

WORKERS WORLD

VOLUME I, NO. 2

"YOUTH MARCH" EDITION — APRIL, 1959

TEN CENTS

To all youth in Washington March:

Don't Take No for an Answer! Stay Here 'Til Ike Says YES

Majority of D.C. Negro Why Not Negro Mayor?

By the time you read this you will have seen a good part of this city. Don't let the beautiful monuments, the great historical sites and the multitude of imposing government buildings distract you from your mission. These are calculated to inspire you with awe and reverence, not for the city and the nation, but for the politicians and the bosses who run them.

In the column on the right, we show what has to be done to make your March for integrated schools a success.

But school segregation is only one aspect of Jim Crow.

Think this over! The motto of this city is *Justicia Omnibus*, which means Justice For All. But of the more than 850 thousand people who inhabit it, 53 per cent are Negro—a clear majority. Yet the Negroes of this city practically have no voice in the running of it at all.

If the U.S. Government were really what it is cracked up to be, this city would surely have a Negro Mayor, at least half of the governing city council would be Negro, and Negroes would have equal rights with all other people.

A voteless city

But this is not so. This city has been deprived by Congress of the right of local government which other cities have. It elects no functioning city council, no mayor, no representatives in Congress, and does not even have the right to vote for President. Three Commissioners are appointed by the President; they run this city.

Are the real reasons for all this the ones you read in your textbooks? Poppycock! Whatever good reason there might have been a hundred years ago, it is no longer valid today.

The real culprit is Jim Crow. And it was precisely with a view to compromising with the Southern Jim Crow Bourbons, that the Federal Government in 1878 enacted this law to keep the Negroes down, and still retains it to this day.

Who gives and who gets?

Look around this city a little more carefully, and you will see that all the beautiful apartment houses, the luxurious hotels, restaurants and playhouses are practically all owned by big powerful financial interests. Most of all the big ones are owned by whites, and most of them are absentee landlords. Look further and you will see that only about 10 per cent of this city's municipal jobs go to Negroes.

Yet who are the bulk of the people that operate and maintain this city, and who bears the heavier part of this city's tax load if not the Negro population?

Yes — in this, the nation's capital, there are some of the worst ghettos. Poverty and disease are commonplace. Negroes are still being barred from the better hospitals. Everyone knows that

Negroes have died here because they were refused admission to hospitals.

But remember that Washington, D.C. has a majority of Negro inhabitants! The latest report by the FBI showed that crime in this city was lower than the national average. Did your newspapers, radio and TV back home let you in on this fact?

If you speak to any Congressmen or Senators, ask them whether there should be local self-government in — Tibet. You are sure to get an affirmative reply to that one. And ask if there should be an elected Mayor and free city elections in Berlin, and they will all wax positively eloquent. Indeed, they are ready to fight for Berlin to the last drop of your blood. But self-government for the city of Washington, and for an elected Mayor — ah, that's different — and you know why!!

They are all guilty!

Yet the city of Washington is a mirror of the rest of the country. Congress, the President and the Supreme Court are all equally responsible for the Jim Crow which permeates the city.

It is said that in the Senate and House of Representatives, only a minority are white supremacists. But the truth of the matter is that the overwhelming majority of the Congress, the Senate and the President, continually surrender to these white supremacists on every critical issue involving Jim Crow.

Negro equality is fundamentally necessary to the progress and unity of the working class, but this is not at all the case with the capitalist class. The low wages and miserable living conditions of the mass of Southern population, both Negro and white, is a standing invitation to Northern finance capital to skillfully divide one against the other, and beat down the living standards of both — North and South, Negro and white.

Not a single important industry in the South is really owned by Southern capitalists themselves. All the vital economic, industrial and financial arteries which make up the Southern system, have their controlling threads in the giant corporations with their seat in Wall Street.

Divide and rule

As long as the capitalist system exists, it must necessarily try to divide Negro against white, male against female, skilled against unskilled, employed against unemployed.

The truth is that only a socialist revolution can end Jim Crow for good. It took a revolution to free this country from colonial slavery to Britain. It took another revolution to free the Negroes from chattel slavery. Only a socialist revolution led by Negro and white workers to end wage slavery to the capitalist class, will bring about full freedom and equality for all.

