

Role of Capitalists In Chinese Crisis

(See Page 2)

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XXI - No. 27

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JULY 8, 1957

PRICE 10c

Soviet Purge Hits Old-Line Stalinists

New York SWP Raises A-Tests In City Election

NEW YORK, June 30 — A proposal that the City Council conduct a referendum vote that would permit the people of New York to express their view on whether or not nuclear tests should be halted will be featured in the city elections campaign of the Socialist Workers Party. The SWP is entering four candidates in the coming New York City elections.

The campaign plank for a nuclear-test referendum was en-

dorsed by a city-wide conference of the Party held here today. The conference designated Joyce Cowley as candidate for Mayor, Lillian Kiesel for President of the City Council and Harold Robbins for Comptroller. Brooklyn representatives to the conference selected Alvin Berman as candidate for Borough President of Brooklyn.

The candidates will also campaign on the issue of independent labor political action and the need for the building of a Labor Party. Another important issue will be the struggle against segregation in housing, schools and jobs. The SWP candidates will fight for the passage of the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs anti-bias housing bill and demand its immediate and effective enforcement if the law is passed.

Joyce Cowley is a writer for the Militant and was the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in 1956. Lillian Kiesel is an office worker, Harold Robbins, a house painter, and Alvin Berman, a television mechanic. The nominations of the four candidates are subject to ratification by a nominating convention of the organization scheduled to take place when the circulation of nominating petitions gets under way. Nominating petitions are required to secure a place on the ballot for independent candidates.

Steel Price Hike Blamed on Unions By Billionaire Co.

By Myra Tanner Weiss

On June 27, the United States Steel Corporation, the nation's biggest steel producer, announced a \$6 increase in the price of a ton of steel. This followed by one day an expression of alarm by Eisenhower at his June 26 press conference over the continued growth of inflation. Consumer prices hit their ninth consecutive record high in May.

The steel corporation timed its announcement of a price increase with the second installment of wage increases incorporated in the union contract after the strike of steel workers last summer. The steel company expected a wave of protest against its price increase because of the pressure of already mounting inflation and wanted to throw the blame for this new price boost onto the steel workers.

Their strategy succeeded with the capitalist press. With almost complete unanimity it blamed the wage increases on last year for the new price hike. The New York Times especially singled out the annual increases incorporated in most long-term union contracts for attack in its June 29 editorial columns. It characterized these increases as "an economic time-bomb (or series of bombs)."

There is no question that the increase in the price of steel will be reflected in the price of those commodities that use steel. But the idea that wage increases can be blamed for these price increases is utter nonsense. Wage

(Continued on page 4)



NEWS ITEM: Several hundred scientists and other observers were evacuated from a control point eight miles from where an atom bomb was exploded in Nevada, June 18. The Associated Press reports that evacuation was made because "winds from the north might have carried a dangerous amount of fallout onto these points."

U.S. AGREES TO 10-MONTH A-TEST BAN -- WITH STRINGS

By Herman Chauka

JULY 3 — After weeks of trying to get out from under the Soviet proposal for a ban on nuclear tests, the United States yesterday made a counter proposal for a ten-month suspension of tests. The Soviet delegate to the London disarmament conference, where the U.S. proposal was made, indicated "gratification" with the move. Washington's proposal indicates that its recent "clean-bomb" propaganda campaign has failed to offset the powerful world-wide movement for a halt to the deadly tests.

The original Soviet proposal had been for an immediate two or three-year halt to the tests leading to a permanent ban. It also stipulated that the halt to testing not be tied to any other

disarmament issue under discussion. The U.S. counter-offer appears to contain a maximum of built-in escape clauses. The principal loophole is insistence on the proposition that test-suspension be made contingent on a second-step agreement for a complete halt to the production of nuclear weapons. Throughout, emphasis was placed by the U.S. on the "temporary" nature of the proposed ban. At the same time it is seeking to keep the door open for resumption of tests by refusing to spell out conditions for continuance of the ban after the ten-month period.

The New York Times correspondent at the London conference deduced from the remarks of the U.S. representative, Harold Stassen, that "During the ten-month period, national atti-

tudes... would decide whether the period was to be expanded to two or three years or whether the agreement was to be broken off and the tests resumed."

The ten-month proposal was made formally by British representative Selwyn Lloyd on behalf of England, France, Canada and the U.S. But all Soviet questions on the offer were directed to Stassen. The Times correspondent quite candidly explained, "This was natural since the Western plan, in essence, represented a decision taken by the United States Government..."

Meanwhile, it was reported today that the U.S. government will celebrate the Fourth of July by exploding in Nevada the largest atomic blast ever recorded in this country.

Kremlin Charges Patterned After 20th-Congress Indictment of Stalin

JULY 4 — As we go to press, the first full reports are being received here on the ouster from the Soviet ruling clique of V. M. Molotov, Georgi Malenkov, Lazar Kaganovich and Dmitri Shepilov. The dramatic ouster of these leading Stalinist bureaucrats reflects the continuing crisis of the entire Soviet bureaucracy as it erupted at the 20th Congress. There, an admission of Stalin's heinous crimes was made and a pledge to rectify them was offered as major concessions to the steadily increasing pressure of the Soviet people for democratic rights and improved living standards.

The official communique of the Soviet Communist Party on the present development indicates that the four were removed from the all-powerful Presidium of the party's Central Committee on charges which closely follow those made by Khrushchev in his historic 20th-Congress indictment of Stalin.

U. S. Turns Down Arab Plea to End Arms to France

The U.S. State Department on June 28 told eleven Arab nations that U.S. imperialism would not stop its financing and arming of the French army engaged in shooting Algerian freedom-fighters into submission. This constituted a categorical refusal of the formal diplomatic demand made on May 24 by the governments of all the Arab nations of the world. So universal in the Arab world is mass indignation over the reign of terror and torture being carried on by French imperialism in Algeria that even those Arab governments which are in the pay of U.S. or British imperialism had to join the diplomatic demand that the U.S. cease its support of France.

The memorandum of the Arab nations included a 5,000-word documented list of "outrageous acts of terror and atrocities" by the French military and police forces in Algeria. It cited the "bombing and burning" of Algerian villages as well as the "torture and execution of prisoners." It also requested that the U.S. cooperate to bring about "an impartial international investigation" of the situation in Algeria.

The State Department's answer turned the Arab nations down on each demand. Even the last—an international investigation—was rejected. Indeed, it has been U.S. votes and influence which for several years now have blocked the UN investigation of the repression in Algeria urged by the Asian-Arab countries. This casts a withering light on the State Department's hypocrisy about the UN report on Hungary. When the crimes to be investigated are those of the Kremlin and their exposure thus aids the State Department's propaganda, Dulles and Co. are hot for a UN investigation. When an investigation would expose the equally bloody crimes of an imperialist partner of Wall Street, the U.S. delegation in the UN prevents an investigation.

U.S. rejection of the Arab nations' plea was delayed until June 28 when a Moslem mosque was officially opened in Washington D.C. In a propaganda effort to offset the anger in the Arab world over U.S. refusal to stop financial and military aid to the French in Algeria, President and Mrs. Eisenhower attended the opening of the mosque and even insisted on taking off their shoes as a mark of respect in entering it. This will be of small consolation to Algerian freedom-fighters being shot down with American-made bullets.

NAACP Head Hits Gov't Hypocrisy

Roy Wilkins, speaking before the closing session of the NAACP convention in Detroit, June 30, said: "When Hungarians resist oppression they are called heroes; when American Negroes legally and peacefully resist oppression they are called agitators. Our Government sends observers to Hungary, organizes airlifts, sets up refugee camps, and opens immigration doors; but it does not say a mumbleing word to the Deep South states about persecution, nor does it offer to aid a single black refugee."

against measures... to improve relations with Yugoslavia." The four are also charged with resisting pledges made at the 20th Congress to "rectify distortions of the Leninist nationalities policy committed in the past."

Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov are also branded guilty of "stubborn resistance to the measures... to do away with the consequences of the personality cult, to eliminate the violations of revolutionary law that had been committed."

Following the Hungarian revolution, the Kremlin bureaucracy tried to put the brakes on the reform program of the last four years. The present indictment of the old-line Stalinists for trying "to stubbornly cling to obsolete forms and methods of work" indicate that the unabating pressure of the Soviet workers has impressed upon Khrushchev and his associates the impossibility of canceling the program of concessions to the masses.

British Public Aroused by News of Gov't Wire-tapping

By Peter Fryer
Special London Correspondent

The British public and the British Press have just woken up to the fact that systematic and large-scale telephone tapping, which many of them have always regarded as the prerogative of the authorities on the other side of the Atlantic, is being carried out here in Britain, too.

So vociferous has the clamor inside and outside Parliament become that the Government has appointed a committee of three Privy Counsellors, with a former appeal judge as chairman, to investigate phone-tapping.

