

U.S. to Build Missile Base in Turkey

Rockets with Nuclear Warheads to Be Aimed At Major Soviet Cities

By Daniel Roberts

The Eisenhower Administration has promised to give earnest study to the Soviet disarmament proposal, and it can be counted on to do so without fail. Meantime it goes right ahead preparing for war.

Thus negotiations have just been completed with Turkey for the construction of a U.S. intermediate-range ballistic missile base to be equipped with nuclear warheads.

According to a report by Jack Raymond from Washington in the Oct. 11 New York Times, rockets with a range of 1,500 miles will threaten all European parts of the Soviet Union and Soviet Central Asia. Negotiations for the Turkish base were carried out at Headquarters of Gen. Lauris Norstad, Supreme Allied Commander of Allied Troops in Europe. (Raymond does not say whether they were in progress simultaneously with the Eisenhower-Khrushchev talks at Camp David.) The agreement provides that the decision to fire the warheads will depend on orders of the President of the U.S. and will be routed through the Supreme Allied Command.

Greece Next

The Soviet government has proposed that an early step in disarming should be U.S. dismantling of its 950 bases abroad that ring the Soviet-zone countries. Raymond reveals that far from moving in this direction, the U.S. government is negotiating yet another nuclear-missile base with Greece.

A joint U.S.-British missile base has already been completed in England, though the British are constructing pads for 60 more Thor (U.S. Air Force) missiles on the East Anglia coast. In addition, a Jupiter (U.S. Army) missile base is well under construction in Italy.

U.S. officials in this country recognize that the Turkish nuclear-base agreement "will probably create a new stir in 'world-wide' discussion of dis-

armament," says Raymond. Authorities are divided on how to handle the announcement of the agreement.

"Some believe it would be good to make the announcement in a matter-of-fact way, to show the Russians that the West feels the need of defense and will not be slowed by Soviet feints in the direction of disarmament.

"Others believe that special public relations precautions are necessary in making the announcement to avoid disturbing disarmament negotiations in the United Nations and between President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev."

As can be seen, all officials believe that the government should continue preparing for war without slacking the pace. But one group is concerned with taking "precautions" that the Administration's current diplomacy — which seeks a "thaw" in the cold war — not be jarred too rudely by the continued arms buildup.

Furthermore, says Raymond, "Secretary McElroy has announced that the United States will end production of the missiles for military purposes when five squadrons of Thors and three squadrons of Jupiters have been produced. There are fifteen missile pads in a squadron." Clearly the Pentagon's schedule is not to be disrupted in the least by the diplomatic moves.

ICBM Bases in U.S.

Not only is the U.S. government going ahead with its encirclement of the Soviet Union, but it is aiming intercontinental ballistic missiles at the Soviet heartland from the United States. At a cost of half a billion dollars the Air Force is building two ICBM bases cov-

(Continued on Page 2)

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Govt. Swings T-H Club But Strikers Stand Firm

No T-H! Says Steelworker Motorcade

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 7 — Today in the warm desert sand and under the white Mojave sun, 250 steel workers, including top officers from four local unions, moved down the road that led to President Eisenhower's La Quinta vacation headquarters.

Most of them had driven 140 miles from Los Angeles, while others had joined the motorcade at Fontana which was on the route traveled. The steel workers had wired Eisenhower that they were coming to talk to him. A few yards down the road they were stopped by the president's security guards and California State police. One hundred yards further a limousine with White House Press Secretary Hagerty pulled to a stop. There he waited with more security guards.

The steel workers were orderly and disciplined and they waited at the initial roadblock while Manuel Sierras, president of Local 2058, Consolidated Western Steel, Maywood, went the remaining distance to meet with Hagerty.

Sierras asked that the top officers of his own and the other locals in the motorcade be allowed to participate in the discussion. His request was denied, but it was agreed that one other representative should be allowed to join the talks. Alex McJanett, Local 1414 president from the Columbia-Geneva Torrance plant, was then escorted to the meeting place with Hagerty. Hagerty read the statement which Sierras had given him. "What do you mean," he asked, "by characterizing the Taft-Hartley Law as 'class legislation' and a 'slave-labor' law?" Sierras answered, "That's the way I and a great many other workers feel towards Taft-Hartley."

At this point the steel workers began to chant, "We want Ike. We want Ike." They felt that if they could come 140 miles that the President could travel the remaining 200 yards to hear their side of the story.

Hagerty got angry. "Do you think that's going to get the president to meet with you? I've already told you he can't make

(Continued on Page 4)

Besides, His Host Likes Taft-Hartley



At La Quinta, Calif., striking Steelworkers from three southern California locals hold placards as they cluster in front of road leading to George E. Allen's home where Eisenhower was on vacation. The strikers did not want the president to invoke the Taft-Hartley Act in the steel strike. Eisenhower was too busy golfing to see the demonstrators. Besides, it might displease his host, a director of Republic Steel, one of the giant corporations out to cut down the union, if he listened to the appeals of the strikers.

Delegates Debate Key Issues Facing United Auto Workers

By Tom Kerry

ATLANTIC CITY, Oct. 15 — According to Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey, the "most important single thing" before the 17th Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO United Automobile Workers, was consideration of a dues increase. And in a sense it was. For it provided the axis for the only organized opposition to the Reuther machine at the convention.

Once the dues question was disposed of the convention became a cut-and-dried affair. The top officials were re-elected without opposition. The usual well-prepared "spontaneous" demonstration provided an outlet for the boisterous spirits of the delegates.

The three most controversial issues at the convention were: (1) the dues question; (2) political action; and (3) Negro representation on the International Executive Board.

The debate on the dues increase took two sessions. The opposition encompassed various points of view and was further divided over the method of approach. Reuther took advantage of these divisions to split the opposition before the decisive vote came.

The core of the opposition opposed the increase on two grounds: (1) That the membership had not been given adequate notice and was thus deprived of the opportunity to discuss and decide the issue. From this grouping came the most insistent demand that the proposed increase be submitted to a referendum vote of the membership. This would have required a revision of the constitution which now provides that such decision be made by delegates assembled in regular or special convention.

A second grouping opposed the increase on the grounds of a no-confidence vote in the union leadership. Both groupings were critical of the leadership but while one devoted its argument to the procedural question the other concentrated on attacking the record, policy and program of the Reuther leadership.

Those making the strongest argument against the proposed dues increase were the delegates who centered their attack on the failure of the leadership to seriously combat the decline of working conditions on the job, speedup and victimization of union militants.

One delegate, representing a Chrysler local, told how conditions had deteriorated in his plant. The company, he complained, was continuing to take bites out of the working conditions. These, he added, used to be the best but now are among the worst. If things keep on like this, he concluded, working conditions will be back where they were in pre-union days.

Vice-president Leonard Woodcock, in the chair, commented: If things are as bad as you say, ask for strike authorization and you'll get it. Whereupon a delegate from Local 1251, in Connecticut, reported his experience in trying to get strike authorization over a speedup grievance. The members of his local were forced to go on strike without authorization and got no assistance from

the International. The delegate quoted from the 1957 convention proceedings in which Reuther asserts that there had never been one case in which authorization was not granted. Now, he concluded, there is at least one!

When Reuther countered with the fact that the Board had recently granted strike authorization to Twinesburg Local 122, a delegate from that local, Bob Weissman, spoke in rebuttal. The International Reps, he said, who were presumably sent in to help us spent their time intimidating the membership into going back to work. The result,

(Continued on Page 4)

Steelworkers Bitter Over White House Aid To Union-Hating Bosses

By Alex Harte

On Oct. 9 President Eisenhower set Taft-Hartley machinery in motion against the 500,000 steel strikers. But the angry reaction of the steel workers to this government strikebreaking move has given pause to the administration. It is hesitating about following through with an 80-day injunction against the strikers.

In the recent Longshoremen's strike the "fact-finding" board appointed by Eisenhower on Oct. 6 had completed its "study" of the strike by the next morning and an anti-strike injunction was issued later that day. But the steel "fact-finding" board set up on Oct. 9 was given until Oct. 16 to report and then the deadline was extended to Oct. 19. Moreover these "fact-finders" — though forbidden by the T-H law to make recommendations for a settlement — are openly doing more mediating than fact-finding. Only after they report can the President seek an injunction.

Till now the administration and the steel companies have worked in perfect harmony against the union. Eisenhower warned against any "inflationary" wage increase during negotiations and the early part of the strike but otherwise kept hands off. This was what the steel barons wished because they had prepared tremendous stockpiles of steel for a long strike to "bleed" the union. Only after 13 weeks, when the stockpiles began to get low, did Eisenhower get "sick and tired" of the situation and announce his intention of invoking the Taft-Hartley Law. The T-H injunction had been held in reserve as the "crusher" which would replenish the stockpiles and demoralize the workers to the point where they would vote in a T-H election to accept any terms offered by the steel barons.

But the reaction of the steel

East, Gulf Coast Longshoremen Bow To 80-Day Order

Striking East and Gulf Coast longshoremen bowed to a Taft-Hartley injunction and ended their eight-day-old strike Oct. 9. Eisenhower's use of the strikebreaking law is reported to be the fastest on record.

The union is demanding a 50-cent-an-hour package agreement. Base pay is now \$2.80 an hour. They also want a signed agreement that no automation be installed without the consent of the union.

If the union's demands are not met, the longshoremen stand ready to resume strike action on Dec. 27 when the 80-day "cooling off" period ends.

workers to the imminent injunction was so bitter and so solid that resumption of the strike afterwards was a foregone conclusion. Moreover, there are strong rumors of a slowdown in the steel mills during the 80 days of forced labor.