What to do:

1. Demand that a rank and file delegation Of at least 500 see the President!

That's not too big. The President at his regular press conference meets several hundred reporters at one time whenever he holds one. If he can meet several hundred reporters at one time, he can, on this important occasion, meet several hundred youth. All can very conveniently fit into the Presidential press conference room, in the White House. Then there can be question and answer procedure; the very same that he uses with the press. In that way you will get your questions and demands across to the President in no uncertain terms. Fight hard for this procedure.

2. No small, hand-picked delegation

If a small, hand-picked delegation is selected to present the petition to the President, a good deal of the effectiveness of this demonstration will be lost. Remember, the press, radio and TV stations want to give it the appearance of gradualness and moderation. But your objective is integrated schools — NOW.

3. You must see the PRESIDENT!

Above all, demand to see the President himself. Don't accept as a substitute, one of his so-called "high-aides" or "deputies." Don't let them give you the brush-off.

4. On guard against glib words and weak knees!

Be on guard against politicians with glib talk and weak knees. In the instruction sheet #1 issued by YOUTH MARCH FOR INTEGRATED SCHOOLS, it says, "we are inviting a large number of Senators and Representatives to attend the ceremonies so that the message of the young people will be directly addressed to them in its full and forceful expression." All the politicians will be interested in soft-soaping you, giving you a smooth talk, and sending you off with a farewell speech. That's not what you came for.

Don't let the March be turned into a forum that so-called "liberal" politicians can use to expound their doctrine of go-slow double-talk on integration. Make the March a *demonstration*.

5. Make it a YOUTH CONGRESS!

You haven't come here just to hear speakers, but to be heard yourself. Here is an opportunity to exercise independent judgment—to show that youth can do things on its own. Elect a mass delegation with one purpose; to get an affirmative answer on integrated schools—NOW.

6. Stay where you are Until you get your answer!

You have a constitutional right to stay where you are until you get the answer you want. Tell your delegation: "We shall not be moved!" If you do that, you will have made the greatest historic achievement by youth in America since the days of Reconstruction. GO TO IT!

Why is Hawaii the 50th State? For Freedom or for Profit?

Making Hawaii a state is part and parcel of finance capital's *annexationist policy* to make its profits more secure. Just like the ancient Roman Empire, in its declining period, conferred citizenship upon its conquered colonies in an effort to hold on to them, so the U.S. is now compelled to do the same. Hawaii became a colony in the classical imperialist pattern of the U.S.—missionaries, followed by merchants, and then the Marines. That is how the U.S. has maintained a stranglehold on Hawaii to this day.

"Legalize" U.S. Military Base

But in the wake of the world-wide colonial revolution now sweeping all Asia and Africa, they fear it may eventually slip. That is why they proclaimed Hawaii the 50th state. It will make the U.S. military base there "legal." The U.S., let us not forget, is spending 300 million dollars a year in Hawaii for military purposes alone (the largest single "investment" in Hawaii). The two basic industries in Hawaii—sugar and pineapple plantations, are owned lock, stock and barrel, including entire islands, by U.S. magnates. The original purpose of uniting the several States into one large Union was obvious: to have uniform laws for commerce as well as uniform transportation rates, so as to develop and accelerate the tremendous productive forces of the country. Artificial boundaries of states would have been a great barrier to this development.

2400 Miles of Ocean

But Hawaii is not divided from the U.S. by *artificial* boundaries. 2400 miles of Pacific Ocean lies between Hawaii and the U.S. In addition, the customs, language, and traditions are all very different. (80% of the population are Hawaiian, Chinese, Puerto Rican and Korean—only 20% are European and American, half of which are armed forces.) So how come this anxiety to make Hawaii a state in the Union? Now, of course, its better to have statehood than the mere colonial status, which it has had all these years. True enough, today, to our knowledge, there is not yet a large nationalist movement in Hawaii. But mechanization in the sugar fields and on the pineapple plantations, which promises nothing but misery and unemployment to the Hawaiian people — and super profits to American companies, is sure to produce one. These companies and the U.S. government fear the growth of this movement in the face of increasing misery in Hawaii. And so they have annexed the country under cover of "freedom as a state"—a form of preventive medicine. But, the flames of the Pacific liberation movement, which the U.S. crushed when they stamped out the brave Huk-balahaps in the Philippines are still smoldering, and give promise of relighting into a new conflagration. We are certain the fires of nationalism, which have engulfed Okinawa, the

Depression Story

The Lackawanna Railroad has been so hard pressed lately that it had to sell its shares in the Nickel Plate Railroad on March 2 for nearly 20 million dollars. But before you weep, remember this: It purchased this stock for \$3½ million in 1947-48, and has been getting dividends of over a million dollars a year.

