with emphasis on the development of guided missiles. NATO Supreme Headquarters, commanded by a U.S. general, plans to build up a network of guided-missile bases in West Europe at which will be stationed 60-odd guided missile battalions by the end of next year. The U.S. has staged a large-scale demonstration of guided missiles in Okinawa."

The Nov. 24 Hsinhua reports a recent State Department pamphlet dealing with Taiwan, which "treasonously American government hostility towards the Chinese people. It reveals once again the persistent U.S. stand to occupy China's territory, Taiwan, by force as a base for the U.S. to prepare a new war, according to a Washington report."

"This pamphlet also shows that the United States is becoming more and more obvious in its efforts to create 'Two Chinas' as a means of enhancing this policy. ...

"If American government officials really acted as they have recently claimed, that they are willing to renounce force and settle all international disputes by peaceful means, then the U.S. should cease at once its armed occupation of China's territory, ...

... Cold War

(Continued from Page 1) with the West and hoped that the recent Chinese actions in Tibet and on the Indian border would not create new East-West tension."

"Referring particularly to the Indian border dispute, he said the Chinese activity there 'is more than just untimely; it would be inopportune at any time.' ...

Although the Kremlin seems willing to stab the Chinese People's Republic in the back for the sake of a "peaceful coexistence" deal with the West, the American working people cannot allow the State Department to palm off an effort to isolate the People's Republic of China from the Soviet Union as a policy aimed at peace.

As the first step in liquidating the threat of a third world war the working people must demand an end to the hostile moves against the Chinese People's Republic as well as against the Soviet Union. That means to immediately extend diplomatic recognition to the Peking regime, dump Chiang Kai-shek's regime on Taiwan and withdraw all American troops from the Far East.

stop its military provocations and war threats against China and withdraw all its armed forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits Area. But in its pamphlet the U.S. State Department once again declares against all this. This shows only that the actions of the U.S. government do not conform to its words."

The Nov. 27 Hsinhua reports on an editorial in the Peking People's Daily about the new U.S.-Japanese "security treaty." The editorial is entitled "Japan Is Being Dragged onto the Road of the Revival of Militarism."

"The editorial points out," says Hsinhua, "that Japanese Foreign Minister Aichihiro Fujiyama declared in the diet a few days ago that ... the area of operations of the United States forces in Japan might extend to the interior of China or the Soviet Union and that negotiations were being held with the United States on the introduction into Japan of nuclear weapons and other important military equipment. ...

"We have time and again issued warnings and pointed to the aggressive nature of the Japan-U.S. 'security treaty' and the threat it will pose to the peace and security of China, the Soviet Union, the Southeast Asian countries, the Far East and Asia. But hitherto there were still people in Japan and other countries who did not believe this entirely," the editorial notes. ...

"U.S. imperialism, in order to put an end to its political isolation and strategic predicament, has been making some gestures for relaxation of tension in an attempt to deceive the American people, paralyze the fighting will of the people of the world against imperialism and for peace and conceal its moves for stepped-up arms drive in preparation for war. Militarily, U.S. imperialism is concentrating its efforts on increasing the production of missiles, expanding missile bases and fostering the revival of militarism in West Germany and Japan in a vain attempt to restore its lost military superiority."

The Nov. 28 Hsinhua again cites the People's Daily. "The United States is stepping up the research and manufacture of guided missiles and accelerating the establishment and expansion of missile bases. These United States moves are incompatible with Washington's recently professed desires for peace, says the People's Daily commentator today. ...

"Facts are now crystal clear that the U.S. 'peace' gestures are merely a design to gain time to increase its military strength and to paralyze the fighting will of the people of the world over against the threats of war. If the United States really intends to relax tension, it should first of all give up its plans to develop and expand missile production and bases in preparation for war. The people of the world will weigh the value of the U.S. rulers' words about peace by their concrete actions."

The Nov. 29 Hsinhua says: "A series of facts prove that behind the smoke screen of lessening international tension, the U.S. is continuing to step up military provocations against China." Hsinhua then lists a number of recent U.S. moves to strengthen

Chiang Kai-shek's forces on Taiwan. These include supplying Chiang with seven big landing crafts and a batch of RF-101 "Voodoo" photo reconnaissance jets.

Again, Hsinhua reports that at a press conference in Taipei (capital of Taiwan) U.S. Pacific Fleet Commander in Chief H. C. Hopewell, who visited Taiwan Nov. 25-27, "acted as if the Pacific and Indian Oceans were two American lakes when he described the Pacific region as within the U.S. Pacific Fleet's command zone, stretching from the West Coast of North and South America to halfway into the Indian Ocean."