This decision comes after conversations between Prime Minister Macmillan, Home Secretary Butler, and the leaders of the Labor and Liberal Parties in the House of Commons, Gaitskell and Grimond.

What sparked off public anxiety was the disclosure that transcripts of recorded telephone conversations between a barrister and his clients had been made available by the Government department which does these things to the Bar Council.

The transcripts were read this

week at the inquiry currently being held into this barrister's professional conduct.

This is a most ominous precedent. It means that no working-class organization can feel free to use the telephone in carrying out its activities. It means that if the powers that be ever want to repeat the kind of prosecutions made a few years ago, when rank-and-file dockers' leaders were brought into court on "conspiracy" charges because they led a strike, then real or faked or slightly "doctored" telephone conversations could figure prominently in the evidence.

What is new in this case is not that labor movement telephones are being tapped. This has been going on in Britain ever since Alexander Graham Bell, though it is next to impossible to prove. What is new is that the tappers and their masters will henceforward—if the Bar Council business is allowed to stand as a precedent—feel free to use the results of their keyhole labors in open court.

A naive observer of this week's flurry of editorials and Parliamentary questions would have

(Continued on page 2)

IN THIS ISSUE

The Crimes of
French Imperialism

(See Page 3)

NAACP Conference Ducks Real Issues

DETROIT, June 30—The 48th annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People ended today after six days of meetings and pledges to continue the fight against Jim Crow segregation and discrimination.

Such pledges clearly express the sentiments of the Negro people and their allies in the fight for equality. But they don't meet the need for a program of action capable of winning the fight.

These annual meetings of the NAACP are sometimes referred to as "conventions." But that's not accurate. Conventions usually are gatherings where delegates debate and decide policy and select their leaders.

REAL NATURE OF MEET

NAACP conferences are different from that. The real policies are decided by the board of directors, who are chosen not by the delegates but by national referendums in which few members participate. The NAACP conference has become primarily an audience for explaining and popularizing policies, partly in conference "workshop" sessions where genuine differences of opinion are rarely voiced, and mainly through public mass meetings featuring "big name" speakers.

This produces oratory, often

good for newspaper headlines. But neither oratory nor publicity alone can provide the answers to the many difficult problems facing the Negro struggle today, such as:

How to meet the growing drive to outlaw or cripple the NAACP in the South, where it already has been banned by three states? How to combat the campaigns of the Southern Democrats and White Citizens Councils to maintain segregation through laws, racist violence and economic pressure? How to achieve the passage and enforcement of civil rights legislation in Washington?

What answers do the NAACP leaders offer? Board chairman Channing H. Tobias, in the conference keynote speech, noted that the Negro struggle and the NAACP are confronted with a "grave and unprecedented crisis." The answer, he said, must be "calm reasonableness."

This was applauded by the daily papers here, which are not exactly crusaders for Negro rights. They understood what Tobias meant: Let's go slow, let's not let things get out of hand, let's continue relying on the courts and legal appeals to meet the crisis.

MONTGOMERY CITED

This is the well-known policy of gradualism and reliance on

the courts that has guided the NAACP up to now. The alternative to it is not un-calm un-reasonableness, but mass action. And mass action works, as the Montgomery bus boycott proved. The Montgomery boycott was singled out in the NAACP annual report as one of the outstanding gains of the year. But the NAACP still hasn't analyzed the difference between Montgomery and other places where setbacks rather than gains had to be recorded in this last year. Nor was the difference made clear by Rev. Martin L. King, Jr., Montgomery leader, in his speech accepting the Spingarn medal here Friday night.

The difference is crucial, and has to be absorbed if gains are to continue in the future. The Montgomery movement went to court, made legal appeals, etc. But, unlike the NAACP, it didn't rely on them alone. It organized mass action, mass resistance to Jim Crow on the buses. That's why they won. That's the decisive difference, which Rev. King seems unable to explain and popularize adequately because he is so busy expounding a theory that attributes to the Negro some mystical "willingness to suffer" and "refusal to hit back."

What was lacking at this conference was someone to get up and speak the simple truth: "We

must use the courts, but we can't depend on them alone. Montgomery showed the way. If they could make gains by combining mass action with legal action, why can't we do the same in other parts of the South? Above all, why can't we do the same in the North?"

Editors of the capitalist press wouldn't hail such a speech, but millions of opponents of Jim Crow would. If the NAACP took that kind of approach, it wouldn't have so much trouble recruiting 350,000 members in a country with 16 million Negroes.

NEW PARTY NEEDED

MASS action is one part of the answer; POLITICAL action is the other.

Both capitalist parties are responsible for the failure to get any civil rights legislation through Congress; the interests of the Negro struggle require that both parties be exposed and driven out of power, which can be done only through the formation of a new party uniting the workers, farmers and Negroes—that is, a labor party.

But none of the speakers at the conference came close to endorsing a break with both capitalist parties in the direction of a labor party. Some of them did what they could to cover up for the liberal Democrats; others went so far as to criticize both

old parties—but mildly, and without suggesting any alternative to the two-party system.

One of the speakers was Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., leader of Americans for Democratic Action, which functions as a left wing of the Democratic Party. He condemned Eisenhower and Nixon for refusing to go South and speak out against anti-Negro violence. He seemed to have forgotten that Democratic candidates Stevenson and Kefauver were similarly silent on the question when they toured the South last year. Anyhow, he didn't mention it.

Another speaker was Walter Reuther, UAW president, who drew cheers with his denunciations of Eastland. But Reuther had nothing to say about the bloc of liberal Democrats, all elected with his support, who voted with the Dixiecrats in the Senate to bury the civil rights bill in Eastland's committee just last week. He also seemed to have forgotten Eastland is head of that powerful committee partly because Reuther and other labor leaders helped to give the Democrats control of the Senate in last year's election. Anyhow, he didn't mention it.

Clarence Mitchell, NAACP Washington bureau director, on the other hand, did name Senators Kefauver and Kennedy

(Continued on page 4)

Daily Worker Stand A Win for Foster

By Harry Ring

Last November Communist Party leader William Z. Foster vehemently assailed the editors of the Daily Worker for daring to criticize the Kremlin's reactionary assault on the Hungarian people.

The Daily Worker then published a defense of its editorial stand by Max Gordon which accurately pegged Foster's line as a "platform of the old, blind apologetics" for the Kremlin. But since that time Daily Worker editor John Gates has led a steady, shameful retreat before Foster's fire. This retreat has now culminated in an ignominious capitulation, as demonstrated by the June 25 Daily Worker editorial on the UN report on Hungary.

At the Communist Party national convention last February, the Gates group supported a rotten compromise with Foster, according to which the party would "neither condemn or condone" the Russian role in Hungary. The present editorial, however, condones the Russian invasion in straight Fosterite language.

"HORTHYTES"

The editorial declares that the committee which prepared the UN report, "refused to authenticate the mass of evidence, beginning with State Department and Central Intelligence Agency policy, which showed the belligerent exploitation of popular dissatisfaction by organized Horthyite clerical-fascist forces within Hungary and imperialist and emigre circles abroad for the purpose of overthrowing socialism."

This is followed by the equally false claim that "The reasons for popular discontent in Hungary, which proved so fertile for counter-revolutionary activity, are being discussed, examined and rectified throughout the socialist world and the Communist movement."

The Daily Worker then goes on to parrot the Moscow line that the Kremlin and its Hungarian puppet regime are "rectifying mistakes" and "restoring socialist order." This contention was answered in advance by one of the paper's own staff writers, Reviewing Herbert Aptheker's book *The Truth About Hungary*, Robert Friedman wrote in the June 19 Daily Worker:

"Aptheker sees in Hungary after the storm a government which has learned its lesson from the past. I am not so sanguine. Russian has been restored as a compulsory second language. The right to strike is proscribed by death penalty. The Hungarian people have no more opportunity to recall Premier Janos Kadar by popular referendum at stated intervals than they had to demonstrate their dissatisfaction with Rakosi."

The Daily Worker now finds itself in the difficult and incongruous position of peddling a line that a large number, if not a majority, of its own writers and editors can't stomach.

EXPRESSED OPPOSITION

In addition to Friedman and Gordon, opposition to the Kremlin role in Hungary has been expressed by Joseph Clark and Alan Max. Lester Rodney took a particularly clear-cut stand on the issue last winter. Radio and

Mao and the Chinese Capitalists

(Second of a series)
By C. R. Hubbard

As reported last week, Mao Tse-tung's speech on the "Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," devotes a major section to the relationship between the Chinese working class and a remnant of the capitalist class.

The reason this is still a serious problem in China is that, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the social revolution — that is, the transformation of private property in the means of production to state property — has not been completed. Because the Mao leadership waged the revolutionary war against Chiang Kai-shek with the Stalinist policy of bringing the "bloc of four classes" to power, the CCP maintained an alliance with a section of the capitalist class. In the post-revolutionary period, the CCP gave state protection to this capitalist class and to its exploitation of the workers. Mao and other CCP leaders rationalize this by expressing the hope that the capitalist elements will gradually "transform" themselves into "workers."