Senator John A. Carroll (Democrat, Colorado) has just cut the salary of his daughter-secretary — from \$12,500 per year to \$10,500 per year—after a series of newspaper articles exposing this practice in the House of Representatives.

A Harvard sociologist has discovered that the more one laughs, the higher up he is likely to be on the social ladder. That's obvious. An empty barrel may make more noise than a full one, but a full belly certainly inspires more giggles than an empty one.

Philippines and Puerto Rico, are sure ultimately to reach Hawaii itself. Therein lies the true significance of the granting of U.S. statehood in Hawaii. Our "radicals" and "socialists" and "communists" in the U.S. are all too oblivious to this patent fact, and all either joined in the skillfully engineered

hoop-la for Hawaiian statehood, or kept a discreet silence. The one thing that really unites the masses of Hawaii with the workers in the U.S. is a common oppressor—and not that they are a state in the Union. For this reason, we pledge ourselves to the struggle of the independence of Hawaii from its imperialist oppressor, the U.S.

Our 50 States One and Indivisible

(These are the real states; their rulers, our real rulers.)

CORPORATION	ASSETS
1. American Tel & Tel	\$17,677,876,000
2. Metropolitan Life Insurance	15,536,144,000
3. Prudential of America	13,919,133,000
4. Bank of America	10,639,150,000
5. Equitable Life Assurance	8,875,727,000
6. Standard Oil of New Jersey	7,830,250,000
7. Chase Manhattan Bank	7,809,785,000
8. First National City Bank of N. Y.	7,802,638,000
9. General Motors	7,498,008,000
10. New York Life Insurance	6,424,807,000
11. John Hancock Mutual Insurance	5,163,268,000
12. U. S. Steel	4,372,770,000
13. Northwestern Mutual Insurance	3,727,461,000
14. Manufacturers Trust	3,348,233,000
15. Ford Motor	3,347,645,000
16. Chemical Corn Exchange Bank	3,310,208,000
17. Aetna Insurance	3,274,899,000
18. Gulf Oil	3,240,571,000
19. Socony Mobil Oil	3,105,252,000
20. Security First National Bank	3,023,809,000
21. Pennsylvania Railroad	2,990,984,000
22. Guarantee Trust of New York	2,967,393,000
23. Travelers Insurance	2,958,796,000
24. First National Bank of Chicago	2,918,078,000
25. Bankers Trust	2,910,513,000
26. Du Pont (E. I.) de Nemours	2,755,547,000
27. Texas Co. (Texaco)	2,729,095,000
28. Continental Illinois Nat'l Bank	2,674,362,000
29. New York Central R. R.	2,625,933,000
30. Mutual of New York Insurance	2,573,793,000
31. Standard Oil (Indiana)	2,535,023,000
32. General Electric	2,361,319,000
33. Bethlehem Steel	2,260,340,000
34. Standard Oil of California	2,246,296,000
35. Southern Pacific Transp. System	2,177,191,000
36. Pacific Gas & Electric	2,146,271,000
37. Massachusetts Mutual Insurance	2,075,071,000
38. Mellon National Bank & Trust	2,045,202,000
39. National Bank of Detroit	1,968,810,000
40. New England Mutual Insurance	1,875,657,000
41. Irving Trust	1,804,051,000
42. First National Bank of Boston	1,798,562,000
43. Hanover Bank	1,796,060,000
44. Connecticut General Insurance	1,754,375,000
45. Mutual Benefit Insurance	1,726,490,000
46. American Trust	1,682,866,000
47. Penn Mutual	1,675,959,000
48. Sears, Roebuck	1,578,164,000
49. Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway	1,548,406,000
50. Crocker-Anglo National Bank	1,527,374,000

These fifty "states" are ruled by sixty families, any one of which is more powerful than a president of the United States. The two or three most powerful families (Rockefellers, Duponts, Morgans) have secretly chosen nearly every American president for the last seventy years.