The Nov. 30 Hsinhua refers to an article in the Kwangming Daily which speaks of the "real design of the U.S. ruling circles" as being "war preparations under the cover of peace avowals."

Chou Conciliatory In Letter to Nehru On Border Dispute

In a letter Dec. 17 to Prime Minister Nehru of India, China's Premier Chou En-lai offered further concessions to resolve the frontier dispute between the two countries.

In his letter, written in a conciliatory tone, Chou suggested that he and Nehru meet on Dec. 26 either in China or in Rangoon, Burma. He also proposed that Chinese troops withdraw from Longju, just south of the McMahon line claimed by India as the valid northeast frontier with China, in return for Indian troop withdrawals from Khinzemane along the same frontier.

As in a previous proposal, Chou implied de facto recognition of the McMahon line as the Sino-Indian border in the northeast. However, Chou insisted that about 3,000 square miles in the Ladakh area along the western border belonged to China. He asked that Indian troops withdraw from nine points in the western region.

Chou also accepted Nehru's proposal that the frontier outposts of each country stop sending out patrols. He said an order to that effect had been sent by the Chinese government to its frontier outposts.

Finally, Chou renewed his proposal for both the Chinese and Indian troops to pull back 12 1/2 miles from their present positions along the McMahon line (and even further back, if necessary) to prevent new clashes between border patrols.

China has such a vast expanse of territory, more than half of which is sparsely populated, said Chou, that it would be ludicrous to think that it "would still want to seek trouble in some desolate areas of a neighboring country."

Drive on 'Rightists' Continues in China

The campaign against uneducated "rightist" critics of economic policies continues unabated for the fifth month in a row in China. According to Frank Robertson in the Dec. 18 Christian Science Monitor, recent issues of the Peking Peo-

The American Way of Life

Innocent Until Proved Guilty

Murray Shumach, the New York Times Hollywood correspondent, usually writes interesting and informative stories about happenings and personalities in the movie industry. On Dec. 18, he filed a rather different kind of story.

It's about Louis Pollock, a former newspaper man, who, until five years ago, was doing very nicely as a Hollywood screen writer. His credits included "The Jackie Robinson Story" and a number of other successful productions.

Suddenly, about five years ago, Pollock found he couldn't sell anything. He couldn't understand why and no one else seemed to either.

He began to feel that maybe he had "lost the touch." Sometimes he thought "a clique was against me."

"Follows used to kid me," he told Shumach. "They would say: 'You must be on the list.'"

"If I could only have believed this, I might have saved myself a lot of heartaches. How could I? I never belonged to any organization in my life except the Authors Guild and the Writers Guild and no committee had ever asked me for information."

Besides, the movie industry insists that a blacklist doesn't exist.

About ten weeks ago chance brought about the unraveling of the plot. Pollock happened to meet an important industry executive and, in a brief conversation, mentioned that he just couldn't understand why everything he wrote was being rejected.

That afternoon he received a phone call from the executive who asked him some puzzling and seemingly irrelevant questions. Had he been born in Hungary? No, he hadn't. Other questions like it; and similar answers.

After Pollock answered the questions, the executive told him he was on the blacklist and maybe it was all a mistake.

With something finally to go on, Pollock rushed down to the library and thumbed through a book containing the text of House Un-American Activities Committee hearings. There he found the answer.

On April 21, 1954, a Louis Pollock had defied the commit-

tee. Louis Pollock was a clothier. Like so many mystery scenarios, it was simply a case of mistaken identity. Only in this case the wrong man was found guilty without trial and was never informed he had been convicted.

But the matter was cleared up. Pollock was able to convince the Hollywood powers that they had the wrong man. He was removed from the blacklist.

He doesn't consider it a happy ending. "Now I feel numb," he told Shumach. "But I can't help thinking that in those five long years nobody ever asked me once 'Are you this man? Could you be this man?' Nobody ever asked me."

Memphis Rules "Whites Only" To Seek Christ

Memphis school authorities are devout believers in the Christmas spirit of peace on earth and good will toward men. To prove it, Memphis High School is staging its second annual Christmas performance of Gian Carlo Menotti's opera, "Amahl and the Night Visitors." The story is about the three kings who followed the star that led to the newly born Christ child in Bethlehem.

Balthazar, one of the kings, is Negro. After last year's production there were numerous complaints from white Memphis Christians that the make-up used was too realistic. So this year the "black king" will use light tan make-up.

Fiji T-H Next?

The press reported that an anti-European "riot" flared in the Fiji Islands when employers broke off negotiations with the oil workers union. A union leader quieted the crowd after police promised to stop using smoke bombs. Negotiations were then resumed.