Of course, those capitalists who tied their fortunes to Chiang Kai-shek and his U.S. imperialist

reducing the quality of goods produced, by concealing and hoarding supplies when state industries could not get them and by exorbitant prices demanded from both consumers and the state. It became necessary to intervene with at least some measure of control by the government. The organization of "joint state-private" industry — labeled the "peaceful transformation" of private into state enterprise — was the device used by the CCP.

Obtaining information on the actual state of industry, the size of its capitalist sector and the struggle between the state sector and the private is very difficult. However, on the occasion of the first anniversary of Shanghai's "joint enterprises," some information was given by the Peoples' Daily of Peking and translated by the New China News Agency, Feb. 1. According to this Chinese government source, private enterprises in Shanghai account for half of the nation's total private industry and commerce. The NCNA reported that, "84,000 capitalist plants were involved, 13,700 capitalists had been appointed the managers, vice-managers, directors or vice-directors of the new specialized companies and shops. Many of them were now managing associated groups of factories or shops."

CADRES EXERCISE CONTROL

In order to "peacefully" effect some degree of state control over the capitalists in Shanghai, the NCNA reported, "some 10,000 cadres had been sent by the state last year to the factories and shops." Seventy percent of these were workers. In addition, 2,700 "key factories" and 390 "district shops" were designated in Shanghai to "guide" nearby factories and shops of the same trade.

There can be no question that the "peaceful transformation" was not welcomed by the capitalists. But they were hardly in a position to do much about it, for their very existence was dependent on their alliance with the CCP. At least nominal support to the idea of eventual transformation into "workers" was necessary.

At a conference of the Democratic Construction Association, characterized as a "party" of capitalists, in July, 1956, most of the speakers were full of praise for the "policy of long-term co-operation among all the parties" that had been promised by the CCP. They had special praise for the profits guaranteed by the state in the form of a "rate of interest" on shares held in the means of production.

The July 16 NCNA reported that, "The speech of Hsiang Teh from Changsha won the support of many at the conference. He said that long term co-operation between political parties had the common basis of seeking a richer life. The fact that the Communist Party asked for supervision by other parties showed its sensitivity to opinions from the masses. Mutual supervision would help the Communist Party overcome its defects and improve its leadership."

CONGRESS OF CAPITALISTS

By December of last year a national congress of 1,400 delegates of capitalists and merchants from all areas was held in Peking. The chairman of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, Chen Shu-tung, said that "he was convinced that the state would not cancel the present fixed interest payments to capitalists when conditions were not ripe to do so. This annual interest was to facilitate the peaceful transformation of capitalism and to enable the capitalists to carry on their work, study and have time to change, step by step, into people relying on their own labor."

"The Chairman urged capitalists to think in the interests of the people and of the country and develop the outlook of serving the people. He said that since the free markets had been developed, a few capitalists had developed 'secret' factories to take advantage of this opening."

"He spoke," the NCNA report continues, "of the relationship between the state representatives and private owners of capital in jointly operated enterprises as the major problem in joint operated enterprises, and criticized those who were experienced in production and management for not respecting the state representatives and workers enough." Thus, after a year of transformation into "socialists," it appears "some" capitalists haven't even begun to respect their Communist "comrades."

The NCNA of Dec. 12 reported that "a major controversial topic among capitalists" at this Congress "was the payment of fixed interest and the socialist status of capitalists." Kuo Lin-shung, manager of the Shanghai Wing On Company, said that "many



This Peking Daily cartoon, which appeared last July, had a caption which told of angry, but helpless pedestrians who get splattered with mud by speeding cars. In this cartoon one sees the contempt of the rich bureaucrats who own cars for the many people who don't.

foreign visitors from abroad frequently asked him about the length of time fixed interest would be paid to capitalists in China. 'I myself was also worried about it,' he said. 'Now we know the fixed interest will go on for another 6 years at least. This is more than I expected,' he added."

KEEP LIVING STANDARD

The General Manager of the Shanghai Ta Chung Hua match factory was quoted as saying, "This policy means that we have no need to worry about the standard of living to which we are accustomed. This will help us give full play to our business knowledge and use it for the good of society."

A representative of small traders expressed a different problem: "We hope the federation will do more to assist people like us; though we are glad to hear that we can change our social status now." By change in "social status" the small trader meant a change from capitalist to "worker" as far as official standing is concerned — and without any change in his real, economic status. The small trader would like to be eligible for social benefits such as hospitalization, etc. But it should be noted that this discontented small businessman appeals to the federation of capitalists for help.

At this Congress, the idea was also expressed that "secret factories" that had developed since the free market was opened should be legalized as they fulfilled a necessary function.

The concern expressed by the capitalists over their "interest rate" and the period during which they could expect to receive it, of course, found a sympathetic ear with the Maoist bureaucrats who are far more sensitive to the opinions of capitalists than to those of the masses.

... Wire Tapping

(Continued from page 1) supposed that the Labor Party leaders would come forward as the open champions of personal liberty against the police-state methods which the Tory Government is evidently using.

He would have been mistaken. Gaitskell's anxiety has been expressed in private conversations with his opposite numbers across the floor of the House.

THEIR OWN RECORD

And no wonder! The Right-wing Labor leaders dare not commit themselves to the demand for a full-scale public inquiry and exposure of the sordid doings of Scotland Yard and the Government Communications Department.

For that would expose the lamentable fact that they too listened in to the telephone conversations of Communists, strike-leaders, and even respectable Left-Labor people, in the years when they held office, from 1945 to 1951.

This rather inhibits the Labor leaders. So they are content with a private inquiry, most of whose findings will probably remain secret anyway.

raised by Li Kang-nien, a Shanghai capitalist.

Then the NCNA hastily adds, "But all of the capitalists who spoke after him opposed this." They considered the seven-year period practical and "allowed for flexible treatment in case of need." Still, the CCP should take note of the fact that a year earlier no one would have dared to hope or propose an extension of the guaranteed profit for 20 years.

The capitalists obviously feel more and more aggressive. Conciliation whets their appetite. Step by step they press their demands and strengthen their bargaining power. Already, according to the NCNA, June 12, "Tung Shao-chen, Standing Committee member of the Tientsin Federation, argued that the running of the joint enterprises could now be safely left to the private people and that this would encourage their initiative." The NCNA also reported opposition to this idea, Heng Pei-hua "argued against the state representatives being pulled out of joint enterprises."

But it is clear that the capitalists are now pushing for a reversal of the "peaceful transformation." They want to end the control exercised by party

and state bureaucrats over their factories.

DANGEROUS TRENDS

Whatever the numerical size of this capitalist segment of industry, it is buttressed in China by a predominantly peasant population that tends inexorably toward capitalist agrarian forms of production as long as the state cannot yet support collectivized cultivation with mechanization supplied by an advanced industry. Under such circumstances a layer of rich peasants tends to rise out of the masses of the poor. And to this must be added a large class of small traders who have already moved in to fill the pores of industry and commerce with the opening of the free market. These forces constitute a serious danger of capitalist restoration.

The CCP leadership is permitting class contradictions to accumulate and intensify. This policy will prove tragically costly to the working class, if not disastrous. The struggle against conciliation to these pro-capitalist trends is therefore linked inseparably with the workers' struggle to end the bureaucratic dictatorship. The political revolution now brewing in China has thus also the task of completing the social revolution.

Religion Utilized to Split Workers in W. Germany

By John Black
(Third of a series)

Although 45% of the 60 million West Germans are Catholic, two-thirds of the industrial workers voted for the Social Democratic Party as far back as 1953. All evidence points to a steady increase in that party's vote in the intervening years. The capitalist coalition around Adenauer wants to stem the tide by driving a religious wedge into the working class. The outcome of the election may depend on this. But beyond that, the German capitalist class looks to the future.

The clerical wing of the regime has been busy attempting to blow the spark of life into a "Christian Union" designed to break the unity of the labor movement. This year's shop-committee elections gave the black-frocked errand boys of the industrial magnates of West Germany an opportunity to unfold their divisive activity. In several key industries the CGD (Christian Trade Union) ran slates. These shop-committee elections are the most accurate barometer of tendencies in the West German labor movement.

In the overwhelming number of these elections the CGD splitters received a decisive setback. But the overconfident and self-satisfied attitude of the victorious Union leaders is perhaps premature. For at least in one important case the splitters drew blood.

DECISIVE VOTES

In the Ruhr mining industries with 271 concerns and 466,645 eligible voters, 383,453 workers cast their ballots. Of this number an overwhelming 364,550 votes (96.76%) voted for committeemen running on the official union slates. The Yellow (Catholic) CGD slate received only 5,681 votes (1.48%). Similar unity sentiment was registered in the committee elections at the Deutsche Wert, Hamburg's large ship building concern. The CGD captured only one of the 25 committee posts. In the Hanover Volkswagen works the militant program of the IG Metal (the bona fide metal workers union) yielded only 190 votes to the CGD out of 5,900.