Soak the Poor

The working class is the target for a nationwide tax assault. This was revealed at a conference of taxpayer organizations held in Washington March 16, 17 and 18, and attended by representatives from twenty-five states. The reports at this conference indicated that most states are planning to increase taxes on those items that primarily the workers buy. It was reported from the same conference that "governors and legislatures are avoiding new taxes on business"—on the ground that they "don't want to kill the goose that lays the golden egg." The pretext is that higher taxes on business will drive out old business or keep out new ones from the states concerned. The very simple solution of a higher federal tax on the corporations of all states at once was not discussed.

*The merchant calls it profit and
styly winks his eye
The banker calls it interest and
heaves a cheerful sigh
The landlord calls it rent as he
tucks it in his bag
But the honest old burglar, he
simply calls it swag.
—Seen in the Ohio Works Organizer*

"Friends" of Labor Tax the Poor

BUTLER, PA., March 19. Labor bureaucrats have made it possible for the new Democratic Pennsylvania Governor David Lawrence to gouge the workers with a higher sales tax. Last December, in order to get the state out of the hole the capitalists have dug at the expense of the poor (13% are unemployed), Lawrence appointed a "Bi-Partisan Tax Advisory Committee." This "bi-partisan" committee of 12 was supposed to represent labor as well as capital. It was composed of U.S. Steel Corp. President Clifford Hood; United Steelworkers, CIO, President David McDonald; Consolidated Coal Co. Chairman George Love; United Mine Workers of America Vice-President Thomas Kennedy; Pennsylvania Railroad Co. President James Symes; Pennsylvania CIO President Harry Boyer; and six other capitalist-minded politicians, bank presidents, and so on.

Why did they need McDonald?

The committee "unanimously" (Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, Feb. 17) recommended a 3½% sales tax instead of the present 3%, to be applied now to alcoholic beverages and the trade-in value of your automobile; in addition, a one-cent raise on the cigarette tax to a total of six cents, and 25% tax on cigars, with one cent, even, on the kid's bottle of pop. The U.S. Steel Company and the big bankers could have done that well, without any help at all from David J. McDonald. There is to be virtually no increase (only 4%) on any form of corporate taxes, but the workers will pay more than a 20% tax increase. Ironically, the present 3% sales tax would have died and disappeared this June—and thus have given the CIO and Mine Workers brass the perfect opportunity for a minority report, for resistance, and for the corraling of tremendous popular and worker support to tax the wealthy and the corporations, instead of increasing the despised sales tax. But labor's "leaders" went along with labor's exploiters like so many sheep, and helped to tax the poor.

"Friends of Labor" no better

And things were no better with the so-called "friends of labor" among the politicians. Out of 107 Pennsylvania House Democrats (passage requires 106 votes), nine have so far felt so much pressure from "back home" that they are refusing to support this tax; but they have distorted the desire of their constituents by supporting a 4% sales tax as long as it is not put on beer, auto trade-ins, etc. Governor Lawrence toyed with this 4% twist, but when UMW Tom Kennedy and the Railroad Brotherhood lobbyist protested, Lawrence reverted to his 3½% and so far is insisting on it, for everything, including the workers' beer. In any case, the labor bureaucrats have sold the workers down the river once more, and protected private profits.

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TROTSKY

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LENIN

Class War in Tibet

When the Chinese Communists marched into Tibet some 10 years ago, they didn't attempt to overturn the ossified social and political institutions characteristic of this feudal, theocratic state. A military, bureaucratic overturn of social relations without the support of the masses has all too frequently brought results contrary to those desired.

Take the example of some of the states of Eastern Europe, such as Hungary, where the Soviet army overturned the capitalist relations, without mass popular support. To this day these countries are standing invitations to capitalist counter-revolution.

The Chinese, we believe, used sound judgment in 1950, when they simply made Tibet an autonomous region within the Chinese Republic. They subsequently signed an agreement with the Tibetan government, which gave the Chinese People's Republic control over no more than the foreign policy of Tibet, and the right to maintain the Chinese Army within its borders.