The steel tycoons might well wish to prolong the strike as their best hope of crippling the union. On the other hand the administration cannot help but be alarmed over the magnitude of the class battle that would ensue as an election year rolls around. Thus the firmness of the steel workers' ranks can force a favorable settlement.

Minn. Labor Voices Bitterness Over Humphrey and McCarthy

By V. R. Dunne

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 4 — "AFL-CIO Bitter at Labor Bill Vote by Minnesota Senators." That was the headline — an accurate one — in the Minneapolis Sunday Tribune today, reporting a conference at Duluth attended by 700 delegates, representing 170,000 workers in the state.

The story, by Sam Romer, well-known Minnesota labor reporter, offers plenty of evidence that the smoldering "peat bog" fire in labor's ranks has burned to a glowing cherry red. This not inconsiderable heat means an angry public repudiation of the former trade-union darlings senators Humphrey and McCarthy.

Romer puts it this way: "A strong bitter undercurrent of resentment against both Minnesota Democratic-Farmer-Labor senators because of their votes for the new labor-control bill has pervaded the Minnesota labor movement."

Romer notes that "Hubert H. Humphrey and Eugene J. McCarthy, have been labor favorites throughout their political careers."

"But an attitude widespread in all ranks of state labor leadership was typified by a delegate to the AFL-CIO union development conference here when he said: 'I don't want to hear any explanations of why

they voted for the law — because I'm not going to apologize for them.'"

At a session on political action during the conference a panel speaker was explaining that by and large labor has more confidence in the Democratic leadership than in the GOP. "How about 95 to 2?" came an interruption from the floor. (The reference was to the final vote in the Senate on the Landrum-Griffin anti-labor bill.)

Featured Speaker

The featured speaker at the Duluth conference was Joseph Karth, Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party congressman from the Fourth Minnesota District (St. Paul). He had been opposed by the state tops in the DFL, but was the choice of the labor movement. He defeated the candidate selected by the machine and voted against the Landrum-Griffin bill.

As reproof for their votes favoring the anti-labor measure, neither Humphrey nor McCarthy were invited to speak at the labor gathering.

Karth, formerly an active labor organizer for years and credited in labor circles with a big role in organizing the huge Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Co. plant in St. Paul, was introduced by State

AFL-CIO President Robert A. Olson with these words: "He isn't a politician we picked up by the wayside."

Karth was given prolonged ovation. He condemned the Landrum-Griffin law as establishing a "double standard of morality" between the unions and the corporations.

The law was especially aimed at killing union organizing efforts in the South, thereby giving southern industry a "fantastic advantage" in competition with northern companies.

"This is an open-door invitation for industry in the north to move south for cheap labor, cheap employment insurance rates, cheap workmen's compensation payments, cheap construction codes and the right to practice cheap discriminatory employment."

Karth's speech reflected a widespread hope in the Minnesota labor movement, particularly observable among the rank and file in the shops, for stiffening the political fight against the labor haters and their representatives in government.

Thousands of workers in Minnesota are saying in various ways: "Let's get going in a fight to stop this assault on our unions!"

No doubt other areas in the country could report similar sentiments.

Your Help Is Needed!

An Editorial

At a convention a few months ago, delegates of the Socialist Workers Party decided to undertake a campaign to raise \$16,000 as a socialist publications fund. The delegates began preliminary work at the convention itself but gave themselves until December 15 to meet the deadline. In our next issue, we will report the first results from the various areas and thereafter give a weekly account of the campaign.

We support this effort of the Socialist Workers Party as an important undertaking. We urge our readers to help in every way possible to make it a success.

In the American radical movement, the Socialist Workers Party is the main organized force pressing for nomination of socialist candidates in the 1960 presidential election. Toward this objective, its energetic and self-sacrificing Michigan members and friends are mopping up right now on the tough job of collecting enough signatures to put the socialist movement on the ballot in that state. In other areas work is in the planning stage.

The main aim of this activity is to spread the socialist message as widely as possible; to bring it to new sections of the working class who feel they've had enough of the two parties of big business.

Socialists always serve as educators, bringing Marxist ideas into circles that might not otherwise even hear of them. This work that goes on year in and year out becomes especially important as general interest in politics rises during electoral contests. It becomes a first-rate problem to keep up the supply of literature, for the socialist forces are few and printing costs are high.

Thus it falls on the most sympathetic people to dig deep for what is essential to keep going — money.

We know that for many socialists right now money is not exactly plentiful. In quite a few cases they are involved in strike struggles that have knocked out the family budget. But we also know that it is precisely these socialists who understand best how important to success in the class struggle the dissemination of socialist ideas is. It will not surprise us at all to see such comrades leading the list in many places in giving to the cause to which they have dedicated their lives.

To people who feel it a duty to contribute to worthy causes, but who also think the money should be distributed in various directions, we urge reconsideration of the relative need and importance of the movements appealing for aid. Socialism represents the society of the future, a society of enduring peace, well-being, brotherhood and happiness. Every dollar you contribute to the socialist movement today speeds the arrival of that future.

We urge every reader of the Militant to reach right now for that pocketbook, purse or handbag. Help it to unfold and relax. Reach in and take something out to send as a contribution. Mail it to us and we'll see that it gets added up in the scoreboard.

Do it now.

High Court Turns Down Barenblatt and Uphaus

It is now virtually certain that Lloyd Barenblatt and Willard Uphaus will have to go to prison for having invoked their rights under the First Amendment. On Oct. 12, the Supreme Court refused to reconsider its June 8 decisions upholding contempt convictions against the two.

Lloyd Barenblatt, who must begin serving a six-month prison term in November and pay a \$250 fine for refusing to answer questions about his political beliefs before the House Un-American Activities Committee, stated:

"As it now stands, ours is the only democracy with openly legalized government bodies which extract information under duress from people as to their beliefs and political associations, requiring them also to inform on others. . . . I am hopeful that our democratic system will lead to a restoration of the First Amendment as it applies to the powers of legislative investigation committees."

Dr. Uphaus, who faces imprisonment until he turns over membership lists of the World Fellowship Center, a pacifist group, to the New Hampshire Attorney General, issued the fol-

lowing statement through his attorney, Royal France:

"Those whose names I was asked to give came to the World Fellowship Center in Conway, New Hampshire simply to enjoy a vacation and to work for peace."

"In refusing to give names of innocent persons to our official inquisition, I take my stand not only on my own conscience but on the age-old teaching of the Bible and throughout the ages that it is wrong to bear false witness. . . ."

"If the Attorney General of New Hampshire and the courts refuse to disown their action against me, I shall have to take the consequences. In my case, this may mean a life sentence. [Dr. Uphaus is 68 years old.]"

"It is hard to believe the people of the state will permit this destruction of their precious Bill of Rights which so emphatically upholds the rights of conscience and the freedom of association."

Who Benefited from Murder Of Ceylon's Prime Minister?

By Edmund Samarakody, Member of Parliament

CEYLON — On Sept. 25, at 9:50 a.m., four bullets from a 45-caliber revolver struck down Prime Minister Bandaranaike at his residence in Colombo. The assassin was a Buddhist monk, a known Sinhalese, anti-Tamil racist and a militant religiousist. While there might have been a personal motive for the killing, it is now clear that the prime minister was struck down by a political assassin.

To ascertain the political forces that possibly stand behind this assassination, it is necessary to review some facts about Bandaranaike's Maha Jana Eksath Peramuna (People's United Front) government, which came into being in April 1956.

The Maha Jana Eksath Peramuna, or MEP, was a middle-class coalition with a reform program. The coalition received a socialist coloration through two ex-Marxists in the cabinet — namely, Philip Gunawardene and William Silva. Another group in the alliance called itself a Sinhalese Language Front and was led by Wijayananda Dahanayake, the man who recently replaced Bandaranaike as prime minister. The largest group in the MEP was Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party, a party of small capitalists.

Of recent history. Over 1,000 persons lost their lives. There was also widespread looting and burning of property. The Public Security Act was brought into operation and a state of emergency declared which lasted ten months — until February 1959.

The serious rupture of communal relations and the virtual vivisection of society into Sinhalese and Tamil-speaking areas was a victory for the extreme racist group of Dahanayake, Marikkar and the Buddhist monks. The capitalist class also won through the abrogation of democratic rights for a ten-month period and through the subsequent passage of the Public Security Amendment Act.

Bandaranaike sought to resist the pressure of the extreme communal and class-conscious

cialist-reactionary group now decided on firm action. They demanded the end of Bandaranaike's balancing tactics. They would no longer tolerate socialist phrasemongering.

Cabinet Splits

Bandaranaike sought to keep his balancing act going. But this time it was impossible. He faced the resignation of nine ministers and the possibility of losing the presidency of his own party to Dahanayake. He yielded and threw Philip Gunawardene and William Silva out of the cabinet.

The Dahanayake group was still not satisfied. At the annual session of his party, Bandaranaike was forced to make a declaration that he would fight Communism.

But the 26-day Colombo Port strike in August showed that Bandaranaike was still unreliable and not easy to control. Only unremitting pressure from the Dahanayake-Stanley de Zoysa group prevented the prime minister from giving in to the strikers. If the working class and the masses were effectively to be controlled Bandaranaike had to go.

Communist Party In Bombay Sides Against China

A sharp division in the Communist Party of India over the Indian-Chinese border dispute was reported from Bombay by Paul Grimes in the Oct. 15 New York Times.

The Communist Party's Maharashtra Council issued a statement declaring that it "is behind the [Indian] Government for the defense of the integrity of the country and its freedom" and that it supported "settlement of the dispute by peaceful negotiations on the basis of the McMahon Line as the border of the country." The McMahon Line is the one claimed by India as its northern frontier.

Maharashtra is one of India's largest areas. It includes Bombay.