Headlines in Other Lands

Chou Conciliatory In Letter to Nehru On Border Dispute

In a letter Dec. 17 to Prime Minister Nehru of India, China's Premier Chou En-lai offered further concessions to resolve the frontier dispute between the two countries.

In his letter, written in a conciliatory tone, Chou suggested that he and Nehru meet on Dec. 26 either in China or in Rangoon, Burma. He also proposed that Chinese troops withdraw from Longju, just south of the McMahon line claimed by India as the valid northeast frontier with China, in return for Indian troop withdrawals from Khinzemane along the same frontier.

As in a previous proposal, Chou implied de facto recognition of the McMahon line as the Sino-Indian border in the northeast. However, Chou insisted that about 3,000 square miles in the Ladakh area along the western border belonged to China. He asked that Indian troops withdraw from nine points in the western region.

Chou also accepted Nehru's proposal that the frontier outposts of each country stop sending out patrols. He said an order to that effect had been sent by the Chinese government to its frontier outposts.

Finally, Chou renewed his proposal for both the Chinese and Indian troops to pull back 12 1/2 miles from their present positions along the McMahon line (and even further back, if necessary) to prevent new clashes between border patrols.

China has such a vast expanse of territory, more than half of which is sparsely populated, said Chou, that it would be ludicrous to think that it "would still want to seek trouble in some desolate areas of a neighboring country."

Drive on 'Rightists' Continues in China

The campaign against uneducated "rightist" critics of economic policies continues unabated for the fifth month in a row in China. According to Frank Robertson in the Dec. 18 Christian Science Monitor, recent issues of the Peking Peo-

ple's Daily have dealt with the criticism leveled by "rightists" against the regime's campaign to produce steel in hundreds of thousands of crude home furnaces.

A recent editorial in People's Daily, while ostensibly designed to refute the critics, apparently grants the validity of many of their points. Thus the newspaper concedes the low efficiency of peasant-operated furnaces and converters. It also admits that last April, only 30% of the pig iron turned out in small furnaces was up to standard. However, the paper claims that in recent months almost 80% met the standard.

Finally, the People's Daily argues that the reason small-scale iron and steel furnaces are less efficient than larger enterprises is because they are forced to use inferior materials and methods and because they depend heavily on manual labor. These, however, are precisely the arguments ascribed to the "rightists" for opposing the "backyard" furnaces.

Actually, most "backyard" furnaces have been ordered abandoned in favor of small modern plants. Last August, too, the government decided not to include iron and steel produced last year during the "mass campaign" in the total figure for 1958 production.

Even without the tonnage ascribed to the small furnaces, the Chinese government claims that the country produced 8 million tons of steel in 1958. China's total steel production in 1949, the year the Communist party took power, was 158,000 tons.

Soviet, Chinese Mark Anniversary Of Stalin's Birth

On the eve of the eightieth anniversary of Stalin's birth, the newspaper Sovetskaya Rossiya (Soviet Russia) praised the dead dictator. The magazine called Stalin the protector and developer of Marxism-Leninism.

Pravda and Izvestia, the leading newspapers in the country however, ignored the anniversary, according to a Dec. 20 AP dispatch from Moscow.

Stalin on the anniversary. It said that though Stalin had committed some grave mistakes in his later years, "these mistakes were only secondary to his great merits."

3 African States Seek Independence

In the past two weeks, three more African countries moved toward independence or semi-independence.

On Dec. 15, the British announced they would permit Tanganyika, a United Nations "trusteeship" to exercise internal self-government.

On Dec. 20, the French agreed to allow the Malagasy Republic (Madagascar) to be independent. Meanwhile, Dahomey applied for similar full-sovereignty rights.

Jail Political Foes In Spain on Eve of Eisenhower's Visit

Gen. Franco's dictatorship has launched a wave of political repression on the eve of Pres. Eisenhower's visit to Spain. This is the charge made by Salvador de Madariaga, well-known Spanish author and liberal politician.

Madariaga told a news conference in London, Dec. 15, that 21 Spanish Socialists had been arrested in Basque country since Nov. 26. He estimated that at least 1,500 political prisoners were in Spanish jails.

Pope Recommends Press Censorship

Freedom of the press should be curbed in the interests of the "religious and moral health of mankind," stated Pope John XXIII, in what is said to be one of his most important pronouncements. The Pope himself said that "due limitation" of freedom of the press "is one of the crucial points of modern society."

The Pope based his case for press censorship on the grounds that the mission of the press "is not only informative but formative; for it aims to educate. . . . It is not love of knowledge, culture or truth, that guides some pens, but the unhealthy fire of certain passions."