But it was quite a different story at the very important Krupp works in Essen. This city harbors the headquarters of the CGD and is a former stronghold of the pre-Hitler Catholic trade unions. The local capitalist paper, Ruhr Nachrichten, crowed: "For the first time leading Christian social functionaries and their colleagues in the DGB [the West German trade-union federation] have succeeded in taking a joint action with CGD committeemen against the Socialist group in the DGB." In other words the Catholic dual union succeeded in forming a united slate with the right-wing elements in the DGB.

The May 12 election at Krupp was for 35 committee posts. Four out of 24 posts on the plant committee were taken by the "Christian action committee" slate and seven out of eleven on the office workers' committee went to the same group. This gave them a total of 11 out of the total 35. The plant-wide Social Democratic representation went up from 11 to 16. These gains were made at the expense of the Progressive (former Communist Party) slate which declined from ten to five. The So-

cial-Democratic group, which campaigned almost entirely with anti-Communist slogans and failed to face up to the many problems confronting the workers have now given the right-wing splitters an important foothold in the plant.

On June 5, the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, with a year's feverish activity in the plants behind it, unfolded its offensive in the national elections. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Munster, in a speech before 500 delegates from the unions laid down the law. No practicing Catholic could vote for the Social Democratic Party on September 15. The main reason he gave was the conflict between the Church's concept of "natural law" and the Marxist, materialist philosophy, which he said was still the basis of Social-Democratic ideology.

WHAT ABOUT POLAND?

German Catholic workers find it hard to understand why it should be incompatible with their religious affiliations to vote for the mildly socialist SPD, when it is the only party in Poland the same Church, from Cardinal Wyszynski on down, mobilized the flock to turn out the vote for the Gomulka regime in the last election. Above all they know that a victory for Adenauer in the fall would mean a setback for the aspirations of all German workers.

The Social Democratic Party, through Dr. Adolf Arnot of its national executive committee, evaded the implications of the partisan clerical intervention in the election campaign. Arnot merely stated that the Bishop was mistaken in his assumption that the SPD still adhered to a Marxist, materialist outlook.

One hundred leading Catholic trade unionists reacting bitterly to the pro-employer election activity of the Church leaders, sent a sarcastic letter to Cardinal Frings, Archbishop of Cologne. Asking him if the Church was about to prohibit their work in the trade union federation (many of whose unions are run by Social Democrats), they informed His Excellency that careful examination of their consciences had led them to the decision to continue their activities.

The Santana Case

Tragedy of a Puerto Rican Youth

By Joyce Cowley

17 pages 10 cents

Order from: Pioneer Publishers 116 University Place New York 3, N.Y.

Coming

In the Summer Issue of the
International Socialist Review

A review by James P. Cannon of Theodore Draper's book "The Roots of American Communism."

Draper's study has been attacked by one of New York's biggest newspapers and by a leader of the Communist Party. How reliable is Draper's presentation of the facts concerning this crucial period in the history of American radicalism? Is the book worth adding to your library? A leader who "was there" gives his estimate.

Make sure you don't miss this important review-article. Begin your subscription with the Summer number. Only \$2.50 for eight issues.

International Socialist Review
116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

Calendar Of Events

New York
American Youth for Socialism holds open meetings every Tuesday night at 8:00 P.M., at 116 University Place. A short business meeting is followed by an interesting educational discussion on Tuesday, July 9, will be led by Rose Jackson on the topic "Is Dialectical Logic Valid Today?"

In Detroit
Friday Night Socialist Forum. Fri., July 12, 8 P.M.: "The New Supreme Court Decisions and the Liberal Sellout of the Civil Rights Bill." 3737 Woodward.

Subscription \$3 per year.
 \$1.50 for 6 months. Foreign:
 \$4.50 per year; \$2.25 for 6
 months. Canadian: \$3.50 per
 year; \$1.75 for 6 months.
 Bundle Orders: 5 or more
 copies 5c each in U.S., 7c
 each in foreign countries.

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 2-7468
 Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS
 Business Manager: FRANCES JAMES

Signed articles by contribu-
 tors do not necessarily rep-
 resent the Militant's policies.
 These are expressed in its
 editorials.
 *Entered as second class
 matter March 7, 1944 at the
 Post Office at New York,
 N.Y., under the act of March
 3, 1879.

Vol. XXI - No. 27

Monday, July 8, 1957

How Brennan Got There

Elsewhere in this issue we reprint a timely article from the Industrial Worker pointing out the mutually exclusive nature of radicals and racketeers in the labor movement. To take the point further: the bosses, their press, Republican and Democratic politicians and the right-wing labor leaders — however much they cry out against labor racketeering — do not hesitate to use racketeers and hoodlums as mercenaries against rank-and-file control and against radical leadership in the unions. The case of the Minneapolis Teamsters is classic in this regard. It is an undisputed matter of record that the organizing drives which transformed the Teamsters from a small, ineffectual craft union into a national power were initiated by General Drivers Local 544 in Minneapolis in the 1930's under the leadership of revolutionary socialists (Vincent Dunne, Farrell Dobbs and other prominent Trotskyists.) Minneapolis was transformed from an open-shop haven into a solid union town — with wages and conditions surpassed by none, and better than most — under the leadership of Local 574 (later changed to 544). All of this was accomplished over the bitter and violent opposition of the employers and the bureaucracy of Daniel J. Tobin, then international president of the Teamsters union. It was done by the workers themselves under a radical leadership. The paid officers of the local got truck-drivers' wages and were laughed at by other Teamster officials for their

meager expense accounts. But they had the respect of the workers as measured by the votes they received in democratically-conducted elections. The Trotskyist leaders were finally forced out in 1941 over the opposition of the membership. This was achieved through a gang-up of the federal government (under Roosevelt's personal direction), the Minnesota state government (then headed by Harold Stassen, the employers, and a small army of gangsters, racketeers and job-seeking bureaucrats sent in by Tobin.) Eighteen Local 544 and Socialist Workers Party leaders were jailed under the Smith Act as part of this attack. Local 544, formerly one of the most respected union locals in America, today reeks with bureaucratic corruption. Its secretary-treasurer, Sidney Brennan, the Tobin appointee who took over after the radicals were ousted, is today third international vice-president of the Teamsters union and has been convicted in the federal courts of taking bribery from employers. He is expected to figure in the McClellan committee hearings. So it must be remembered that when the capitalist politicians and the boss press — backed up by right-wing labor leaders — scream for legislation regulating the unions, it is really the rank and file they are aiming at and not the racketeers, no matter what they say. For they helped to put the racketeers there in the first place.

Thieves Fall Out



Soviet twin city boss Nikita Khrushchev (left) in last available photograph with Georgi Malenkov. Onetime secretary to Stalin, Malenkov became Premier after the death of the late dictator. He was later ousted and made a Deputy Premier and Minister of Power Stations. He is now charged with functioning along with Molotov and Kaganovich as a group within the government and party apparatus that "went so far as to continue its struggle against the reorganization of industrial management, even after the approval of the above measure in the course of a countrywide discussion and the subsequent adoption of the law at a session of the Supreme Soviet." This refers to Khrushchev's recent plan for industrial reorganization.

Nuclear Test Ban Is Advocated At Twin Cities Meet

"The problem of ending the nuclear tests is both a political and moral issue. The moral issue is whether we have the right to endanger other people. I think that if America would say 'we will stop this testing'—whether Russia, Britain and France test or not, that such an action would carry sufficient weight in the world that a moral force would come up which would stop other countries from testing." This opinion was expressed by Mrs. Nanette Roberts speaking before the Twin Cities Labor Forum, June 28. Mrs. Roberts is the originator of a petition circulated at the University of Minnesota and signed by 1,200 persons requesting a ban to nuclear testing. Tom Leonard, Militant correspondent, also spoke. He said the question of nuclear bomb testing should be put to a national referendum. "If the American people were given an opportunity to register their protest," said Leonard, "they would vote an overwhelming 'yes' to a halt of testing."

Victims of French Tyranny



As part of its bloody drive to "pacify" the Algerian people, French police have conducted systematic illegal search and seizures in Algerian cities. Pictured above are six of a group of 20 partisans of Algerian freedom who were seized and imprisoned by the French in Algiers last February.

French Trotskyists on Trial Call for Algeria's Freedom

(We print below excerpts from statements made on June 4, by Pierre Lambert and Daniel Renard, French militants of the Internationalist Communist Party (Trotskyist) to a French court. Lambert, Renard and two other Trotskyists, Stephane Just and Gerard Bloch, were on trial for articles they wrote in La Verite, party organ, in support of the Algerian national independence struggle and against the "dirty war" waged by French imperialism in North Africa.—Ed.)