Racialist Bloc

From the outset a bloc of militant Buddhists and Sinhalese racialists, recruited from all groups in the MEP and backed by a section of Buddhist monks, sought to influence and control the Bandaranaike government. Within two months after the MEP government took power, this group resorted to direct action by staging a hunger strike to prevent the prime minister from granting "concessions" to the Tamils on the language question. This "passive resistance" was developed into active resistance when the racialist-religious group organized anti-Tamil riots in June 1956, after a bill was introduced in Parliament making Sinhalese alone the country's legal language.

On the economic front, this same group joined other groups to oppose the nationalization proposals and the limited land-reform program of the government, as embodied in the Paddy Lands Act introduced by then Food Minister Gunawardene. With their minds firmly set against an economic reconstruction of the country in a progressive direction, they sought to prevent Prime Minister Bandaranaike from passing any measures that appeared as concessions to the working people.

At the end of 1957, a series of successful strikes indicated that the working class was ready to press forward. Again the Sinhalese-Buddhist racialist group proceeded to fan the flames of communal hatred. The language issue was taken up once more. Increasing unemployment and the MEP's lack of an economic program prepared the ground for a communal showdown.

Bandaranaike was ready for compromise and concessions to avert communal warfare. But the racialists in the government opposed any such move. Ministers Dahanayake and Marikkar took the lead inside the government, while the bhikkus (Buddhist monks) of the MEP came out in full force in this anti-Tamil campaign. The opportunist group of Philip Gunawardene also joined the campaign. Capitalist reactionary forces outside the MEP played their part.

In May 1958, Bandaranaike found himself amidst the biggest and ugliest communal riots

capitalist group (Dahanayake, Marikkar, Stanley de Zoysa, R. G. Senanayake) by encouraging the grouping headed by Philip Gunawardene and William Silva. From the outset of his regime, Bandaranaike desired to appear progressive and democratic. The left-coloration of his government was given by the socialist phrasemongering of the Philip Gunawardene group. For quite a time, Bandaranaike leaned on the Philip group, and it appeared as if he would do so steadfastly to the end.

But the mounting pressure of the working class movement led by the revolutionary-socialist Lanka Sama Samaja Party was a menacing situation to the capitalist class. In spite of the communal riots and the ten-month State of Emergency, which restricted democratic and trade-union rights, the strike movement kept on rising.

The strikes since October 1957 were unprecedented in the history of Ceylon. The growing militancy of the working class was evident. More and more groups of workers were coming under the influence of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party and were getting into action. The first mass political strike since the new government was set up took place in March 1959. It was evident that the masses were reaching out for political power.

The capitalist class was faced with the necessity of closing its ranks to meet the new menace. It sounded the alarm over the weakness of the Bandaranaike government in face of the working-class offensive. The voice of the leaders of the capitalist class found a responsive echo within the government ranks. The ra-

But the mood of the masses after Bandaranaike's assassination is definitely unfavorable to the Dahanayake government. The unequivocal and open condemnation of Buddhist clericalism by Buddhists themselves has cracked the foundation of the new government. Buddhist monks are no longer given alms, and they have even been assaulted.

Buddhist clericalism's loss of power also cuts down a powerful section of racialists who helped to fan the flames of communalism. The fact that Bandaranaike's assassin was a Sinhalese racialist is another severe blow to Sinhalese racialism. In fact, the Dahanayake government will lack firm foundations if religion and racialism are driven out of politics. Two serious obstacles to the growth of the revolutionary socialist movement are removed.

The present mood of the masses is clearly favorable to the LSSP, the largest working-class party in the country. Dr. N. M. Perera, the Parliamentary leader of the LSSP and Leader of the Opposition in Parliament, is looked to as the only person who can now lead the nation. The Philip Gunawardene Group, which sought to rely on Sinhalese Buddhist support, will now seriously weaken. The CP is already too weak — and too notoriously unreliable — for the workers to look in their direction.

The shift in mass consciousness is taking place in favor of the LSSP. But the forces of reaction within the government will seek to move quickly and to consolidate the present set-up to take the offensive against the masses. Will the working class and toiling people be ready, under the leadership of the LSSP, to close their ranks and take the offensive before the class enemy moves into action? It is clear that a revolutionary situation is maturing in Ceylon. If the working class, led by the LSSP, is equal to this task the setting up of a workers and peasants government is a genuine possibility.

ANYONE WANT TO BET?

The chairman of the planning commission for the slated 1964 world's fair in New York insists there only be "family entertainment" and none of the burlesque shows and bubble dancers on which operators at the 1939 fair

Can America's Capitalists Be Persuaded?

By Joseph Hansen

Soviet superiority in space navigation, as demonstrated by successfully more complex and powerful rockets placed in orbit since the first Sputnik two years ago, has led to a nationwide debate in America that can be summed up briefly: "How do we catch up?"

Is this controversy of interest to socialists? Aren't the capitalist spokesmen really demanding new, unheard-of weapons capable of surpassing the implied defensive and offensive lead of the Soviet Union in the missile field?

The outcome of the discussion, however, can influence America's fate and the fate of the world. Socialists had better make themselves heard. That is if they are firmly convinced that their program corresponds closest to the necessities of our time and offers the only road to final disarmament and enduring peace.

The particular debate offers extraordinary opportunities for bringing to a wider audience questions long pressed by socialists. For instance, the cause of the American lag in rockets clearly derives from the need for profit-making that is central to the capitalist economy; while the Soviet leap ahead just as clearly derives from the absence of this narrow limitation in planned economy.

Similarly the capacity of Soviet diplomacy to indicate that the blame for the armaments race lies with American imperialism gives fresh edge to the struggle against the capitalist warmakers. The Soviet government could sincerely propose total disarmament because planned economy requires peace for its best development. Officials of the U.S. government, on the other hand, show embarrassment over the proposal because they are well aware that capitalist economy, by its very nature, heads inevitably toward imperialism war.

Socialists, therefore, have every reason to offer their own answer to the question, "How do we catch up?" They, of course, add a proviso: "Catch up in what and for what?"

Socialists are opposed to further research and experiment in instruments of death. They are against imperialist conquest and anything that would further it. But they favor technological progress like that represented by the Soviet space vehicles. What they would like to see is America and the Soviet Union under a joint plan in which the two world centers would combine their industrial might and scientific know-how for the benefit of all mankind.

How to Catch Up

This, however, cannot possibly be achieved until America transcends capitalism. American socialists insist that to "catch up," America must take the road to a planned economy—a bigger, better and far more democratic planned economy, naturally, than the USSR enjoys today. The essential step right now in speeding this process is to build a revolutionary-socialist party on American soil.

To many readers of the Militant this will undoubtedly sound like the ABC's in a socialist kindergarten. Socialists begin here!

Unfortunately, some who claim to be socialists stopped before they got to the ABC's. Others who got there appear to have taken Khrushchev's proposal on total disarmament as the signal for a great leap—backward.

Socialists, they seem to have concluded, must get practical now, go back to the Progressive Party program of 1948 and make it their business to persuade Wall Street to disarm—by showing on paper how disarmament is possible without a depression.

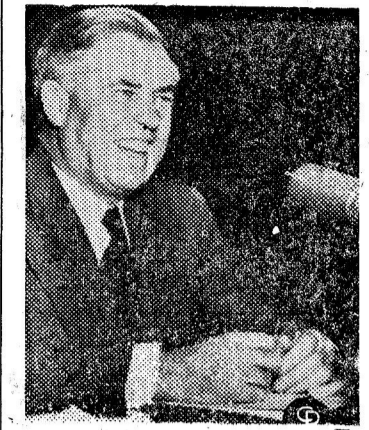
That, at least, appears to be the intent of an editorial and two accompanying articles recommended by the editors in the Oct. 12 National Guardian. ("The great excerpt" by the editors; an excerpt from a pamphlet by the Friends Committee on National Legislation, "Can we disarm without an economic crash?"; and "A progressive peace platform" by George Wheeler, the Guardian's Prague correspondent.)

The New Opportunities

Before considering the proposals advanced by the National Guardian, let me indicate more precisely how the opportunities to gain a hearing in America for socialism are beginning to open up:

(1) American diplomacy has made a decided turn—at least for the time being—toward relaxation of international tensions. This has as one of its reflections in domestic politics further relaxation of the witch-hunt. Fear of talk about socialism is subsiding.

Back to Wallace?



Henry Wallace, candidate for president on the Progressive Party ticket in 1948, was all for peace until Truman plunged America into the Korean civil war. Then he backed the imperialist intervention. By 1956 Wallace had moved so far to the right that he supported Eisenhower for the White House.

(2) The shift in American diplomacy was due primarily to successes in the international revolutionary camp that disrupted Wall Street's timetable for war. These successes include the big gains made in China and the Soviet Union and the intensified class struggle that has flared in the Middle East, Latin America and throughout the continent of Africa. This rise in revolutionary potential gives new weight to socialist arguments. The majority of mankind is clearly moving toward socialism!

(3) Wall Street's timetable for war has been upset so badly that the war-planners are no longer able to bracket ahead in five- or ten-year spans as they did immediately after World War II. American socialists have been granted precious time for organizing a powerful movement in the United States.

(4) Big business has stepped up the class struggle in America by opening a major offensive against organized labor. Whether the labor bureaucrats like it or not, they are forced more and more into politics, even in conducting ordinary union affairs, and the rank and file are visibly growing more restless over the suicidal policy of supporting the political enemies of labor. The correctness of the socialist stress on the need for independent political action is being confirmed every day in the week. We need only mention how labor's support of the Democrats in 1958 paid off in the anti-labor Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act. This alone has reinforced the standing of American socialists as political realists.