Exciting Anti-Racist Film

By Lillian Kiezel

Was Sapphire murdered by a jealous lover or was she murdered because she was a Negro who "passed" for white? This is the theme of the movie, "Sapphire," produced in England by J. Arthur Rank and written for the screen by Janet Green.

Sapphire was a university student from a middle-class background. David Harris, a white fellow-student, wanted to marry her. His family's hatred and fear of Negroes reached the boiling point when they discovered she was colored. A little later she was murdered.

Through Scotland Yard's investigation, a vivid picture of racism in Britain emerges — from the greedy interests of "respectable" landladies to the reactions of Negroes in various walks of life. All this is augmented by the life-like attitudes expressed by Hazard and Leary, two of Scotland Yard's leading detectives.

Leary does not understand how Sapphire could have "passed" for white. He says, "I can tell a Negro a mile away." Underneath a plain everyday suit, police discovered that Sapphire had been wearing a frilly and flashy bright red half-petticoat. Leary thinks that's enough to prove his point. Since Negroes are reported to "love" only flashy clothes, Leary concludes that in Sapphire's case the petticoat represents "the black under the white."

When it is discovered that Sapphire had

been pregnant, he and Hazard track down the doctor (a white man) she had visited. The doctor admits that he did not know, when he examined her, that the girl was colored. Leary thinks this is incredible. With a sly, knowing look he asks the doctor, "You mean you couldn't tell?"

The doctor's reply stopped Leary dead in his tracks: "You don't look like a detective to me. Everyone knows that policemen have big flat feet. Yet yours are small, therefore, I'd never take you for a detective."

Hazard tries to restrain Leary but apparently he does not feel strongly enough about the race question to censure him. As a result the cops intimidate and mete out rough treatment to the Negro suspect in the case, and, at the same time, accord courteous treatment to the white suspect.

It is evident that Negroes in England, just as in the United States, not only need protection from bigots and fascist gangs but from the police as well.

"Sapphire" is designed to combat anti-Negro hysteria in Britain. It is well calculated to shock the audience into seriously thinking things through.

This exciting movie is a challenge to Hollywood. Used properly, themes like this help a lot in the fight against Jim Crow.

Notes in the News

LIFE BEGINS AT EIGHT — A reporter covering the Albert Lea packinghouse strike, where violence initiated by scabs in the pay of Wilson & Co. was followed by martial law, included the following item in a dispatch published in the Dec. 13 Minneapolis Tribune: "At noon yesterday, two boys about eight years old walked toward the sentry at the armory's front door. Each had a toy pistol slung at his hip. One carried a mock sub-machine gun, the other a play rifle. 'We're going to drive the army out of here,' one told a newsman. But he laughed as he said it, the solemn guard was too far away to hear, and the boys moved quickly past."

JUDGE IS SILENT — One of the young unwed mothers who had collected state aid for previous children and who was jailed by Judge Michael J. Gatto of Pittsburg, Calif., because she became pregnant again "without leave of the Justice Court," cut short her two-month jail term by giving birth to twins — a boy and a girl. The judge made no comment.

CRIMINALS? — A study conducted jointly by the University of Michigan Research Center and the Scripps Foundation for Population Research showed that of the 2,713 white married women between the ages of 18 and 39 interviewed, 62% expressed "unqualified approval" of birth control; 12% approved with some qualifications. The study also found that standard contraceptive devices were used, occasionally or exclusively, by 89% of the Protestants and 96% of the Jews who practice birth control. Of the Catholics interviewed, 30% admitted using birth-control methods condemned by their church and 50% said they practice some form of birth control. A federal law, still on the books, makes it a crime to import, mail or transport interstate commerce "any article for the prevention of conception."

MORE RATS THAN PEOPLE? — New York, the world's biggest city, may also have the greatest number of rats. A recent estimate puts the population of the gregarious rodents at 8,000,000. In the past five years 2,830 New Yorkers were bitten by rats in their homes. Only last June, a four-month-old Brooklyn baby was so badly chewed by a rat (or rats) that he died in a hospital less than an hour later. Within a three-day period late last June, 10 persons were bitten, including a four-year-old girl in Harlem. And each year, there are more rat bites reported to the Health Department. Last year 566 people were attacked by rats; in 1959 up to Sept. 1 "an alarming" 558. The situation is so

bad that the Health Department, in an unprecedented move, has announced "the biggest rat hunt in recent decades."

AND NOW IT'S BEEF — The government outlawed the sale of chickens fattened by the cancer-inducing hormone stilbestrol, but it can't do anything about the sale of cattle fattened with the same substance. Why? According to a "grandfather clause" in the food-additives section of the pure food and drug law cattle growers already using stilbestrol under earlier rulings of the government that it was not harmful can continue to do so — until such time as there is laboratory proof that it causes cancer in the human "guinea pig."