And this is as it should have been. For it was patently obvious that there was no mass support, at least none that we in the West knew of, for revolutionary socialist reconstruction of the country, at the time.

But this rightly cautious policy of the Chinese, and their respect for national minorities within the framework of the Chinese Republic, cannot be viewed as ends in themselves regardless of all consequences.

The rebellion that took place last month, and which may still be in progress, is a grim reminder that we are not living in the epoch of isolated states, relatively self-sufficient national economies, and a world system, whose economic and political bonds are relatively loose. Imperialism long ago put an end to that.

We are now living in the epoch where two social systems are in mortal combat, and where one or the other must emerge as victor. There can be no such thing under these circumstances as a "free," "independent" Tibet, removed from the arena of world struggle, and quietly pursuing its independent destiny.

From an abstract point of view it would seem that the application of the Leninist slogan of self-determination for Tibet, even up to and including the right of separation, is the correct principle to apply. But the world struggle does not permit it. If U. S. imperialism can spend millions and millions of dollars in the form of the seventh fleet, with its guided missiles and A-bombs to "guard" the tiny islands Quemoy and Matsu, what would the U. S. do in the case of a "free" and "independent" Tibet? Merely to pose the question is to answer it.

The correct answer to the question of Tibet we believe lies in this: that the Socialist rights of 650 million people involved in building a new social order are far greater than the bourgeois-democratic rights of an ancient, ossified, and decadent nobility disguised in the form of a theocracy, even though they may still command the greater portion of the population at this time.

ANOTHER GEM FROM DR. ZHIVAGO

An anti-semitic outburst from the "humanist" Pasternak — page 330.

"And then there was the time when they started beating up the Jews. Incidentally, if you do intellectual work of any kind and live in a town, as we do, half your friends are bound to be Jews. Yet in times when there are pogroms, when all these terrible despicable things are done, we don't only feel sorry and indignant and ashamed, we feel wretchedly divided, as if our sympathy came more from the head than from the heart and had an aftertaste of insincerity.

"It's so strange that these people who once liberated mankind from the yoke of idolatry, and so many of whom now devote themselves to its liberation from injustice, should be incapable of liberating themselves from their loyalty to an obsolete, antediluvian identity that has lost all meaning, that they should not rise above themselves and dissolve among all the rest whose religion they have founded and who would be so close to them, if they knew them better.

"Of course it's true that persecution forces them into this futile and disastrous attitude, this shame-faced, self-denying isolation that brings them nothing but misfortune. But I think some of it also comes from a kind of inner senility, a historical centuries-long weariness."

The virile Pasternak talks about the "inner senility" of the Jews with all the authority and objectivity of — Adolph Hitler.

Considering that Pasternak had the advantage of nearly forty years of hindsight when he wrote the book, and considering that most of the top Jewish leaders have been well purged out of the Kremlin apparatus, and considering what a "humanist" all of his bourgeois (and some of his radical!) reviewers say he is, one would have expected a good word or two for the Jews from his "sensitive" protagonists.

Instead, he took the opportunity to repeat the most backward kind of "intellectual" anti-Semitism.

Pasternak represents a political trend as well as an individual mood. It is especially significant that the 5,000 word letter of rejection of "Dr. Zhivago" by Novy Mir did not even mention the book's virulent anti-Semitism. And yet it was signed by five leading Soviet writers. Considering that these critics were searching for reasons to belittle the book, and considering that their letter of rejection was later published in the Soviet Union, this omission is ten times as glaring.

The Pasternak incident is therefore proof positive that there is an anti-Semitic trend in the Soviet Union. This

trend has class roots. It is not rooted in direct capitalist exploitation because that does not exist in the Soviet Union. But it is rooted in the interests of a tremendous privileged and parasitic caste which in turn can only exist because there is a powerful class society outside the Soviet Union.

Anti-Semitism has class roots among the millions of officials, teachers, engineers, doctors, and functionaries who read the better books, hear the better music and enjoy the better life (—while the proletariat, blind and leaderless for the moment, gropes toward socialism in spite of, and against them).