(5) The 1960 elections offer special opportunities for presenting the socialist case. Republicans and Democrats obviously intend to turn the peace issue to demagogic use. Socialists can expose them from hundreds of platforms and forums, including nationwide radio and TV hook-ups.

Socialists can participate in the presidential campaign with strong new arguments — the Sputniks, the Soviet disarmament proposal, the addition since the 1956 campaign of Iraq, Cuba and Africa to the ranks of insurgent humanity, the sharpened class struggle in every city in the country.

Should we seek to utilize these opportunities to the utmost? What is the best way to go about it? The National Guardian does not even discuss these key questions. Instead we are asked to consider the 1948 program of the Progressive Party, especially how American capitalism might disarm itself without cost of a depression.

What Is the Aim?

I hope that I am not misunderstood. It is excellent to advocate such specific things as a reduction in taxes, increased unemployment compensation, jobs for the jobless, mortgage payment insurance, more class rooms, higher teachers' pay, more hospital beds, better roads, food control, conservation of national resources, and so on.

It is doubly excellent to stress the need for peace and how truly catastrophic a war waged with nuclear weapons would be.

But what objective is aimed at? Are these issues raised to help show up capitalism and to demonstrate the need to take the road to socialism? Just the contrary. The hope is maintained that solutions to the problems can be found under capitalism. "We can see to it that the economic machinery we have is well used." The correct political course, we are urged, is to "work for improved legislation." "And, of course, search out and support good candidates for office."

Even without "good" Wal-

lace-type candidates, success is possible: "We can urge our government to give first priority to the search for political agreements and the basis for international disarmament under law so that the world may be rescued from the fear of war and the burden of armaments lifted forever from the backs of mankind."

(Meanwhile "our government" methodically continues to build bases for nuclear weapons trained on targets in the Soviet Union, the latest acquisition being in Turkey.)

The Guardian's Reasoning

The basic flaw in the National Guardian position is its idealistic rather than materialist approach. The reasoning goes something like this: Atomic weapons have introduced a qualitative change in the character of war. War has become so irrational that no rational human being can count on gaining anything from it except self-destruction. But capitalists as human beings are, in the final analysis, rational except for a minority of armament-makers and the Pentagon crowd.

Already the capitalist class in its majority, the reasoning continues, is convinced of the irrationality of nuclear war, or with some effort can be persuaded of its irrationality. "... the non-socialist world," declare the editors, "must be persuaded to the view that life can, and must, go on without armaments."

What stops our capitalist rulers from willing an end to armaments production is a mental block caused by a rather childish fear that prosperity hinges on arms-spending and that if the war budget were eliminated depression would follow as an immediate consequence. The same fear affects even workers and labor officials.

Thus it has become the first duty of every rational person, be he Quaker, Socialist or a Cyrus Eaton, to pitch into the job of convincing the fearful capitalists that the prospects are really not as bleak under capitalism as they believe. The senile system still has some juice available if you know how to put on the right squeeze. That is the substance of the Guardian position.

From the viewpoint of theory, this position does not come up to the level of the utopian socialists who were outmoded more than a century ago upon publication of the Communist Manifesto. The old utopians at least sought to persuade the capitalists of the irrationality of capitalism and of the rationality of changing over to socialism.

The Marxist View

In contrast to the utopian approach, Marxist analysts trace the cause of the armaments burden to the deepening decay of the capitalist system. (The "burden," be it noted, rests crushingly on the working people, not the capitalists.)

This is not merely a question of theory, or evidence of a sectarian approach. Costly historic experience, including two world wars, testifies to how imperialism arose at a certain stage of capitalist development, impelling the capitalist class into a life-and-death struggle for foreign markets, sources of raw material and cheap labor power.

Behind the bad "will" of the capitalist class stand economic drives of enormous force. What is involved is not the rationality of many capitalists but the insanity of the economic system in which they are enmeshed. This is the ultimate explanation for the disease known as fascism that swept Italy, Germany and Spain. Blind economic forces blind the ruling class at crucial turning points. Capitalists even plunge into catastrophic suicidal wars, as this century has repeatedly seen. In this respect the American breed are not qualitatively different from the Italian, German or Japanese rulers who precipitated World War II.

To return to the National Guardian. From the view that the American capitalists are, after all, human beings presumably endowed with brains and therefore open to reason, the argumentation necessarily follows an appropriate logic.

Amazing Low Price!

The main argument, since it is probably considered the most likely to persuade the reasoners who run American industry, is the low cost of disarmament. You can get it without a depression.

All you have to do is switch government expenditures to public works and the investments of private industry to useful projects. Some industries might be temporarily hurt as armament production ceases. "They must find new products, new markets, or new fields."

(Emphasis in the original.) "Our challenge," as one of the articles puts it, "is to find ways to bend our gigantic productive forces to our own will, to meet our real needs."

Economic theory — any economic theory — is missing from such argumentation. The "real" need in capitalist society is profits; that is the aim of capitalist production. That is what the steel barons are seeking to bend the productive forces to as they exert their "will" against the Steelworkers. And that is what armaments and wars are for; not only for the immediate production of profits, but for safeguarding and eventually promoting the expansion of the production of profits.

The desire to sell disarmament to the capitalists is so strong that the National Guardian even offers it on the installment plan. "A nation can't in a day switch production of \$45 billion worth of military goods to other things. But the time needed can be reduced by wise advance arrangements."

Resumption of world trade is also promised as a sure "stimulus for industry." How the capitalist merchants of peace convert their foreign purchases into money in case of a depression is not indicated; although the possibility of depression despite disarmament is not excluded, since, we are told, capitalism would still suffer from its "general crisis and economic cycle."

Class Collaboration

The Marxist concept of the class struggle goes up in smoke: "The change to a non-military economy will require not only planning but determination, and a readiness to accept work and sacrifice along the way. The political problems are enormous. The economic transition will call for mobilizing the full resources of the entire government in a prolonged attack on this question. It calls for the full cooperation of labor and management with government all the way from the local to the Federal level." (Full cooperation with the monopolists and their government — is that the hidden meaning of the cryptic slogan, "peaceful coexistence?")

The socialist position, in contrast to this class-collaborationist view, is that the achievement of a non-military economy can come only by ending capitalism and replacing it with general economic planning. This in turn requires the work and sacrifice needed to build a revolutionary-socialist party. And this party can succeed in giving correct political guidance to the working class only if it persistently opposes class collaboration all the way from the local to the federal level.

As already indicated, the National Guardian goes far in expressing confidence in "our" capitalist government. For instance: "U.S. government agencies such as the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Federal Housing Administration, various veterans' programs and the work of the Office of Defense Mobilization should provide helpful clues on how to demobilize or re-mobilize for peace."

If the proposed program is feasible, what need exists for a socialist government? None. The editors of the National Guardian are perfectly consistent in leaving out this item. They have no need for it, for they "envisage a changeover without depression — meaning perhaps also that the transition may take place without the kind of hardship which might lead to the popular upheavals and demands for immediate social change."

So What's Wrong with It?

If such a colossal transition can be accomplished why give

up capitalism? With total disarmament, prosperity and a ruling class and government that has proved responsive to the most acute needs of the time, what would be wrong with capitalism? We've made it work after all!

Such a sensible road to peace ought to convince the Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, and anti-union heads of the corporations and their labor-hating government representatives that you've got a far more rational outlook than they've had up to now. How can they refuse to let such reasonableness persuade them to enter the straight and narrow path?

Well, the editors of the National Guardian have asked for discussion of this proposed course of action. I would much prefer to discuss how socialists can utilize the new opportunities to gain a wider hearing for the socialist program, particularly in 1960, a year which promises unusually high interest in politics. I would likewise prefer to discuss how we can more effectively participate in the big debate over how to catch up with Soviet technological progress.

But if one of the preliminaries to working out these more important problems is discussion of the program advanced by the Progressive Party under Wallace, the time will not be lost. Many Socialists will undoubtedly have something to say on the question, for they have done a lot of thinking about that experience. The majority, I believe, will seek to help dispel the illusion that Wallace can be reincarnated or that his road, the road of liberal capitalism, offers anything comparable to a planned economy, such as the Soviet Union has, in meeting the great issues facing America and the world.

... Missile Base

(Continued from Page 1)

ering 200 miles of the Great Plains.

According to Roscoe Fleming in the Oct. 10 Christian Science Monitor, one base will be located near Cheyenne and will consist of 24 Atlas missiles of 5,000-mile range. The other base, already under construction, is near Denver. It will consist of 18 Titan missiles of 6,500-mile range.

"Each of these monsters," says Fleming, "will presumably have as a fixed target a Soviet city or strong point."

The ICBM bases are to be underground. Holes are being dug some 160-foot deep for the Titans and their mountings. Then the area will be covered again. They will be "one-shot" bases since firing of the missiles is expected to destroy much of their installation—if Soviet ICBMs don't reach them first.

As with all other American war preparations, the Atlas and Titan bases will provide a bonanza for big business. Morrison, Knudsen Co. of Los Angeles and Boise heads a group of six construction companies holding a \$67 million contract for preliminary work on the Titan bases. American Machine and Foundry Co. has received a contract for \$42.6 million to complete the steel work for the installation of the power plant and the missiles themselves.

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Class Struggle And American Labor

The anti-union offensive puts labor's officialdom on the griddle. But instead of mapping a program designed to fight back, the top labor leaders complain that big business is "waging a class struggle in America precisely as Karl Marx wrote it would be waged."

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

Read Tom Kerry's examination of the new stage of labor-management relations in the fall issue of the International Socialist Review. Send 35 cents for a copy.

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The School Placement Decision

"DANVILLE, Va., Oct. 9 — A high NAACP official predicted here this week that school placement laws 'will be declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court because of the way they are being used.' Speaking before the Virginia State Conference of NAACP branches, Gloster B. Current, director of NAACP branches, declared that 'this law gives prejudiced officials a device with which to deny admission of Negro pupils to previously all-white schools.'" (NAACP press release.)