KNOWS HIS COPS — Along about this time of year, "for decades" a watch of plainclothes men called "shoo-fies" is placed over the New York City police force. It seems, according to Police Commissioner Stephen P. Kennedy, that "we get . . . one of the worst examples of corruption, the bribes or Christmas gratuities . . ." He feels that constant supervision of the force is necessary to see that its members are "at their posts and doing their full duty." And who'll watch the watchers?

WARNING ON PIGEONHOLING — A study of 10,000 airmen, who took aptitude tests in World War II and who were then checked in their postwar careers, shows conclusively that these tests cannot predict success or satisfaction in a job. "There's been too much enthusiasm for aptitude testing," warned Dr. Robert L. Thorndike, the study's director. He says that this study throws suspicion on the mass of industrial aptitude testing which has become so popular in finding "the right man for the right job." So there may be nothing wrong with you after all, even if you do feel like a square peg in that round hole where the aptitude test placed you.

AND WHAT'S THE OPINION OF THE YOUTH? — Training officers in the air force, army and navy are grumbling about the "average American youth" they get through the draft. They complain that "not once" have they "seen a drop of patriotism in these kids"; that today's American youth "doesn't know how his government is run, the mayor of his city, the preamble to the Constitution"; that "a lot of them are horribly spoiled"; that they are "mothers' boys." That's the drillmaster's way of saying that America's youth see no reason for another war. Shouldn't we find out what the people think by putting the draft law to a nationwide vote?

... Lewis Retires After 40 Years

(Continued from Page 1)

pointed Director of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee. Lewis took the no-strike pledge like all the other labor leaders shortly after Pearl Harbor, Dec. 7, 1941. But he refused to see the miners squeezed by the wage freeze and war inflation. He opposed government intervention and the operations of Roosevelt's War Labor Board. In 1943, he led four national coal strikes that broke through the wage-freeze ceiling.

Time and again, in the post-war period, he led the miners in great national strikes in defiance of federal injunctions and "contempt" fines of \$3,500,000 and \$1,400,000. In December, 1947, Lewis had withdrawn the miners from the AFL, which the UMW had rejoined in January 1946. This action was in protest against the decision of the AFL leadership to accept the Taft-Hartley Act and to take the

"yellow-dog" non-Communist oath required by that law. The miners under Lewis' leadership have defied the Taft-Hartley Act and have never submitted to it. In 1948, the miners struck and won one of their greatest victories in the face of Truman's Taft-Hartley injunction, which they refused to recognize. In the midst of the Korean War, in 1952, the miners went out on their last big strike to date, when Truman's Wage Stabilization Board tried to cut 40 cents from the \$1.90 a day wage increase granted by the coal operators themselves.

Truman, as one of his last presidential acts, felt impelled to restore the WSB cut and grant the full \$1.90. Since then, the miners' contracts have steadily risen. They enjoy the highest industrial wage scale and health and welfare benefits of all workers in the United States, which means in the whole world.

In the most recent period, Lewis has appeared personally before congressional committees and vigorously opposed any form of legislation to regulate unions. As he opposed capitulation to the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947 and attacked the late William Green and Philip Murray for their "cringing toadyism," so he has dismissed the present leaders of the AFL-CIO, like George Meany and Walter Reuther, who went along with the campaign against "labor racketeers" which camouflaged the drive for new anti-union legislation.

But Lewis has never come up with a proper answer for the over-all problem of the coal miners. Every day miners are losing their jobs. Other fuels are replacing coal. Mechanization is reducing the labor force. The big question of capitalist anarchism that confronted labor in 1929 faces the miners and American labor generally in 1959.

Compared to the labor bureaucrats of his generation and the present "labor statesmen" like Reuther and Meany, Lewis is a giant. He has earned an honored place in history. He led the first great stage of the battle for the emancipation of American labor — the building of industrial unionism. It is his tragedy that he has not used his tremendous talents and fighting ability to help lead the workers to the next stage — the building of labor's own political party.

For that we need men of labor with broader vision, those who model themselves on the great pattern of Eugene Debs and Big Bill Haywood, who believed in the power of the workers and saw the socialist future.

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THE MILITANT

Wall Street Ships Dollars Just the Way Lenin Said

"History is taking mankind directly into the volcanic eruption of American imperialism."

These words were written by Leon Trotsky in 1934. At the time the prediction may have seemed far-fetched. The main preoccupation in America was the great depression. The isolationist mood still dominated foreign policy.