The world bourgeoisie welcomes the cultured self-consciousness of this upper caste. (All the really intellectual bourgeois rags speculate weekly and monthly about their "progress.") And the bourgeoisie with all its criticism of the bad side of Soviet life, soft-pedals its exposure of Soviet anti-Semitism, and speaks in hushed tones about the anti-Semitic Pasternak. (The radical lap-dog imitators of the bourgeoisie do substantially the same.)

The bourgeoisie is quite willing to accept the anti-Semitism in the Soviet upper caste if it strengthens this caste against the workers, and builds possible supports for reaction and for slowing down the world dynamism of the Soviet system from within.

The new caste is not precisely bourgeois or petty bourgeois, of course. This grouping did not inherit the privileges of capitalism; it has stolen a new kind of privilege in a new kind of way from the same old proletariat. (The proletariat is strictly speaking the new ruling class inside the Soviet Union. But it remains an oppressed class inside as well as outside the Soviet Union, in the actual concrete relations of social life.)

But the privileged caste did inherit some of the prejudices of capitalism and of feudalism before it. It inherits, makes use of, and expands upon, especially those prejudices which best serve its material interests and tend to perpetuate and justify its stolen privileges. Anti-Semitism is especially adapted to this task.

MAIL BAG

Welcome!

Dear Comrades:

Although any further fragmentation of the American Left is unfortunate at this time, the first issue of Workers World did clarify some theoretical questions for me and enlighten me on the motives behind recent SWP policies.

I'm certain your new organization will contribute to the consummation of world socialism. Please keep me on your mailing list.

New York City

Goodbye!

Vincent Copeland, Editor

My dear Mr. Copeland:

I was surprised and not at all pleased to receive recently Vol. I, No. 1 of Workers World. I cannot imagine why you, or any member of your staff, should think that I would be interested in receiving copies of your new publication.

Your propaganda, whether you term it "Marxism," "communism" or "socialism" is quite alien to my beliefs. . . .

I found your purple prose praise of the Chinese Communists and your criticism of Boris Pasternak particularly distasteful.

. . . I can find nothing in your paper of enlightening value, merely further evidence that evil is often supported with greater gusto and less logic than good.

Very truly yours,
Vassar College Student
Pougskeepie, N. Y.

Hail!

Dear Editor:

The first issue of OUR paper was just the tonic! We are going to MOVE, and when the time comes (in the very near future) the workers will move along with us.

For in OUR paper is truth. No amount of red-baiting or witch-hunting will keep us from our path, as revolutionary Marxists, to never hide the truth from the workers through fear of the bourgeoisie.

We WILL show the workers the TRUE road to socialism. . . . We shall not be false.

For as Ted said, "We are not communists. We are THE communists."

For OUR WORKERS WORLD.

Buffalo worker

We think so too

Dead Editor:

The paper was wonderful. It was really a breath of fresh air after being closeted in a sealed room. Everyone here sees a great qualitative difference from the Militant. Some of our close contacts are very favorably impressed.

J. Wilson
Youngstown, Ohio

We're gonna roll . . .

Dear Editor:

We received the Worker's World in Los Angeles and read it from front to back. We are very enthusiastic about the paper.

Its revolutionary position and analysis of events exposes very sharply and clearly the political degeneration of the SWP.

We distributed the first issue of the Worker's World at a testimonial dinner for James P. Cannon.

There is no doubt that the Worker's World is a beacon on the road of emancipation for the oppressed.

John Penn
Los Angeles, Cal.

Yes, a Workers World!

Dear Editor:

I like your paper. For the first time in ten years there is a point of view useful to the workers. You people sound like you have the working class in your midst. You have courage.

If you keep on sizing up big events as you have, you will gain a vast following, and you will guide us to a workers' world in fact as well as on paper. Enclosed is my sub.

A. McIntosh
Butler, Pa.

Soviet Left Hit In School Fight

The leftists who raise their hands against Khrushchev's policies get them chopped off—and much quicker than the right wingers do. Such is the bonapartist politics of Khrushchev.

Vladimir E. Semichastny was fired from his post as First Secretary of the Young Communist League (Komsomol) on March 25, with no explanation except the hint that younger blood was needed—which is of course true. But Semichastny, it appears, opposed Khrushchev at the 21st Congress last January.