"WASHINGTON, Oct. 12 — The Supreme Court turned down today an attack on state pupil placement laws that are designed to slow the pace of integration. The court refused to review two decisions upholding North Carolina's placement law." (N.Y. Times.)

Some people may conclude from the above quotations merely that the crystal ball in the NAACP's national office doesn't have even three-day visibility. But something much more serious is revealed. The NAACP leaders have either failed to recognize or are concealing from the Negro people the staggering blow dealt the school desegregation fight last year by the Supreme Court's upholding of the pupil placement laws.

Moreover, Gloster Current's speech reveals that even at this late date (after the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals last month stopped the scheduled integration of three Negro children at the Dollarway school out of deference to Arkansas' new pupil placement law) NAACP "strategy" is not to sound the alarm but to lull public opinion with "predictions" that the Supreme Court will declare these laws unconstitutional.

The Supreme Court's upholding of the Alabama Pupil Placement Act last year marked a turning point in the legal history of the school desegregation fight. The decision put the court's stamp of approval on a political deal made between the Southern officials, Washington and Northern big business.

The deal emasculated the original school desegregation ruling. In return for giving up "massive resistance," the Southern ruling class was authorized to retain its Jim Crow school system 99 9/10% intact, with the other 1/10 of 1% of Negro children to be admitted to white schools as token integration. This accomplished, Southern "desegregation" would be frozen—for the 1/10 of 1% of Negro children in white schools are not to be regarded as the thin edge of an entering wedge but as fixed-quota window dressing.

The NAACP remained virtually si-

lent about the high court's okaying of these vicious state laws. Unwilling to criticize the court, NAACP releases to this day have given the merest passing mention of it and nowhere has it assessed the ruling's true significance.

But the enemies of school desegregation were fully aware of what the upholding of these laws meant. Anti-integrationist Arthur Krock, dean of N.Y. Times correspondents in Washington and hobnobber with Supreme Court justices and senators, spelled it out last Dec. 30. The anti-Negro U.S. News and World Report did likewise.

Among battlers for integration, most of whom depend on the NAACP for information and evaluation of the progress of school integration, only a few voices have been raised. One of these was the Militant, whose main headline on Jan. 5 was: "High Court Shifts Stand on Segregated Schools—Racists Get Tip Off On What To Do."

Another is Martin Luther King, the Negro leader from Montgomery, Alabama. In the current issue of Liberation he declares that "the struggle for civil rights has reached a stage of profound crisis," which has "its origin in a decision rendered by the Supreme Court . . . which upheld the pupil placement law. Though little noticed then, this decision fundamentally weakened the historic 1954 ruling of the Court."

Comparing compromise on desegregation, for which this decision has become the basis, to the deal withdrawing federal troops from the South, thus ending Reconstruction, King writes: "The Negro was the tragic victim of another compromise in 1878, when his full equality was bargained away by the federal government . . . There is reason to believe that the Negro of 1959 will not accept supinely any such compromises in the contemporary struggle for integration."

But in order that the Negro people and their allies not supinely accept such a sell-out of school integration it is first necessary that they be told what is happening and how important it is. This NAACP leadership has failed to do. At best this failure shows that they are not leaders—because leaders lead—and raises questions about their competence. At worst it raises the question whether or not they—like the labor leaders who have long since secretly decided to live with Taft-Hartley rather than undertake the drastic fight required to beat it—have given up the aim of real school integration and have secretly reconciled themselves to going along with token integration in the South.

Let's Fine the City Council

By a vote of 20 to 4 the New York City Council approved a proposed measure Oct. 13 to fine the parents of children found guilty of acts of vandalism.

Democratic machine boss Sharkey of Brooklyn urged the reprisals against relatives of offenders as a way of combatting juvenile delinquency. "It is time we put [the fight against crimes of youth] in the hands of

practical people," said this leading Democrat. "We must take it away from the sob-sisters."

A more effective measure would be fines for members of the City Council. They bear the largest responsibility for the lack of playgrounds and parks, the broken-down schools, slum conditions and low wages with which parents are forced to rear their children. These are what foster the anti-social forms youthful rebellion takes.

The British Elections

The Tory victory in the British elections on Oct. 8 has not altered the basic feature of British politics since World War II. This is the polarization of the British people behind either the Tory Party, representing the capitalist class, or the Labor Party.

Even in the recent elections, in which the Tories scored their highest post-war gains, Labor's popular vote remained strong. (Labor won 43.9% of the popular vote; the Conservatives, 49.4%; the Liberals, 5.8%; others, 9%.)

A solid core of workers has continually voted Labor, even when it was dissatisfied with the official milk-and-water program, because these workers are loyal to the idea that the working-class must have its own party and must run the government if the working people's problems are to be solved.

In 1945, the lower middle class and the least class-conscious workers also rallied to Labor's banner. They wanted the working class to carry out the Labor Party's promise to reorganize British society along socialist lines. Had the party leaders acted decisively in this direction they would have continued to carry the masses with them.

But the Labor Party bureaucrats merely introduced a few social reforms (a number of which were subsequently retained by the Tories) and proceeded to carry out the regular functions of the capitalist state, such as rearming and imposing the arms burden on the working people. The labor bureaucrats' betrayal of

socialism caused the middle class and the more politically backward workers to lose confidence in the Labor Party and to swing over to the Tories.

Once in power in 1951, the Conservatives benefited greatly from the economic revival primed by the Marshall Plan that set in throughout Western Europe. The boom, which reached full momentum in Europe during the last five years and was not seriously affected by the 1957-58 recession, has had a politically conservative effect. It should be underscored, however, that betrayals by the working-class leadership in Western Europe (this includes betrayals by the Communist Parties as well) gave capitalism the chance to restabilize itself after being nearly swallowed up by the postwar revolutionary wave.

But capitalism is depression prone. The boom is sure to exhaust itself. Though the Tories won votes through their "peace" maneuvers, capitalism tends organically to war. As depression and new war threats manifest themselves, Labor will again win overwhelming mass support.

Will the working-class movement be ready to take advantage of its opportunities at that time? The historic significance of the programmatic struggle waged by the Socialist Labor League in England—whose appraisal of the election appears on this page—consists precisely in this, that it helps prepare the working class for its next great chance.



"But, General, what could the Russians do if the President answered their awful disarmament proposal with one of those Taft-Hartley cooling-off things!"

Labor Party Defeat in Britain Laid to Right-Wing Leadership

(The following article is reprinted from the Newsletter, weekly journal of the Socialist Labour League.)

The Tories have won the general election with an increased majority. To the thousands of Labour supporters who have trudged the streets night after night over the past few weeks campaigning against Toryism, this will come as a harsh surprise.

The right-wing chiefs at Transport House assured us that our election machine was better than it had ever been. Thousands of pounds have been spent on its improvement over the past few years. Gaitskill and Bevan told us that Labour's policy, because of its moderate nature, would secure the floating vote. In this connection the party paid the supreme price: nationalization was dropped and Labour candidates were committed to retaining the hydrogen bomb.

The full responsibility for this severe defeat rests on the shoulders of the right-wing of the Labour Party and Mr. Bevan. It is their organization and their policies which have been acted upon.

Contrast the viciousness of Transport House in its recent witch-hunt against members of the Socialist Labour League, whose only crime was disagreement with the type of policies and organization responsible for this defeat, with the kid-glove attitude of the right-wing towards the Tories during the election.

Cause of Swing

It would be a mistake to try to find an easy answer for the swing to the right. This election was lost in the years that immediately followed the Second World War.

NATIONALIZATION: Herbert Morrison, Ernest Bevan and their followers in the Labour government laid the foundations for this defeat as early as 1947 and 1948. Morrison called for a retreat from nationalization in 1948 and by 1959 this retreat had become a rout.

GERMANY: When Ernest Bevan, as Foreign Secretary in the 1945 Labour government, permitted the Nazi capitalist gang to regain control in West Germany, he made certain that the right-wing government of Adenauer was the order of the day for Germany. This was the beginning of the postwar turn to the right in Western Europe. The German workers, prostrate and defeated by brutal Nazi oppression and Allied chauvinism, needed above all help from a Labour Britain. Instead they were kicked in the teeth and handed back to their old masters.

STALINISM: It must be said also that a large share of the responsibility for the swing to the right rests on the criminal policy of the Stalinists. By their brutal policies in Hungary and Eastern Europe they provided a tremendous propaganda weapon for those wishing to discredit socialism all over Western Europe.

DE GAULLE: The Tory victory at the election is the British reflection of the gradual swing to the right which has been taking shape in Western Europe over the past 12 years. This came to its head with the victory of Charles de Gaulle (with the help of the "socialists") and it cannot be halted now without drastic changes in policy and personnel in the leadership of the Labour movement of Western Europe.

Fabianism is bankrupt. The Fabian concept that parliamentary struggle carried out gradually over a number of years would eventually bring socialism to Britain has been tried and found wanting.

Socialism is not a game of good government and bad government; of the Tories' and Labour's turn. It consists, above all, in the systematic preparation of the working class to take power. This preparation cannot be carried out on the basis of minor reformist concessions, but only on the basis of a program which aims to replace capitalism and institute a socialist society.

It is perfectly true that such preparation would not have brought immediate electoral success in the period after the war. What it would have done would have been to educate and prepare the workers and the middle class for power by consistently demonstrating the contrast between a socialist program and Toryism.

The swing to the right which has just taken place on the part of a substantial number of backward workers and middle-class voters could only have been avoided by this type of education. Bevan and Gaitskill treat the voter as some sort of special idiot who has only to be promised a few carrots at election time to cast his vote for Labour.