Yet only a few years later, Roosevelt plunged the country into the second world war, and barely a decade after Trotsky's forecast, Wall Street could boast that the borders of the United States had been pushed to Central Europe and to the coast of China.

The imperialism of capitalism, however, is much more than a matter of military thrusts. As Lenin stressed, the primary feature is economic expansion. This side of American imperialism receives little attention; yet it is undoubtedly of great moment in world politics.

An article in the Dec. 11 Wall Street Journal presents an instructive illustration of what has been happening on this front in recent years. It's about the dollar invasion of the Union of South Africa.

"The lure of South Africa is broader than cheap labor," explains the author, Ray Vicker. "This country is rich in raw materials, is already the most heavily industrialized country in Africa and is in an excellent position to tap the largely unexploited sales and marketing possibilities of this huge continent."

That's exactly according to Leninist theory. What imper-

ialist capital seeks, said Lenin, is cheap labor, raw materials, and new markets.

Vicker cites impressive figures. "The Union of South Africa . . . currently is a beehive of U.S. industry. Some 175 American companies now operate subsidiaries here, turning out everything from mining machinery to breakfast food.

"South African Reserve Bank authorities estimate that about \$600 million of American capital has been invested directly or indirectly in this country — more than in all the rest of Africa combined. The figures jumped from \$479 million in 1956 and from only \$85 million in 1943, say the bank's officials."

One of the consequences of the American build-up of South Africa's industries has been a cut in imports from the United States. "From a high of nearly \$500 million in 1948, the volume of these shipments slid to \$248.7 million last year and this year, at the end of eight months, shipments were running 24% below the 1958 rate."

"This same story, repeated in dozens of other countries, partly explains why the U.S. will experience a balance of payments deficit of around \$4 billion in its dealings with other nations this year — and why there is a continuing drain on U.S. gold reserves."

Among the companies making heavy investments are Parke, Davis & Co., Goodyear Tire & Rubber, Phillips Petroleum, International Harvester, Chase Manhattan Bank, the Ferro Corp. of Cleveland, Minnesota Mining & Manufactur-

ing, and Heinemann Electric Co. of New Jersey.

"One of the attractions that South Africa holds for American companies is the receptiveness of the nation's government to foreign investors, in contrast to the attitudes of some of Africa's newly independent states, which sometimes give the impression of regarding outside capital as just another tool of colonialism," explains Vicker.

"We've never found a more business-minded government anywhere," says Charles W. Engelhard, rugg edly built chairman of Engelhard Industries, Newark, N. J. . . .

"A foreign investor need never fear nationalization here. He is always free to repatriate his profits and his capital," says Dr. T. E. Donges, South Africa's minister of finance . . .

The article ends with a paragraph that might well be included as a footnote in the next edition of Lenin's "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism."

"A world-wide trend lies behind the march of investments to countries such as South Africa. U.S. investments in plants abroad totaled \$27.1 billion at the end of 1958, up \$1.9 billion from the year before and more than double the \$11.7 billion of 1950." This has converted an estimated one million workers in other countries into employees of U.S. capital. "Over 3,000 American firms have such investments and operations beyond the limits of the U.S., with total sales exceeding \$30 billion annually, nearly double the volume of U.S. exports this year."

... Reuther and Kennedy

(Continued from Page 1)

of the battle against the massed foes of labor. "There were some men who stood up and fought for us," vociferated Woodcock in a soaring peroration, "there were some men who stood up, I might add, at a time when some of our own ranks had sort of thrown in the towel."

"Two of these men were . . . Senators Morse and Langer, who voted against the bill? No! . . . Senator Kennedy of Massachusetts and Senator McNamara of Michigan," who voted for!

"Now," asserted Woodcock, summing up his presentation, "what is the issue? Big business would like to see us turn against the Kennedys and McNamaras and the people who have stood with us when the heat was on because it furthers their interest and it leads us down the road of defeat in 1960. Ergo? Anyone who refuses to acclaim Kennedy as a 'friend' is, ipso facto, an agent of big business and an enemy of labor."

The gist of Woodcock's harangue was incorporated in the political action resolution adopted by the UAW convention. It was later submitted in resolution form to the recent AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department conference by Reuther who added:

"In this fight the IUD will not be misled or intimidated by the enemies of the democratic labor movement who in recent weeks have tried dishonestly to graft the infamous 'Landrurn-Griffin' label on the best friends of labor in the Senate and House. Their purpose is to confuse, demoralize and immobilize the liberal-labor political forces in the 1960 election campaign."

At the risk of being stigmatized as "enemies of the democratic labor movement," let us listen to the evidence of a man who should be in, a position to know — Senator Wayne Morse, liberal Democrat, acknowledged "friend" of labor and one of the two senators to vote against the "killer" bill.