Semichastny had proposed that workers be given free time to study. The upper-crust youth have been getting free time at the expense of the workers. And Khrushchev has timidly tried to eliminate this privileged practice (see article by Eleanor Stephens in this issue). But while he proposed to restrict the privileges of the "gilded youth," he did not for a moment propose to extend the educational opportunities of the worker youth.

Semichastny may not have known that he was rushing in where angels fear to tread. He may have thought he was voicing Khrushchev's own thoughts. But Khrushchev answered him as follows:

"I think we must be careful in this matter, because not only young people who want to study will take advantage of this, but also those who don't want to work." (Khrushchev knows very well where to find "those who don't want to work." Anyway, these could be eliminated very easily on the basis of their low grades—if that were all that was involved.)

The Congress was so "careful" that no special educational provisions for workers were made at all!

Semichastny, as both the Reuters news agency and the Associated Press were careful to point out, was also an enthusiastic opponent of Boris Pasternak and called for his expulsion from the country at a youth congress last October. At the time, this could have been interpreted as merely a machine politician's endorsement and application of Khrushchev's then anti-Pasternak policy. It looked like simple hand-raising.

It is significant, however, that Khrushchev did not call for the White Guard Pasternak's expulsion from the country. And we are now entitled to assume that some of those who did so—like Semichastny — are left-wing opponents of Khrushchev.

Steel Showdown Approaches; Workers Form Battle Lines

The bosses in the steel industry have opened a vicious propaganda attack on the steel union, in preparation for the struggle for a new contract this July.

As was to be expected, Eisenhower has entered the class battle by throwing the weight of the capitalist government on the side of the bosses. Like all his advisers, he peddles the economic lie that higher wages cause higher prices. In essence, he told the union that it better settle for the same as, or even less than, the present contract.

The capitalist liberals, Senator Morse and Kefauver, seconded Ike and thereby expose themselves as agents of the corporations, too.

But while the corporations are sharpening their political and economic knives, the workers in the mills are slowly forming their battle lines. From coke oven and blast furnace to billet yard and sheet mill, they are discussing the coming showdown. They know in their bones that the bosses are mounting another attack against their union. They are keenly watching the preliminary bouts between the spokesmen and officials of each side and they feel instinctively that a much greater conflict is ahead.

Stockpiling against strike

Negotiations, which are scheduled to begin on May 18, will be held against the backdrop of the most serious depression since the late thirties. They will take place while there are yet nearly five million workers seeking jobs in the country, with about one sixth of the steelworkers still not called back to work despite the fact that the industry is operating at 93% of rated capacity. The terrific race to stockpile all goods, and particularly steel, will obviously help the companies to resist any demands of the union.

The corporation propaganda states that higher wages cause higher prices; that the higher wages of American steelworkers result in foreign-made steel invading their market; that wage increases cause inflation; and that as a result of these demands by the labor movement, we have the present depression.

In order to solve the problems of a rheumatic economy they propose to speed up production (they call it "increasing production efficiency"). They propose to reduce the taxes on corporations, to break the "monopoly" power of the unions by less government protection for the rights of workers, to allow profits to go even higher because, according to their slick theory of economics, true prosperity comes only then.

They weep about the fact that replacement costs of machinery and equipment are so high. They moan that productivity per worker has not risen,

J. Wilson

as the union claims (and proves). They wail that the relation of profits to wages is only 7%, whereas it was 14% at the end of World War II.

And to top off their propaganda, they try to convince us workers that we are all members of one big happy family, with the workers, bosses, stockholders, managers all having the same interests. In a nutshell, their program for 1959 negotiation settlement is: **HOLD THE LINE IN '59! PLACE ALL THE BURDENS ON THE BACKS OF THE WORKERS!**

The union leaders are bringing up their battery of statistical experts to disprove the contentions of the bosses. They will try, and can, prove that the productivity of the workers has risen so much that the steel corporations can grant a very substantial wage increase and greater fringe benefits without necessitating any rise in the price of steel.

But the union leaders appeal to the businessmen (rather than to the workers), calling upon them in newspaper ads, to support a wage increase that will give workers a billion dollars more with which to buy more goods.