By repudiating the class struggle they continually underestimate the powers of Toryism in this country. This power cannot be broken by a few slogans. What has now been revealed is that Fabianism and Social Democracy will never bring socialism to Britain and in the last instance will repeat the treachery of Guy Mollet, on perhaps a far greater scale.

The Socialist Road

A new road has now to be taken. The road to socialism by a united struggle of all left-wing members of the Labour Party and trade unions on the basis of a socialist policy. This road will be a hard one at first, but there is one thing we can rely upon the Tories to do now. They will proceed openly under their true colors for legislation against the trade unions, encouraging unemployment, raising rents and reducing the standard of living; in other words back to the thirties.

The campaign for a socialist policy will be slow in the beginning, but the defeat at the election is not a definitive defeat for the working class. It is a partial defeat which can be put right by the prosecution of the class struggle which will now be stepped up on a vast scale.

The whole future of socialists in the Labour Party, therefore, depends upon recognizing this class struggle and really campaigning for socialist policies today. They must break completely from reformism and class collaboration.

The Tories will not be victorious until they defeat the working class in the factories and workshops. To win at a general election is one thing, to defeat the industrial working class is quite another.

A socialist policy for Labour is already at hand, it has been adopted by tens of thousands of workers throughout the country. This is the policy of the National Assembly of Labour which meets on November 15.

- An end to the manufacture of the H-bomb.
- The strengthening of the fight for the 40-hour week, higher wages, defense of jobs and defense of shop stewards, against rent increases.
- A fight for the extension of nationalization.
- A fight against oppression in the colonies and against racialism in Britain.
- A fight against the bans and proscriptions inside the Labour Party and the trade unions.

The National Assembly of Labour will provide a great discussion forum on the lessons of the general strike.

The National Assembly of Labour will demand an immediate emergency national conference of the Labour Party, so that the old gang of right-wing Tory fellow-travellers can be removed and preparations laid for a new leadership and a socialist policy.

The American Way of Life

In Defense of TV Wrestling

I suppose everyone knows the scandalous details about the TV quiz shows. You can't miss them if you read the papers, for they are playing the exposure of TV up big, as is the duty of these watchdogs of the country's virtue. There is one sour note, however, in this performance of civic responsibility; that is the failure of the big dailies to defend TV wrestling.

Apologists for the sinful TV moguls claim that TV wrestling is fixed; so what's wrong with fixing the contests in which eggheads groan, sweat and lip-bite before winning with the answer they were coached on?

The comparison does a grave injustice to the TV wrestling stars. Sure, the exhibitions are fixed. If they weren't how could you enjoy them? Knowing that the choreography has been worked out in advance like a ballet, you can relax. The show won't run overtime. No one's going to get hurt. The actors will be back again tomorrow night.

The injustice is not done by telling the world that TV wrestling is fixed. The injustice is to compare the skill and even artistry of the wrestlers with the miserable performances of the fake eggheads in the TV quiz exhibitions.

Of course, those who played the egghead roles were strictly amateur, while the wrestlers are professionals with long experience on the boards. Nevertheless, recall what the quiz scripts called for:

An individual sits in an upright coffin with earphones on his head. His sweat is artificially produced by hot Klieg lights and lack of ventilation. He twitches nervously. Through 58,000,000 TV screens, breathless America glues its eyes on him. The intellectual genius gives the right answer. "2 a.m., Friday, Oct. 12, 1492." From coast to coast America applauds in envy. He did it! And for this he gets a bucket of money — \$10,000, \$25,000, \$64,000, maybe \$100,000.

Now take the TV wrestler. He knows that the audience knows that the routine has been decided in advance. Despite the handicap he puts on a dazzling performance. He makes like Tarzan, an Indian chief, a kicking mule, a pretzel. Fixed of course. But you try making like a pretzel and it'll take a hospital to untie you.

He flies off the ropes 10 feet into the air to put his secret hold, the dive-bomb, on his opponent. His opponent cleverly ducks, as the fix calls for, and the human whirlybird lands flat on the canvas, out cold. Fixed, of course, but you try it on the living room rug.

Beside the main action in the plot, subtleties are not overlooked. Connoisseurs of the art, knowing these sly touches, can always tell the hero from the villain. The villain won't shake hands. He sneers. He leers. He uses dirty holds. He swears at the fans. When he wins the first or second fall he demonstrates that he's something of an egghead by pointing knowingly to his own skull. He appreciates the brains it takes to win the first or second fall.

The hero looks clean. He fights clean. He is clean no matter how he sweats. He typifies American sportsmanship. He trusts in human nature. Often he is even stupid, walking wide-eyed into the dirty traps set by the villain. But his dander can be aroused by foul tactics. Then righteousness shows its power. The villain, all 300 pounds, is thrown around the ring like a sack of feathers.

What do these hard-working artists get for such dramatic performances? Peanuts!

OK. So they claim the TV quiz shows weren't any more fixed than wrestling. Good. Let's combine them. Let Van Doren take up wrestling to improve their acting. And let the wrestlers take up answering quiz questions to improve their pay.

TV wrestling will then light up 58,000,000 screens each week and the artistic level of the TV quiz shows will become something America can proudly display to the whole world.

Imagine the suspense and excitement when the referee asks the contestants as they groan, sweat and make faces in a double-arm, scissors-stretch leg-strangle, "For \$64,000 what was the middle name of the person who first used the word phoney, in what country is the word most frequently used, and why is its popularity likely to increase?"

— Paul Abbott

Headlines in Other Lands

Rhinoceros Wins Brazil Election

Caçareco, a female rhinoceros, is the "people's choice" in Sao Paulo, Brazil's largest city. She astounded the city fathers when she won a landslide victory in the municipal elections last week. Caçareco was a candidate of the "Independent Party" and received 102,620 write-in votes (more than 10% of 911,705 votes cast) — one of the highest votes received by a local candidate in Brazil's recent history.

Caçareco has been disqualified by local politicians but her campaign constituted a dramatic protest against Brazilian politics and the high cost of living. Inspired to write a song about the incident a local songwriter cites meat and bread shortages and "children without school" in his lyrics. The chorus: "Complaints of the nation found no echo. And elected was Caçareco."

Although Caçareco was deprived of her rightful seat on the Sao Paulo city council, her example has inspired other animals. She and two other "non-humans" have been registered as candidates in the Nov. 8 city elections in Porto Alegre, Brazil. Here the rhinoceros has been joined by a black bull and a goat to oppose 212 human candidates. Their platform — opposition to the giraffe-like cost of living.

"War Is War" — Depending on Who Threatens It

The U.S. Government was quick to condemn statements made by Chinese Communist Party officials that no foreign interference can prevent Taiwan from being reunified with the Chinese mainland. Under-Secretary of State, Douglas Dillon was positively outraged. "We firmly reject," he said on Oct. 7, "the attempts by Communist leaders to justify what they call 'just revolutionary wars' or 'wars of liberation.' War is war, no matter where or why it may be fought."

Spanish Students Score U.S. Support Of Franco Regime

Three days later Chiang Kai-shek claimed, in a speech, that his last year's "victory" over Peking "in the Battle of Quemoy" had brought that regime to the "brink of total collapse." "Although," he said, "we have not yet started our military counter-offensive . . . the Battle of Quemoy . . . proved that this is a decisive year and that we shall succeed in our task of counter-offensive."

Chiang spoke on the anniversary of the 1911 Chinese revolution. President Eisenhower sent him a well-wishing note on the occasion.

Living Conditions Improving in East Germany

East Germany has the look of a going concern, says Sydney Gruson in the Oct. 12 New York Times, after a brief trip to the Sovietized part of Germany.

"If there is no elegance and little luxury in living in East Germany now, neither is there any serious want. Even more important, the shops have finally begun to reflect some of the promises of elegance and luxury to come."

Many of the people interviewed grumbled about the lack of freedom and the incessant propaganda. "But all thought that life was far better now than two or three years ago, that the police were less ubiquitous and less prying and that there was no mood or wish for rebellion in the land."

Younger people spoke enthusiastically of the chance they were getting for free education. Older people thought they were better off than the West Germans on health services and on pensions. Very few people spoke to Gruson about trying to escape, although some 3,000 people still cross from East Germany to West Germany each month. Said one youth: "Well, things are not so bad now. And we know that we always can go if they start to get as tough with us as they used to be."

Spanish Students Score U.S. Support Of Franco Regime

"You Americans are largely to blame for what Spain is today. America wants to lead the free world and stop communism. How do you do it? By basing your power on the most backward elements. In two weeks — by cutting off oil — you could force Franco to his knees . . ." These bitter words from one of Spain's growing army of angry young men and women, reflect the hatred of university students for the Franco regime. Although 95% of the 70,000 students come from well-to-do families only a tiny minority support Franco.

"Your Voice of America calls Spain one of the free nations," the same student told Benjamin Welles, N. Y. Times correspondent, "and we know it is not true. So we never listen now. We listen to the Communist radio in Prague, instead, because it at least criticizes this regime."

Disgust with the regime's control of propaganda was expressed by a young woman student who said: "We are sick to death of the Civil War and the Falange. . . All this regime does is exalt its 'victory' over other Spaniards, the wonderful 'Movement.' We want an end to it . . ."

Shook-Up Dictator Ousts Senators

Badly shaken by revolutionary developments in the Caribbean, Haitian dictator Francois Duvalier ousted six of Haiti's 21 senators by decree on Oct. 9. The six senators were charged with plotting an invasion of Haiti and of conspiring to establish a "Communist state."

All six senators, who were once followers of Duvalier, denied the charges. Of the six only Senator Yvan Moreau remains at large in Haiti. Others are in exile or under the protection of foreign embassies.