The Inside Story

Addressing the recent national convention of the AFL-CIO Allied Industrial Workers in Milwaukee, Senator Morse declared: "As Chairman of the conference and ranking Labor Committee Senator on the conference, the Senator from Massachusetts, Mr. Kennedy, was the principal architect of this new law. But it is not often that the Senate receives such a defensive and apologetic presentation as we did in the case of this conference report."

"I was one of the conferees," Morse continues, "and on seven different issues I moved that the Senate conferees stand in disagreement and go back to the Senate for instructions. On each occasion Kennedy voted with the Republicans and prevented further

Senate consideration of these seven issues. Each of them involved clear anti-labor issues, such as the 'no man's land' issue, bonding, consumer picketing, short-form reporting for small unions, situs picketing, struck goods agreements, and inspection of membership lists."

On the basis of his experience Morse is constrained to conclude: "I am convinced that if Kennedy had supported me in my motions to take these issues back to the floor of the Senate for instructions we would have prevailed in the Senate on several of these issues and the final bill would have been much better than the vicious Kennedy-Landrurn-Griffin bill which was passed."

"Instead, he led the majority of Senate conferees into accepting point after point from the Landrurn-Griffin bill, until the conference report can only be appropriately called the Kennedy-Landrurn-Griffin law."

Morse then concludes with this indictment: "Because labor, itself, and the professed friends of labor in Congress lacked the fortitude to stand their ground, the labor movement suffered its worst setback since passage of the Taft-Hartley Act."

Who Is Lying?

The version that Morse presents is obviously at variance with that submitted by Reuther and Woodcock. They can't all be telling the truth. Someone must be lying! The Morse speech was widely publicized in the labor press. Its contents must be known to all concerned. To our knowledge, his version has never been challenged. It corresponds to the established facts and published record.

Is it possible that Reuther is engaged in the gentle art of twisting in deference to a political policy which can stand up only if propped by falsehood and deception? True, his steam roller was able to ram his version through the UAW convention. But when he tried to duplicate the feat among his bureaucratic equals at the IUD conference he could not get enough support to get his resolution out of committee onto the floor for debate. The opposition blocked the whitewash on the simple proposition that the acid test of all "friends" in Congress should be how they voted on the "killer" bill. Submitted to this test, Kennedy was summarily flunked.

We leave it up to you, gentle readers, whether by this one incident alone the Reuthers in the American labor movement do not merit the title: Twisters. And by virtue of their title to earn their just reward of being "spurned and spat at" by all honest workers.

Why not pass this copy of the Militant on to a friend?

Find 9 "Guilty" In Denver T-H "Oath" Case

Convicted Dec. 17 of "conspiring to defraud" the government, nine Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' leaders face possible maximum penalties of five years in prison and \$10,000 fines. They were charged with violating the non-Communist oath provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Telford Taylor, chief defense counsel, announced his intention of appealing the verdict, rendered by a U.S. District Court jury in Denver, Colo.

Although the indictment against them dates back to 1956, the Justice department's decision to bring the case to trial on Nov. 2 coincided with the union's strike against the copper trust (American Smelting & Refining, Kennecott, Anaconda, Phelps Dodge and Magma Copper) in several Western states.

American Smelting & Refining and Kennecott, two of the "Big Five," reached a settlement with the union last week. The agreement calls for a 22.3-cent-an-hour pay increase and an 18½-month contract. Kennecott refused to settle the four-month strike, however, until the union agreed to a "no strike" clause in the contract.

EVERYONE KNOWS THAT The House Ways and Means Committee says that most businessmen lean over backward to avoid padding their expense accounts, even to the point of taking a loss.

Calendar of Events

CHICAGO
WELCOME THE NEW DECADE! Fun and laughter at the New Year's Eve shindig. On the date you can't forget. Thurs., Dec. 31, 9:30 p.m., 777 West Adams. Donation \$1.

LOS ANGELES
HAPPY NEW YEAR'S EVE PARTY! Featuring "Scandals of '59." Thurs., Dec. 31, from 9:30 p.m. at 3339-41 Descanso Drive. Donation \$1.

MINNEAPOLIS
CELEBRATE NEW YEAR'S EVE with the Socialist Workers party. Thurs., Dec. 31, 9 p.m., 322 Hennepin Ave., 2nd floor. Food, refreshments.

NEW YORK
Celebrate New Year's Eve in a congenial and friendly atmosphere at 116 University Place. Dancing and refreshments. The date? Dec. 31, from 9 p.m. until the whistles blow. Contribution \$1.50.