Excerpts from final speech by Pierre Lambert: In order to show the criminal character of our articles the attorney general has read a whole series of passages from them. In particular from La Verite of Sept. 2, 1956 (number 370), which I have here, the statement of the political bureau of the PCI: "In France, as in the colonies, at Saint Nazaire and Nantes [both in France] as in Philippeville and Khenifra, [both in Algeria], the oppressed are fighting the same battle against the same enemy." This number of La Verite is devoted largely to the strike of the workers of Nantes, in the course of which 20,000 strikers peacefully demonstrated for their just demand—40 francs an hour wage increase for all. They were the object of an aggression on the part of the CRS [a special strikebreaking force of the French government—Ed.] A 19-year old demonstrator, Jean Rigollet, lost his life because of that aggression. I was in Nantes at that time, and friends of mine, leaders of that strike, told me that to a union delegation which went to Paris, the then President of the Council, Mr. Edgar-Faure had said: "Do you realize what you are doing? You are obliging me to concentrate in Nantes 10,000 CRS whom I urgently need in Algeria." Doesn't this statement illumi-

nate the whole problem? French workers, struggling for a legitimate demand—40 francs an hour, see drawn up against them the same CRS that are most urgently needed in Algeria for repression. **DOUBLE STANDARD** Similarly it is true that we have called upon the workers to demonstrate their desire for peace. But on Feb. 6, 1956 others made a call for a demonstration against government's authority. [This was a call for pro-war demonstrations by reactionary French colonials.] I know that some of the demonstrators—even those on whom firearms were found—were sentenced in Algiers to only six days and reprieved and released on appeal. It is true that the demonstrations of Feb. 6 aimed at influencing government policy towards war, while we have called for demonstrations to influence government policy towards peace. But there cannot be two sets of scales and two measures. What is legal in Algiers cannot be illegal in Paris. Otherwise all the principles of democracy are called into question. Your honor, gentlemen, I shall close by thanking all the witnesses who appeared to express their solidarity with us even though they might not share our political positions, their caliber demonstrates that we stand in good stead. I know that today we still represent a small organization, but in going through struggles and in studying great historical movements, I have learned that if a policy corresponds to the needs of humanity, it always finds its way to the masses, who in taking possession of theory in their own fashion, cause history to advance. The truth of our policy, the truth of Trotskyism is so incontestable, it corresponds so compellingly to the peaceful and

democratic aspirations, which motivate the people, that it will become the truth of our epoch. Excerpts from speech of Daniel Renard: The attorney general quoted from a number of articles to justify the prosecution. . . . In the resolution of the political bureau of my party, appearing in La Verite dated Sept. 2, 1956, a resolution to which the attorney general accorded a great deal of attention, we may read: "Ten years after the losses of the dirty war in Indo-China which cost hundreds of billions, the gaping chasm of war again opens to swallow men and money in quantities unseen since the end of the great world massacre of 1939-45." . . . We can . . . take up the whole batch of allegedly incriminating articles. In each of them we shall find the same concern, the same preoccupation—denunciation of war and the obtaining of peace. Now in his prosecution speech the attorney general spoke of 'bad patriots.' If to desire peace in Algeria and to want to stop the war is to be a 'bad patriot,' then I declare before the court: I am a bad patriot. **TWO ALGERIAN GROUPS BANNED IN FRANCE** The French cabinet decreed the outlawing on June 26 of the two principal Algerian national-independence organizations operating in France. These are the Algerian National Movement, headed by Messali Hadj, and the National Liberation Front. The decree empowers the government to arrest any of the 400,000 Algerians residing in France on the charge of trying to 're-establish either of the dissolved organizations.

They Are Two Different Tribes

(The following excerpts are from an article in the April 8 issue of the Industrial Worker, official organ of the Industrial Workers of the World, which appeared under the title: Radicals and Racketeers, They're Two Different Tribes. — Ed.) The trade unions are busy once again fighting rackets and radicals. They get this way every once in a while. It requires considerable agility because the brothers suspected of racketeering invariably have reputations unspotted by radicalism, and the radicals somehow never seem to be accused of racketeering. Instead the demand that racketeering should be stopped is left, at least between cycles, to the radicals; and the champion denouncers of radicalism are those smeared with the racket charge. To fight both at the same time, is quite an order. Perhaps that may explain the proportions reached by the rackets, for in recent years the emphasis has been on suppressing all those suspected of believing we would be better off getting all we produce instead of just part of it.

Under these circumstances it may be necessary, if the unions seriously want to rid themselves of rackets, to make radicals feel once more at home in union meetings. (In years when they did feel at home there, pennies were usually strictly accounted for.) There is a wide variety of workers with widely varying aims, who are commonly lumped together as "radicals." Looking them over, they are not particularly saintly. Yet somehow they don't seem to go in for lining their pockets. Even the Commies, who mistakenly are usually included with the radicals, and who have been reported to have milked various funds they raised, are understood to have done this pilfering for the "party" and not for their individual enrichment.

Some reminiscences of Ed Lahey of Chicago Daily News, brought on by the recent performance of Dave Beck in a major Washington attraction, about the organization in the mid-thirties of Chicago taxicab drivers, are to the point here. On March 25 he wrote: "Certain leaders of the city council, together with Les Goudie, president of the Chicago joint council of the teamsters' union, thought it would be bad for the city if a left wing union organized the cab drivers. 'Together, they persuaded the bosses of the Chicago taxicab monopoly at that time to sign a contract, with check-off provisions, with a brand new local of Teamsters, into which the restless drivers were herded. . . The cab drivers didn't like the set-up.' Lahey was on the labor beat of the News at that time, and recounts how some of the drivers came to him "to ask advice on how to go about getting a union of their own choice." One of these was beaten, another was shot and wounded. Lahey himself was threatened. He explains further: "Despite the terror, the rebels

in the captive union organized a protest meeting. Teamsters goons came to the hall with full lengths of salami, and slapping every cab driver across the face with these as he pulled up, prevented the meeting. . . and that's how the still existing local of Chicago taxicab drivers and its hierarchy, got launched." As a fairly representative case, that instance explains better than a chunk of theory, why the racketeers aren't the radicals, and why the radicals aren't the racketeers. If a union is to be set up with the connivance of the management, it could not very readily use as spokesmen those known to advocate the emancipation of industry from the clutches of the business class. The outspoken radical arouses enough opposition, so that should he stoop to pilferage or deals, he would pronto be on the outside looking in, ostracized by his companions, with no future except some such disgraceful job as the AFL hierarchy gave Jay Lovestone. The character of a union is substantially shaped by the manner in which it recruits its members. Unionists with an idea (radicals, that is, full fledged or on the way) try to organize by implanting that idea in the minds of their fellow workers. The unions built in this way consist of members who demand that the union must be something like the advance description. But if a union is organized with full length salamis and baseball bats, there is no insistence that it be something the members run. So, all things considered, it is no mere coincidence that the radicals aren't the racketeers, and that the racketeers aren't the radicals. It looks as though unionists may have to choose between the two—and it shouldn't be a difficult choice. A radical after all, is just a fellow who takes his union principles seriously.

French Socialists Again Back Mollet
 The French Socialist Party, a section of the social-democratic Second International, further covered itself with ignominy at its recent convention. By a two-thirds majority, the convention voted to continue supporting former Premier Guy Mollet's policy of military suppression in Algeria. A resolution urging negotiations with the Algerian nationalist movement—not on the basis of recognizing the Arab country's independence, but merely of promising internal autonomy—was voted down 2,547 to 779. A resolution for negotiations on the basis of recognizing Algeria's right to eventual independence mustered only 498 votes. The chauvinistic, militaristic attitude of the French SP convention is a measure not only of the corruption of this party and the bureaucratic grip that Mollet and other labor fakery have on it, but also of the degree to which members with a spark of socialist conscience have been quitting it.