How TV Distorted What Khrushchev Said on U.S. Trip

Editor:
I can't help blowing up sometimes, though I know it's useless. Here's a letter I sent to the major TV networks in which I told them off about the way they handled Khrushchev's tour.
"Gentlemen:
"With reference to your various off-the-cuff commentators and maturer (?) analysts of the Khrushchev visit, they displayed one obvious attitude in common. Namely, a self-righteous, condescending one, as to what the practically the admittedly imperfect Mr. K said and did.
"Many of the criticisms could easily be shown invalid, if rebuttals were possible on the airwaves. For example that statement demolishing (to the evident satisfaction of the commentator) the K. assertion, that there are no taxes in Russia. The critic conveniently did not mention such benefits to the people there as health and old-age care when he dragged in the high current cost of automobiles there.
"Also another Monday expert multiplied Mr. K's \$28 billions for his military defense into some \$66 billions; but he failed similarly to multiply our much more wasteful \$42 billions and back-door expenditures and to say that theirs is nearly all on their own soil, while ours is mostly on 950 world-encircling military bases."
A Subscriber
Greensburg, Pa.

Why Socialists Do Best Not Voting For Any Liberal

Editor:
In the Oct. 5 Militant, Dana Platt agrees that the "prime objective of socialists should be to get socialist candidates on the ballot in as many places as possible — including the Presidential race."
After this excellent statement, however, something not so excellent is suggested: "But failing this, I see no reason why they shouldn't vote for, without actively supporting, liberal capitalist candidates as against outright reactionaries."
It seems to me that if you vote for a capitalist candidate you are supporting him — and in a very active way, since you help put him in office. Even the justification offered for such a vote constitutes active support, doesn't it?
Comrade Platt argues that voting for liberals "certainly would be no dissipation of valuable socialist energy but the recognition that whatever social gains can be achieved under capitalism should be supported by socialists as stepping stones to socialism."
First of all, experience indicates that you can't get to socialism by stepping stones supplied by capitalist politicians. When you get close to socialism, they take a fascist sledge hammer and smash them. We saw this in Italy, Germany and Spain, to mention the most prominent examples.
Secondly, reliance upon liberals for a progressive course indicates considerable illusions. The liberal Woodrow Wilson promised to keep America out of war. He delivered by plunging the country into World War I.
Another great liberal, Franklin D. Roosevelt, promised "again and again and again," wasn't it, not to send our boys to any foreign battlefields. He sent them to the bloodiest battlefields the world has yet seen.
"Fair Deal" Truman promised repeal of the Taft-Hartley law. He forgot the promise when he was safely back in the White House. And then — well, can anyone forget Korea?
The typical evolution of a liberal is well indicated by Orval Faubus, governor of Arkansas. At one time he was regarded as an outstanding Southern liberal. And he was. But when the race-haters mobilized, he not only caved in as a liberal; he sought to become their leader. How well he succeeded is known to everyone. Now, wouldn't a socialist look foolish — at best — if he had voted for Faubus because no socialist was running in Arkansas and this Democrat was the liberal building stepping stones to socialism?
Let's take the seemingly hardest possible example facing a socialist at the polls: a trade-unionist who has bucked the Democratic machine, who is backed by labor officialdom and who enjoys a lot of popular support. Moreover, no socialist happens to be contesting the office.
As I see it, such a candidate falls into one of the following categories:
(1) He has good intentions

but he doesn't know any better.
(2) He is a shrewd cookie out to make a name for himself as an anti-machine candidate, after which he will make a deal with the party bosses.
(3) Despite appearances he is simply a stalking horse, put out by the machine, to attract the labor vote.
Under any of these categories is it possible for a socialist to support him without compromising socialist principles? I think not.
Even in the first case, a socialist of all people should remember what the road to hell is paved with.
T. H. McGuiness
New York

Doubts Bureaucrats Are Really Inclined To Change Politics

Editor:
Unfortunately I was unable to attend the meeting of the United Independent Socialist Committee and so was very happy to read the long discussion of it in the Militant of October 5.
I have long supported the position of running independent socialist candidates. And in the 1960 election it would be a setback for socialist propaganda and education if there were no socialist candidate in the field.
It is not only important to run candidates but candidates who reflect a militant program. I have always believed that the emphasis of the Socialist Workers Party in attacking and exposing the role of the labor bureaucracy has been one of its most important contributions to socialist education.
However when I read the excerpt from Murry Weiss's speech in the Militant of October 5, I wonder whether in the interests of a united front that the incisiveness of socialist analysis is being weakened. Specifically I refer to Murry Weiss's statement "... there are many important indications that the Negro people, the workers and even sections of the bureaucracy are stirring." (Boldface added.)
I hope I am not pulling this out of context but I am disturbed why anyone, certainly someone like Murry Weiss, would want to include the labor bureaucracy — or even sections of the labor bureaucracy — on the level with the Negro people and the workers. Do we now have to begin reminding each other of the fundamentally different interests between the two groups?
There is no question that a series of quotations could be supplied presenting the radical sounding statements of some of the labor fakers in recent months. But what does it mean? That they can be discussed in the same breath with the strivings of the Negro people and the workers for peace, for a better life — and to throw off the deadly and reactionary weight of the labor bureaucracy? Why ignore the fundamental differences?
If some bureaucrats are now executing some fancy steps not to get caught too far behind the progressive strivings of the people, let us not forget that some sections of the bureaucracy always move "left" in order to be in a better position to decapitate the genuine leftward movement of the Negro people and the workers. How can we forget the lessons of history, the history of the betrayal by the labor bureaucracy?
When the socialist movement starts to cut corners in the interest of some tactical maneuver, it may appear clever and "practical." The effects tomorrow can only be disastrous; we will be laying the seeds for tomorrow's defeats.
Steve Radowsky
New York City

What's the Truth About Steel Wages And Price of Steel?

Editor:
The following letter, which appeared in a recent issue of the Denver Post, will undoubtedly be of interest to Militant readers, especially members of the Steelworkers union. The author has evidently given considerable thought to the relation (or lack of relation) between wage rises and price hikes.
O. T. R.
Editor:
I doubt if one person in several thousand of the general public — including Steelworkers — is fully aware of the fact that the prices (and therefore the profits) set by the steel industry are NOT based on supply and demand but are almost wholly arbitrary and are called "administered prices" — a term originated by Dr. Gardiner C. Means, and defined thusly: "We have an administered price when a company maintains a posted price at which it will make sales or simply has its own prices at which buyers may purchase or not as they wish."
The critical question is whether, when demand falls off, price is maintained through a decrease in production... where this occurs, the price is not only administered in the sense that it is set and maintained but in addition it is clearly insensitive to the market... These are the prices with the potential for inducing economic distress.
That the price of steel is maintained through a decrease in production should be abundantly clear to anyone who can remember just one year ago during the recession. We Steelworkers remember very well the lay-offs and the shorter work weeks, which certainly induced "economic distress."
The price maker in an administered price industry is concerned with (1) his costs, (2) the demand for the product, and (3) the reaction of his competitors. The long history of action by the government against the steel industry for monopolistic practices (1920 to the present time) indicates that "the reaction of competitors" has not bothered the industry appreciably for forty years. Further, since the industry controls the demand for the product by the simple expedient of maintaining their prices by reducing production, the second item is of no concern to them. This leaves only the first, costs. Specifically, the wages of the steel workers.
In short, the whole philosophy of the steel industry, once the facts are known, is one of desire for complete control of all economic factors concerning their price-making. That the Steelworker objects to this, and rightly so, is a terrific thorn in the side of the industry.
Let it be inferred that I believe the industry to be endowed with Machiavellian despotism, I hasten to add that I am convinced that their leaders are perfectly sincere in their belief that competition means raising their prices to meet the other firms'; that they are perfectly sincere in their belief that the average steel worker has no business wanting to hang onto his job when automation (salaam to progress) could do it better (?); that they are perfectly sincere in their belief that their directors are worth several hundred thousand dollars a year, each.
It is this very sincerity that frightens me because it indicates a dedication to a philosophy of the future... that is to say, it means that their sights are trained, exclusively, on the future of the industry with total, utter disregard for the present lifetime of the steel worker and therefore, by definition, a total unconcern for the average workingman caught in the meshes of advancing automation... a workingman who has but this one life to live.
By what divine dispensation the rules of the steel industry feel they have the right to play God, I do not know. I can only be grateful to Him that, hungry though I may be, I have more humility.
Doris Sharp
Rank and file member
Local 3267 (C.F.&I.)
Beulah, Colo.

Inspired By "Militant"

Editor:
Don't ever let go of your great paper. Every time I read it, I get a new spurt of feeling for the hardships of my fellowmen. In a world where self-interest is bred into the best of us, I think we all need something like your paper to continually revive our more human feelings.
R. W. Costa
Costa Mesa, Calif.

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Can Poison Be Removed?

Canadian government scientists have announced discovery of a chemical process which may eventually enable mankind once again to enjoy milk free from cancer-producing strontium 90, one of the products of nuclear fallout. At a reception in New York Oct. 25 for Dr. Linus Pauling, samples of the rare strontium-free milk will be served. The reception precedes an evening meeting at Carnegie Hall where the noted opponent of atom-bomb tests will speak.