Wagner Seeks To Turn Jack Into Scapegoat

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK — Democratic Mayor Wagner's scandal-ridden Tammany Hall administration now has a scapegoat with which to divert public attention from the higher-ups in one of the most corrupt regimes the country's biggest city has ever suffered.

Slated to take the rap for the Democratic party is Hulan Jack, Manhattan Borough president. A Negro politician who has worked long and faithfully for Tammany, he is charged with accepting a \$5,500 favor from Sidney J. Ungar, a notorious real-estate shark.

This latest scandal follows the sensational exposures of widespread racketeering among weights and measures inspectors in collusion with butchers and gasoline vendors.

Jack was quickly hauled before a grand jury on the basis of information obtained by the New York Post, a normally Democratic but anti-Tammany paper, that Ungar had paid for remodeling and redecorating Jack's Harlem apartment.

The paper-hanging work was done as the borough president was scheduled to vote on whether or not to give Ungar sponsorship of a \$30-million Title I housing project. Both men now claim the money was a loan.

Reaction in Harlem

The alacrity with which the district attorney and the mayor moved against Jack, who holds the highest elective administrative office yet won by a Negro in this country, has sparked wide resentment in the Negro community.

This resentment springs not from illusions about Jack's political purity but from the fact that the administration has shown no similar zeal when confronted with innumerable cases of malfeasance by white politicians.

Belief is strong that the willingness of the administration to make a public example out of Jack is consistent with recent moves by Tammany boss Carmine De Sapio to cut down what little influence Negro politicians have established in Democratic party councils.

Harlem's resentment was reflected in an unusual statement supporting Jack which was issued Dec. 19 by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell and a group of Harlem Democratic district leaders. In the 1958 elections they bitterly fought Jack for serving as a front man in an unsuccessful De Sapio campaign to keep Powell from returning to Congress.

J. Raymond Jones, a Powell associate widely respected for his astuteness as a political pulse-taker, told newsmen that the support for Jack "only reflects the general sentiment of the Harlem community." He noted that "many people in Harlem feel that Hulan is being lynched politically."

This feeling is in no way inconsistent with resentment over the political corruption with which New York City reeks. If every hack in public office who has accepted favors similar to the one charged against Jack were thrown out, City Hall would be a lonely building.

Slumlord

The spotlight is on Jack, but the shadowy Ungar might well prove to be the more interesting figure.

Ungar, who has swum in the Tammany school for a long time, established a realty and management syndicate when

Wagner was elected in 1953. He appeared to be doing fine. Then the Post, which thinks that the De Sapio leadership makes poor publicity for the Democratic party, revealed that Ungar — when he was about to be handed a lucrative Title I "slum clearance" project — was the owner of Harlem and East Bronx slums plastered with building violations. This led to the current exposure of the warmth of Ungar's concern for the comforts of the borough president.

Ungar has also been pegged as having some kind of connection with Thomas J. Shannon who — as vice-president of Robert Moses' Slum Clearance Committee — aggressively pushed the interests of the bank which he heads.

Revelations by Fred Cook and Gene Gleason in the New York World Telegram and the Nation showed that Shannon and numerous other Moses-De Sapio associates turned Title I into a gold mine at the expense of this city's slum dwellers. As of this date, the administration has taken no action against city officials involved. No grand jury has questioned Robert Moses.

No Love Involved

However, it cannot be charged that Tammany's willingness to sacrifice Jack represents any loss of love for him. There never was any love to begin with. His nomination for the borough presidency in 1953 was an act of political expediency, conceded with great reluctance.

In the previous campaign the American Labor party had nominated Ewart Guinier, a Negro for the office, and he polled an impressive minority vote. In 1953, Tammany was again about to pick a white political wheel horse to run for the office when the machine learned that the Republicans had decided to profit from the ALP experience and nominate a Negro. Tammany saw what was up and met the competition by giving Jack the nomination.

Perhaps the best symbol of Jack's status as a Negro politician in the Democratic hierarchy is his redecorated home about which the daily press is expressing so much moral "shock." The apartment is in a run-down, six-story, 43-tenant building on West 110 Street. That's in the Harlem ghetto.

One Place to Send A Richly Deserved Season's Greeting

Lloyd Barenblatt, the civil liberties fighter who defied the House Un-American Activities Committee, is serving his six-month prison term at the Federal Correctional Institution, Danbury, Conn. Why not send a season's greeting card to let him know that he is in the mind and heart of every fighter for human rights.

Flivver Queen

Assembly line employees of the Ford Motor Co. weren't invited, but they helped finance a \$100,000 coming-out party for Charlotte Ford, daughter of the company president, Henry II.

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**
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