Imperialism's Bloody Record in Madagascar

In this period when the imperialist governments and their kept press are shedding crocodile tears for the Hungarian workers crushed by the Kremlin overlords, it is timely to review the post-war record of Washington's "democratic" allies towards people struggling for their national independence. The pillars of what the hypocritical capitalist press calls "the free world," are just as stained with the blood of freedom-fighters as the Kremlin. The following article by Rolande de Paep, translated from L'Ecole Emancipee, a publication of unionized school teachers in France, describes French imperialism's "preventive war" against an independence movement in Madagascar in 1947-49 and the continuing repression. Madagascar is an island, almost the size of Texas, off the east coast of Africa. It has a population of over four million.—Ed.) On April 29 of this year the Madagascar students of Paris with their famous poet, Jacques Rabemananjara, met to observe a day of meditation and mourning. They were commemorating the tenth anniversary of the gruesome massacre of 80,000 Madagascans by the mercenaries of French imperialism. At the same time they were commemorating the rigged and unjust trials at which Raseta, Rabema-

nanjara, and Ravoah, the representatives of Madagascar in the French parliament, as well as Martin Rakotova, secretary of the Democratic Movement for Madagascar Revival (MDRM), the priest Tata Max and Joel Sylvain, along with hundreds of others, were sentenced to death, to prison and to forced labor, while rank-and-file militants of the MDRM were beaten, hounded, and deprived of their means of existence. **FIRST OF WARS** The martyrdom of the Madagascan people and the frightful genocide perpetrated on them by French imperialism was but the first link in a long chain of war, repression, and useless violence against other peoples struggling for their liberty. What about the Madagascan prisoners today vegetating in forced residence in the French Alps, and those separated from their families and their people in the internment camps of Calvi [Corsica] and Nosy Lava? Can the great victories of the African people of Africa and Asia over world imperialism, and the fight for liberation of the Indo-Chinese, Moroccans, Tunisians and now the heroic struggle of the Algerian people break the conspiracy of silence which has surrounded these Madagascan prisoners for the last ten years?

Madagascar was annexed by France in 1896 after a fierce and bloody conquest against the resistance of the Madagascan state and the Madagascan people. "This big island offers a classic example of a colored people exploited by European capitalism and by its representatives, the people of the superior race who live off the labor of the native peasant and worker, despising or knowing nothing about him." (Claude Bourdet, "Justice for the Madagascans.") The island is cut up and run by three large commercial companies who put all their weight behind the colonial administration. The period from 1940-1945 was a golden age for the colonialists who were able to build huge fortunes by speculations. The Madagascan people, who had to submit to exorbitant requisitions and to forced labor, were bowed under the yoke of misery. The biggest Madagascan party, the Democratic Movement for Madagascan Revival 'MDRM' had the objective, in 1947, of transforming Madagascar into a state associated with the French Union, and doing this by peaceful means. It had won considerable success in the elections and was undergoing a rapid growth. On March 29, 1947, some incidents broke out in Madagascar: armed bands seized the local administrations of certain villages,

and there were 150 French victims. The trouble was probably started by members of secret organizations who felt that the patient, legalistic activity of the MDRM would not lead to anything and who therefore wanted to pass to direct action. They were most likely provoked, in an underhanded fashion, by the French police. The parliamentary deputies of the MDRM, who were present in Madagascar, immediately appealed for calm and explicitly disapproved of the events of March 29. Here is how the machinery was put into motion for terrorizing the Madagascan people and completely decapitating their political movement. In the space of five days, all the members of the MDRM were imprisoned, regardless of their position in the organization, and including those in regions very distant from the scene of the incidents. The Minister for Security, Baron, under orders of the French government, began a phony trial to link the MDRM and the parliamentary deputies to preparation of rebellion. This accusation was based on a perfectly proper meeting of the MDRM, in preparation for the provincial elections, and on a telegram signed by three Madagascan deputies (including Raseta who was then in Paris). This telegram which called for calm-

ness and steadfastness on the part of the Madagascan people in the face of obvious provocations meant to sabotage the peaceful policies of the MDRM, was made out by the French authorities to be a code ordering an insurrection to seize power. **TORTURE USED** To corroborate this ridiculous story, the French authorities extorted confessions from militants of the MDRM. Beatings, hangings, starvings, immersions in dirty water, these were the rehearsals for still greater excesses, which would multiply during the war in Algeria. . . . These atrocities were accompanied by a horrible combination of blackmail, corruption, and paternalistic racism. It was all the worse due to the fact that at that time the militant Madagascans had all kinds of illusions about France, its generosity, and its "Christian" spirit. The accused were without lawyers for many weeks, since the bar association of Tananarive had ordered local lawyers to refuse to defend them. The frenzied French colonialists tried to kill the Parisian lawyers, Douzon and Stibbe, with a bomb. They left them for dead on the floor. These two lawyers had come, together with Dechezelles and Lamine Gueye to defend the Mad-

gascan militants. On the basis of "confessions" made under torture and then repudiated, the deputies Raseta, Rabemananjara, and Ravoahangy were arrested on April 12, 1947, despite their parliamentary immunity. . . . With the approval of French President Vincent Auriol, the two principal witnesses, with whose charges the accused had asked to be confronted, were executed. They were executed two days before the opening of the trial. . . . The three Madagascan deputies who had been the accused, began to accuse. They turned the witch-hunt trial into a magnificent exposure of French colonialism in Madagascar. . . . Ravoahangy and Raseta reminded those present of the many insults and humiliations which they had to face in the course of their long struggles, humiliations which never beat them down. Raseta, who had been interned in Madagascar as a "deGaullette" had seen "government of Free France" use colonial officials of the collaborationist government to better coerce the Madagascan people. Rabemananjara, the great poet of Franco-Madagascan culture, pointed out the damage of colonialism. While categorically denying any participation in the rebellion, the deputies placed responsibility for it on the should-

ers of the colonial administration. Other accused Madagascans described the shocking tortures which they had suffered. **DEFENDANTS PROTEST** The Public Ministry, using the grossest kind of trickery, called in some "last-minute witnesses," who had already been condemned to death in previous trials, and by promising to spare their lives induced them to give false testimony. It was revealed by a French witness, that one of the prosecution witnesses had been an informer in the pay of the police for many years. Because of these dishonest methods, the defendants refused to answer any more questions, and remained in complete silence till the end of the trial. The following were condemned to death: Ravoahangy, Raseta, Rakotova, Tata Max, Joel Sylvain, and Rakotoarisonina. The following were condemned to life sentences at hard labor: Rabemananjara, Rabentanondro, Razafin Dralambo, Renaisson. The remainder were given sentences of different lengths at hard labor. The Supreme Court, the faithful agent of the imperialist state, denied the appeals, despite "the informalities" of the trial. The National Assembly, in the course of an extremely confused

debate, from which the Socialists shamefully abstained, and in which the Communists did not protest except through the mouth of some obscure deputies, gave its approval to this "legal crime." The scandal was so great, however, that Vincent Auriol commuted the death sentences to life imprisonment. All the while a deluge of fire, steel, and blood was falling on the Madagascan people. Soldiers of the Foreign Legion and Senegalese troops burned, killed, and pillaged. According to the French authorities themselves, 80,000 innocent people perished. A repression without precedent fell on the Madagascan people, and on its national movement, which had been decapitated for years to come. Militant Madagascans remain imprisoned at Calvi, Nosy Lava, and other prisons. They can proudly contend with the militants of the Algerian liberation movements for the laurels of martyrdom! . . . For all of them—the liberals, the trade-unionists, and the militants—French workers must demand the following: (1) Freedom and Amnesty (2) A Review of the Madagascan Trials (3) The Return to Their Homeland (4) The Repeal of the Decree Dissolving the MDRM.

Harlem Rally Demands City Council Pass Anti-Bias Bill

By Joyce Cowley
Socialist Workers Party
Candidate for Mayor of New York

JULY 2—Mayor Wagner did not attend the mass rally held in Harlem last night to support the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs bill which bans discrimination in housing throughout New York City. He sent a telegram explaining that he couldn't make it because he was taking his son Bobby to camp.

The open air meeting was sponsored by the NAACP, the

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the Council of Spanish-American Organizations and other Negro and Puerto Rican groups. The cooperation of Negro and Puerto Rican organizations in arranging the rally was an important step toward unity of minority groups in New York, but the attendance at the meeting was disappointing. At most a thousand people showed up, which was far short of the 15 thousand called for in an NAACP leaflet.

I believe this demonstrates

that sending postcards to the Mayor—the main proposal made by most of the speakers at the rally—is not an adequate program for mobilizing mass support. The argument for postcards was apparently based on the contention that Mayor Wagner surrendered to the real-estate interests and abandoned the housing bill because he received 3,300 postcards opposing it. But since he is a man of flexible principles, the speakers suggested that 4,300 postcards favoring the bill would bring our Mayor once again to the side of the minority peoples in the ghetto slums. No one took this reasoning seriously. The Negro and Puerto Rican people know that far weightier pressure than postcards lined Wagner up on the side of the real-estate crowd.

HULAN JACK BOOED
Manhattan Borough President Hulan Jack apologized for Mayor Wagner and explained that Wagner intended to get behind the bill "in a very short period of time."

A Negro politician, Jack, monotonously repeated (at least a dozen times in the course of a short speech) that everyone must "send that postal card" to assure the "onward march of democracy." He first met restlessness and laughter from the crowd, then loud boos and jeering comments. The man behind me shouted: "Sit down! You're giving me a headache!"

Jackie Robinson, the baseball star, received a much warmer response when he admitted that postcards, and even visits to the Mayor, might not do much good. He pointed out that Wagner was coming up for reelection this fall and suggested that the Negro people let him know, by their votes, that they were disappointed. What Robinson failed to explain was exactly how they could do this. How can Negroes and Puerto Ricans in New York City demonstrate their opposition to the delays and sell-outs of both major parties on the issue of segregation in housing, schools and jobs?