...Auto Union

(Continued from Page 1)
he concluded, was that the members were pressured into returning to work with only part of their demands won.
A number of other delegates spoke along the same vein. Their attitude was well indicated by Delegate Clements of Local 216, South Gate General Motors plant, who concluded his indictment of the leadership by saying: Our local union cannot support a dues increase until the leadership demonstrates that it is seriously prepared to fight for a program to improve our wages, hours and working conditions.
At the conclusion of the debate, the motion to adopt the dues-increase package which had been scaled down to \$5 a month was adopted by approximately a 75% majority. A demand for a roll-call vote was declared short of the necessary 775 delegates required and rejected.
In contrast to the discussion of the dues issue the debate on political action was relatively mild. The convention resolution basically reiterated the Reuther policy of working "toward a realignment of political forces in America now." It was made abundantly clear in the debate that what was meant was continuation of supporting liberal Democrats in the 1960 election.
Speaking for the resolution, vice president Leonard Woodcock gave an amazing performance of upside-down logic. "Did our friends betray us in the first session of Congress recently concluded?" he asked rhetorically. They did not, he answered. For if it hadn't been for our friends, he affirmed, the bill that was finally enacted would have been much worse.
One delegate observed in his speech on the resolution that "everytime we take a licking we adopt a resolution the same as before and congratulate ourselves by saying, it could have been worse."
A number of resolutions in favor of the formation of an independent labor party were submitted by local unions but were not reported out by Reuther's resolution committee. Several delegates spoke against the policy of supporting the Democrats and for a labor party.
The only really organized group at the convention was the Reuther administration caucus. This caucus, easily comprising a majority of the delegates, met on the opening day of the convention. The two issues presented to the caucus were (1) support for the dues increase, and (2) a slate of candidates for the election of officers.
In the discussion on candidates, Robert Battle III, of Ford Local 600, raised the question: How long is it going to be before a Negro is named by the administration for the International Executive Board? This initiated a debate on what is for Reuther a very touchy question.
Battle has been a long-time member of the Reuther caucus. Other Reuther supporters at the caucus meeting continued to press the question despite the clumsy attempts of the meeting chairman to brush the issue aside. Enough heat was generated to compel Reuther to deal with the issue in his summary speech to the caucus meeting. He was, he said, sympathetic to the aspirations of the Negro members of the UAW for representation on the top board.
However, he declared, the UAW could not solve the problem of Negro equality which was a problem for the whole nation. In addition, he repeated the old saw about the principle of electing officials on the basis of qualifications and not because of race, color or nationality. Yet, out of consideration for the feeling expressed by the Negro members he was thinking of "grooming" some of the Negro members for consideration at a later date.
This explanation failed to satisfy the Negro delegates but out of caucus discipline and with the knowledge that without administration support none of the eligible Negro leaders could be elected, they decided not to try to break the administration slate.
However, during nominations from the floor for vice president, a number of Negro leaders were named. The nominations were declined. But notice has been served that the question of Negro representation will not be permitted to be shunted aside at the next convention — and the best assurance of that is the fact that Negro trade-union members are beginning to organize to fight for their rights instead of seeking a handout by the top white labor bureaucrats.

...Steelworkers' Motorcade

(Continued from Page 1)
Do you think that noise is going to help you win the strike?" The steel worker spokesman said, "We think the men have a right to express their feelings."
"You mean to tell me that those men came here voluntarily?" Hagerty snapped.
"That's right. All of those men work in the plants. So do both of us. As a matter of fact there isn't a paid representative of the union in the crowd. They came here on their own time and in their own cars."
"I don't believe it," Hagerty said heatedly.
"The president can't take sides in the steel strike," Hagerty argued. "He has to look out for the interests of all the Americans."
"I'm an American," said McJannett. "All the men on the line are Americans. The 500,000 steel workers on strike are Americans. If he breaks our strike, how is he going to be looking out for us?"
Not Impartial
Sierras said, "If Ike uses the injunction, he is taking sides. If he was going to do it, he should have invoked Taft-Hartley right in the beginning. Now it is going to help the companies and hurt the steel workers. Now it's nothing but government strikebreaking."
Hagerty noted that the statement he had been given was unsigned. Sierras asked for the statement, and placing it on the limousine, signed it.
The meeting ended with Hagerty's promise that he would give the president the statement.
The motorcade then proceeded back to Fontana where the Kaiser local's soup kitchen had been kept open past its normal closing time to feed the steel workers.
The motorcade was a genuine expression of the militancy which has been growing in the ranks of the steel workers in the Los Angeles area since the strike began. Generally, the strikers hate Taft-Hartley and feel that their union is in real danger of being mutilated. They believe it would be best to stay on the picket lines until an honorable settlement is made. This feeling of determination has begun to find expression in the leadership of the local unions and led to the motorcade proposal by officers of Local 2058.
International officials were cool to the proposal, and they

Auto Convention Sidelights

By Tom Kerry
son sang beautifully to a packed theater rented especially for the occasion and received a standing ovation after her rendition of the spiritual: "He's Got the Whole World in His Hands."
Atlantic City Pitchmen: Through some psychological quirk some people are unable to resist the spiel of a pitchman. Watched one selling household gadgets. He sliced his way through three pineapples, chopped two heads of cabbage and mangled various other vegetables. Four indispensable items for the "ridiculous" price of one dollar — and only one to a customer, if you please. Heard the husband of one woman hugging her purchase say: "But you have all of those gadgets at home, dear!" "I know," she replied, "but I can't resist a bargain." The same gadgets by the pitchmen on 14th Street in New York — fifty-seven cents — no limit.
It's No Joke: Delegate commenting on labor's electoral "victories" told the story of a Frenchman who said: "We fought two wars and won — God help us if we win another one!"

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CHICAGO
Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736.
CLEVELAND
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The Militant, P.O. Box 1904, University Center Station, Cleveland 6, Ohio.
DETROIT
Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Temple 1-6135.
LOS ANGELES
Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238.
MILWAUKEE
150 East Juneau Ave. MINNEAPOLIS
Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon to 6 P.M. daily except Sundays.
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Detroit Pickets Score T-H Use In Steel Strike

By Jim Avery
DETROIT, Oct. 10 — The Detroit News, largest daily paper here, got a big surprise when it sampled opinion among striking Steelworkers at the two major steel plants, Great Lakes and McLouth, on Eisenhower's move to invoke the Taft-Hartley Act against the steel union.

Not one favorable comment could the News report in its tour of the picket lines and union halls last night.

In spite of the pinch felt by many on the eighty-eighth day of their strike, strikers' comments on Eisenhower ranged from "spineless" to "big brother to big steel."
Frank Scarford, a picket captain at Great Lakes, had this to say: "Just when we have the steel companies on the ropes, the president has to do a dirty thing like that."

William Galligan, father of four, answered, "I'm 100 per cent behind the union. Eisenhower pulled a dirty trick on the ordinary working man by forcing him to go to work against his wishes."
John Sadvery, president of Local 1299 at Great Lakes, accused the president of being a strikebreaker and a tool of big business.

Edward McNamara, USW field representative in the Bay City-Saginaw area, contacted by phone, asserted, "Every man in the plants is united in his determination not to give up the benefits in our contract."
At McLouth, picket William Davidson, father of three boys, blamed Eisenhower for giving in to big-business pressure to stockpile steel again. He concluded, "Now ask me, why did he wait so long to use the Taft-Hartley law?"
Fellow picket, Dorwin Bitely, a scrap handler, asserted that "nine out of ten men figure they're getting a raw deal from Eisenhower. You can bet nobody is going to break his neck for the companies if he is forced back on the job."

James Smith, a bricklayer's helper at McLouth, was contacted on the phone while doing night duty at Local 2659 union hall. "It would be a hell-

between our ears that we cannot distinguish between friend or foe? Or is it that we do not give a damn any more about scabs on picket lines or in Congress?"
Equal Time: The resolution on Federal, State and Local Legislation adopted by the convention urges an "amendment to the Federal Communications Act to require TV and radio licenses to set aside equal free time for federal, state and local candidates of all bona fide political parties."
White Man's Burden: It is high time that unions holding conventions at Atlantic City lodged a vigorous protest against the practice of healthy human beings being propelled up and down the boardwalk by other human beings. The sight of two fat slob being pushed along the walk by an old man scarcely able to navigate induces a feeling of acute nausea.
Convention Highlight: One of the highlights of the convention was the concert by Marian Anderson sponsored by the UAW for the delegates and guests of the convention. It was a wholly delightful evening. Miss Ander-

son sang beautifully to a packed theater rented especially for the occasion and received a standing ovation after her rendition of the spiritual: "He's Got the Whole World in His Hands."
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son sang beautifully to a packed theater rented especially for the occasion and received a standing ovation after her rendition of the spiritual: "He's Got the Whole World in His Hands."
Atlantic City Pitchmen: Through some psychological quirk some people are unable to resist the spiel of a pitchman. Watched one selling household gadgets. He sliced his way through three pineapples, chopped two heads of cabbage and mangled various other vegetables. Four indispensable items for the "ridiculous" price of one dollar — and only one to a customer, if you please. Heard the husband of one woman hugging her purchase say: "But you have all of those gadgets at home, dear!" "I know," she replied, "but I can't resist a bargain." The same gadgets by the pitchmen on 14th Street in New York — fifty-seven cents — no limit.
It's No Joke: Delegate commenting on labor's electoral "victories" told the story of a Frenchman who said: "We fought two wars and won — God help us if we win another one!"

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 Wednesday nights 7 to 9.
The Militant, P.O. Box 1904, University Center Station, Cleveland 6, Ohio.
DETROIT
Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Temple 1-6135.
LOS ANGELES
Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238.
MILWAUKEE
150 East Juneau Ave. MINNEAPOLIS
Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon to 6 P.M. daily except Sundays.
NEWARK
Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N.J.
NEW YORK CITY
Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852.
OAKLAND-BERKELEY
P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif.
PHILADELPHIA
Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 P.M., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820.
SAN FRANCISCO
The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Rm. 4. Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone PR 6-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321.
SEATTLE
1412-18th Avenue, EA 2-5554. Library, bookstore.
ST. LOUIS
For information phone MO 4-7194.