HOW TO USE VOTE
It cannot be done by a vote for Wagner, whose subservience to real estate interests has been clearly demonstrated. It certainly cannot be done by a vote for Christenberry, his Republican opponent, whose main experience in problems like housing has been as director of the Astor and Ambassador hotels. The only way to do it is by voting for independent candidates who will represent the minority people and the working people of this city in the New York City Council. We need to get rid of all the officials who count postcards in order to justify their betrayal of the Negro and Puerto Rican people and their subservience to Big Business.

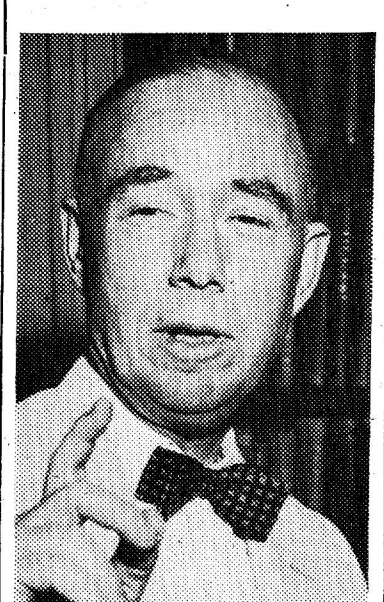
... NAACP Conference

(Continued from page 1)

among the liberals who voted to bury the civil rights bill in Eastland's committee. But he didn't think either capitalist party should be condemned as such. "We simply cannot win without the support of both parties," he told a workshop session.

That's about as tippy-turvy a view of the political situation as you can get anywhere. The truth is that equality can't be won without fighting against both capitalist parties, and that it won't be won until this truth becomes a guiding principle of struggle. The big need of the Negro people, as of the labor movement, remains a better, more courageous and more militant leadership.

Suing Dulles



CORLISS LAMONT, the noted civil liberties fighter, has filed suit in the U. S. District Court against Secretary of State Dulles to win a reversal of the State Department's refusal to issue him a passport and to help force a constitutional test of the department's procedure which demands that applicants for passports answer questions regarding membership in the Communist Party. Lamont was denied a passport March 20 after he refused to answer such questions. In a letter to Dulles, Lamont said he declined to answer the questions concerning membership in the Communist Party "because I believe it is unconstitutional for the U. S. State Department to ask passport applicants such questions."

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XXI

MONDAY, JULY 8, 1957

NUMBER 27

... Behind Steel Price Hike

Seamen Sitdown



When this Chilean freighter reached the middle of the Delaware river, June 20, its officers decided it was a good time to win a badly needed pay raise. They staged a sitdown strike, refusing to weigh anchor or assist in docking the vessel until their wage demands were met.

(Continued from page 1)

increases will effect the profit of the billionaires who own the steel industry. If market conditions permit, the steel bosses can shut off a wage raise onto the consumer. But if market conditions don't permit, the steel

bosses might even be forced to lower prices despite a wage increase.

But even without going into an examination of economic theory, the readily available facts about wages, prices and profits in steel give the lie to the attempt to blame the workers for inflation.

The July issue of Steel Labor, monthly publication of the United Steel Workers of America, points out that "since the post-war period—that is 1945—there have been twenty-one rounds of steel price increases. There have been nine rounds of wage increases. These price increases have yielded the industry more than \$3.00 in revenue for each \$1.00 of wage increases." No one has attempted to refute these figures.

Los Angeles Area Plumbers Push Contract Demands

By Don Phoenix

LOS ANGELES, June 28—A strike of the Southern California Pipe Trades District Council looms as a distinct possibility as the July 1 contract expiration date approaches. The District Council covers Los Angeles and eight adjacent counties.

The bosses' association, the Plumbing, Heating and Piping Employers of Southern California, has given the union negotiating committee what it calls its last offer, one that is unacceptable to the union. All the locals have taken a strike vote in order to be eligible to receive strike benefits from their international union. In the balloting the men voted five to one to strike.

The men feel that their demands are just and that they are left with no recourse but to strike if these demands are not met by the July 1 deadline. The negotiating committee is asking the employers to raise wages and fringe benefits comparable with that prevailing in the northern half of the state.

The contractors are only partially organized in the Pipe Trades Industry which is trying to steamroller the independent contractors into accepting the association as their spokesman. Many of the independent contractors have signed "short term" agreements which embrace the same terms presented by the union to the association. Unless the association settles, the only men working on July 1 will be in the independent shops which have signed up with the union.

The determination of the men not to accept the association offer was only stiffened when a copy of their proposed contract. Key provisions would strike a heavy blow at the union hiring-hall procedures and weaken union control on the job.

The completely unacceptable association offer, coupled with its bragging that it has at its disposal a \$300,000 slush fund for law suits, makes it apparent that an approach to a settlement is not close. As things now stand it looks like a lot of journeymen in the Piping industry in Southern California will "hit the bricks" on July 1.

David J. McDonald, president of the steel workers' union contends that "even without raising prices and without obtaining greater output per man hour the corporation [U.S. Steel] is in a position to increase its net profit from 348.1 million dollars in 1956 to 437 million dollars in 1957."

While the cost of living index has been going up steadily for the past year, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that payrolls in manufacturing industries between September, 1956, and last May fell almost four percent. However, corporate profits have hit all-time record annual peaks.

Not only are the workers—those who work in the hot steel mills included—the primary victims of inflation for they are least able to pay higher prices, but the capitalists in addition try to blame inflation on them. This is indeed adding insult to injury.

ASSURED OF MARKET
The budget of the federal government is now in the \$80 billion bracket. Most of this money is spent on armaments with a big demand for steel. In this way the steel corporations are assured a big and certain market from which they have exacted lush profits ever since the beginning of the Second World War.

Making profits is the whole object of the capitalist system, its heart and soul, the holy of holies. As long as profits continue to pile up the system is healthy. Never mind the squeeze that high prices put on the majority of the people in this country. As long as profits are big, this is the best of all possible worlds.

Such, at any rate, is the reasoning of the steel barons and their political puppets in Washington. One can understand their logic. They get richer and richer. But all the hosannas sung to the "people's capitalism" won't help the majority of the people pay their bills.

Comm. for Foreign Born Fights N.Y. Injunction

By Lillian Kiezal

NEW YORK, June 24—New York State Attorney General, Louis Lefkowitz, is suing for a permanent injunction against Abner Green and the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born in an effort to prevent the Committee from functioning in the state. A hearing on the injunction took place, June 20, before Judge Conlon of the New York State Supreme Court.

In the meantime, the Committee is straggled by a temporary injunction already obtained by Lefkowitz which prevents it from soliciting or using funds or carrying on any kind of activity pending the decision of Judge Conlon which is due in a week or ten days.

PREVIOUS RULING

The injunction proceedings come at the same time that the American Committee is preparing an appeal from Judge Aron Steuer's State Supreme Court decision of June 3, which sustains the Attorney General's opinion that the Committee is a charitable organization. As such it has been ordered to register under Article 10-A of the Social Welfare Law designed to prevent charity rackets.

The American Committee, which has always maintained that it is a political organization, would thus be forced to surrender its books and records for scrutiny by the Attorney General.

That the real aim of the state authorities is to drive the American Committee out of existence was made clear at the June 20 hearing. At that time, the state's attorneys maintained that the Committee should be prevented from operating because it was conducting a "fraud." Instead of soliciting funds to defend persons who are accused of being in violation of the Immigration Law, the attorneys for the state insist that most of the money is

being used for "propaganda purposes."

Gloria Agrin and Blanch Freedman, attorneys for the American Committee, label this accusation as completely false. It has never been substantiated by the Attorney General. This is an obvious attempt on the part of the state to prejudice public opinion.

The fact that the American Committee has defended people accused of being Communist Party members is a known fact since all the literature of the committee has always been made public.

GREEN'S STATEMENT

Commenting on the moves by state officials to throttle the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, Abner Green, the Committee's Executive Secretary recently stated: "There is a damning coincidence between the State Attorney General's indecent haste and the fact that in recent weeks the American Committee has scored important victories in U.S. Supreme Court decisions in defending the rights of foreign born Americans."

"Mr. Lefkowitz, in his efforts to destroy the American Committee, is apparently cooperating with his Washington superiors in the Republican Party rather than protecting or serving the interests of the people of New York State."

"We will defend the American Committee and we are confident that with the support and understanding of the American people the organization will win the right to continue its efforts for repeal or revision of the Walter-McCarraan Law and for protection of the rights of foreign-born Americans."

A picnic the Committee held June 23, at Camp Midvale, with 600 people present was a demonstration that the committee will receive solid support from all fighters for civil liberties.

Workers' BOOKSHELF

For Summer Reading

By Anne Chester
Manager, Pioneer Publishers

For those who plan to use some of their vacations for reading or study, as well as for summer reading in general, Pioneer Publishers recommends the following list.

THE STRANGE CAREER OF JIM CROW. By C. Vann Woodward. 183 pp. \$1.50

A landmark book by a Southern disciple of Charles Beard. He shows that the pattern of segregation as it exists in the South today is not "hundreds of years old" but dates from the smashing of the Negro and white Populist movement at the beginning of this century.

THE COMING OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By Georges Lefebvre. 191 pp. \$3.95

The only translated work of the greatest living historian of the French Revolution. A brilliant study of the class forces and interests that brought about the crash of the old order.

THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF POLITICS. By Charles A. Beard. 263 pp. \$1.25

Selections from the great ma-

terialist historian's writings on the historical process, Europe, America, the economic basis of the U.S. Constitution and other subjects.

THADDEUS STEVENS. By Ralph Korngold. 460 pp. \$2.00 (originally \$6.00) plus 15 cents for mailing cost.

A magnificent biography of the leading capitalist revolutionist of the Civil War and Reconstruction periods. A full-length portrait of a tremendous figure and leader. By the author of Two Friends of Man.

BLACK BOURGEOISIE. By E. Franklin Frazier. 264 pp. \$4.00

A searching examination of the economic position of the Negro middle class and its pretensions—social, cultural and political—to leadership of the Negro struggle for equality. By one of America's outstanding sociologists. A "must" book for all serious students.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY VERSUS COMMUNISM. By Karl Kautsky. 142 pp. \$1.00

The essence of the writings of the most prominent social-democratic theoretician attempting to prove that Bolshevism was anti-Marxist.

THE HOLY FAMILY. By Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. 299 pp. \$1.35

For the first time in English. This book was the first joint work of Marx and Engels and marks an important theoretical step on their part towards the development of the theories of scientific socialism.

DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM IN RUSSIA. By V. I. Lenin. 751 pp. \$1.75 plus 15 cents for mailing costs.

At last the complete work available in English. Lenin's monumental economic study, written mostly in Siberia, which established his theoretical primacy in the Russian socialist movement.

THE HISTORY OF A LITERARY RADICAL & OTHER PAPERS. By Randolph Bourne. 309 pp. \$1.65 (originally \$3.75)

Selected writings of one of America's most brilliant thinkers of the World War I period. Incisive, witty, revolutionary—an intellectual treat for the reader.

WHITE MAN BOSS. By Adam astor. 240 pp. \$1.00.

A devastating history and analysis of the politics and ideology of South Africa's "apartheid" regime. Adamastor is the pseudonym of a South African political observer.

ECONOMIC RESOURCES AND POLICIES OF THE SOUTH. By Calvin B. Hoover and B. U. Ratchford. 464 pp. \$1.00 (originally \$5.50)

All aspects of the Southern economy are examined in detail and with a wealth of information—natural resources, population, labor and wages, manufacturing, farming, banking, public finance, etc. Valuable as a reference work.

Order any of the above listed books from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

What the U.S. Didn't Exhibit in Ceylon

By Theodore Kovalesky

An old copy of the New York Times has finally informed me that last May the United States Information Agency opened up an exhibit in Colombo, Ceylon, called "People's Capitalism." The star of the exhibit, says the Times, is one Ed Barnes, a \$6000-a-year U.S. Steel millwright from Pennsylvania, who represents the American workers, or at least the American steel workers.

The reason for the name, "People's Capitalism," is that the Asian people are interested in terms like "People's Democracies," "people's government," "democratic Socialism," etc. "People's Capitalism" is Wall Street's name for American imperialism, and the USA blandly states that in the United States, "almost everybody becomes a capitalist" of some kind.

The exhibit shows Ed Barnes at work and home in his nice little place with his family. Mrs. Barnes has all the modern appliances to make housework easy. The neat, well furnished living room is reproduced, and visitors can even sit on the furniture. In addition there are pictures and charts and films showing that life can be beautiful in the good old U.S.A.

ALL NOT PERFECT

With lovable modesty they go so far as to admit that all is not perfect here; but they imply that this is a temporary situation soon to be remedied. For instance, one poster confesses that "No economic system is perfect, but in a really free society faults cannot be hidden," and shows a slum along with the housing project which was built to replace it.

Now I've worked in factories for a good many years, and I've

gotten to know a lot of people. What strikes me as odd is that all the guys I've worked with have been the exceptions to the rule. Not a one of them has ever become a capitalist in any form whatever—unless the exhibit referred to the fellow who sold numbers up and down the furnace line, or the guy in the machine shop who used to book horses when the foreman was out of the department. Aside from these two, the American workers I have known have all been the farthest thing from capitalists that you've ever seen.

And I've had a little experience in slum clearance too. A friend of mine lived in a terrible rathole. The only reason you couldn't call it a firetrap was that it was so damp it probably wouldn't burn. He paid \$75 a month rent.

But, as they say, in this country "faults cannot be hidden." (Just in passing I can't help wondering how you could hide a slum in any kind of society!) So one day a man came around and informed my friend that he and his family would have to get out. The neighborhood was a slum. It was condemned and would be torn down and replaced by a fine new housing project.

Now my friend is no enemy of progress, and he was all for slum clearance. But he and his family had picked up the damndest habit of living indoors. The habit was so deeply ingrained that they could not even sleep out on the ground for the brief year or so that it would take to raze the neighborhood and erect the project. So he moved with his family into another slum where he was lucky enough to find another damp rathole for \$75. It was a little smaller, but then the whole neighborhood was more crowded, since his neigh-

bors all had to find new places to live, too.

Finally the new project was finished. My friend went around to look at it but found the rents ranged from \$85 to \$95 a month, so he couldn't afford it. He's still in favor of progress, but he hopes the city doesn't decide to clear out the slum he lives in now. The next rathole might cost more than \$75 a month.

Of course the New York Times didn't have space to report the exhibit in each and every detail. But I think I'd almost be willing to make a small bet that the exhibit did not deal with this aspect of slum clearance. And I can't help suspecting that the picture they gave of the American steel worker may have been just a little incomplete.

Therefore, as a public service, I should like to propose that in the interest of clarity the United States Information Agency add a few more items to the exhibit:

(A) I know another steel worker named Barnes—not Ed, Reuben. We call him Ruby. He's a Negro, and he's not a millwright. He's a laborer. Not all Negroes in the steel plant have bad jobs; but most of the good jobs belong to white men. Ruby doesn't earn \$6,000 a year. He earns less than \$4,000, and that's before taxes. In order to take home \$6,000, it takes him almost two years. Since there are so many more laborers than millwrights, and since most steel workers earn a wage more like Ruby's than Ed's, isn't it funny that the USA used Ed as an example instead of Ruby?

(B) The Old Man's jacket would make a good exhibit. In fact it was one. We had it hanging up for months on Number Five Blast Furnace after we pulled it off the Old Man but the tapping hole blew out on him. It was half burnt up,

and it looked as though a load of buckshot had gone through the back. We didn't mean to display it. Somebody just hung it up, and nobody thought to take it down. Finally it disappeared. Probably the Old Man threw it away when he came back to work about three months later. But if it turns up, we'd be glad to send it on to Ceylon. It's a good example of what a steel worker faces on the job.

A MORE COMMON DRYER

(C) The average steel worker's wife has a clothes dryer, but it's better than the one in the exhibit. No moving parts to wear out. If it breaks, you just tie it together. It's a rope. You stretch it across a yard, if you have a yard, or string it between two buildings, and hang the clothes on it. Then if any sun can get to them, they dry.

(D) The exhibit needs more pictures of our homes. Something more real. Our places have that lived-in look. They aren't new and raw-looking; they're mellow. People have been living in them 50 or 100 years. And maybe they could send a landlord over there too, to stand around in the exhibit. In case none are available, maybe the right hand of some landlord who has gone to his reward could be displayed, pickled in alcohol, and gently curved, palm up, in position to receive the monthly rent.

(E) But to get the best picture of the American steel worker there should be a photograph of ten graves in the quiet of a cemetery, the graves of those Republic Steel strikers who were shot down by the Chicago cops 20 years ago for the crime of picketing to organize the plant. They were not the only martyrs to the workers' struggle, but they will do. They are a symbol for all the rest. The gains that

we have made, and such good things as we do enjoy, are due to militant workers like they were.

There could be many more suggestions, but these alone would make the steel worker exhibit much more accurate.

Still, when you think it over, you can see this might really gum up the works. "People's Capitalism" wouldn't look so good, and the people of Ceylon might not believe that over here "almost everybody becomes a capitalist."

But then again, I kind of think the Ceylonese people aren't going to believe it anyway.

80 pages 35 cents

America's Road to Socialism

by
JAMES P. CANNON

Order from
Pioneer Publishers
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.