The union leadership demonstrates that the steel corporations made over 7% on investment last year (when production was only 56% of capacity!). It plans to show that automation has resulted in over 100,000 fewer jobs in steel than before the present depression—and in a higher output of steel products. With production at 93%, according to McDonald, president of the union, there has been a gain of 13.4% in ingot production with a decrease of 2.4% in employment.

Appeal to bosses?

Through its research department, the union has found that the American steel companies can give increased wages and still compete with foreign corporations. According to the union, there have been twenty-four price increases and only ten wage increases since the second world war. By this the soft-headed leaders hope to convince the corporation heads that the companies have made so much money that they do not have to raise prices again.

McDonald contends that the 1956 wage increases could have been absorbed and paid out of profits and productivity increases. *But he hasn't convinced the bosses.*

What is the proposal of the union leadership on the most important problem of the workers—unemployment? McDonald is recommending that the new contract call for a three-month vacation every five years in addition to regular vacations. He claims that this arrangement would create 30,000 jobs in the industry, and cost the companies only twelve cents per hour. And, he says, there would not have to be a strike to get it.

At the same time, McDonald takes a side-swipe at the demand for the 30 hour

week at 40 hours' pay. He claims that it would cost too much and would force a strike. **THUS HE REVEALS HIS REAL FEAR OF FIGHTING FOR THE SHORTER WORK WEEK.**

With all the present feverish steel "prosperity," with the industry operating at near-capacity, the steel-workers are still in a depression. In the Youngstown district alone, there are still 15,000 out of work. Only 10,000 were recalled out of 25,000 laid off. And every steel-worker knows that when the present stockpiling is over, a great many more will be laid off again.

True, the union paper, Steel Labor, calls for full employment. But the leaders' plan for obtaining full employment fall pathetically short of the mark. It takes mighty weapons to fight the

To my unemployed brothers and sisters:

Don't hang your head in shame because you are in the same boat as any other unemployed worker. Raise your head, and then maybe you'll see that unemployment is not your fault or mine. Maybe you'll see where the fault really lies.

Think! And remember well that the bosses and the bosses alone are responsible for hiring and firing. Let us remember it was not our fellow worker who laid us off. It was the boss.

Discrimination is a very strong weapon in the hands of the bosses, who tell us one man is better than another because of his color. This is just a means of keeping us apart.

Let us also remember that the longer we stand apart, the bosses make profits from the fruit of our labor. Remember also that our children are hungry, too. And the hungry stomach of a worker's child knows no color. So let us unite and fight for what belongs to us.

UNEMPLOYED WORKER'S WIFE

giant behemoths of the steel industry. And they are arming the workers with popguns.

The year 1959, according to "Iron Age," spokesman for the steel bosses, is going to be the year of feast and famine: the first half will be a feast for the corporations with high productivity; the second half will be a famine for the workers. This magazine claims that by July 1st, contract expiration date, there will be twenty to twenty-four million tons of steel stockpiled to meet the strike threat.

This statement is a declaration of war against the workers. It is a challenge to the union. The workers and their union must meet this challenge if they want to win the strike and establish the principle of "jobs for all."

But the union leadership so far shows

little sign of taking up the gauntlet thrown at them by the steel barons. True, the union paper, Steel Labor, calls for full employment. But the leaders' plans for obtaining full employment fall pathetically short of the mark.

A bold program is needed to meet the greatest labor crisis in twenty years. The following demands are absolutely essential as a beginning:

1. Thirty For Forty.
2. Protection of workers' job rights in idle plants.
3. SUB payment equal to full pay on the job.

McDonald's proposal for a three-month vacation every five years is but an attempt to bypass the struggle needed to win a shorter work week. It is a retreat before the battle has even begun.

Forward to victory!

A class struggle policy is required. All protestations by the union bureaucracy that there is no class struggle in America must be brushed aside as unrealistic as well as cowardly.

The class collaborationist policies of the leadership will bring only defeats, or at best, minor victories which will solve nothing.

The approaching conflict cannot end in real victory except by turning it into a large-scale class battle. Steelworkers: be on your guard! Fight boldly for yourselves and your unemployed brothers! Let not the gains of victory be snatched away by the half-hearted tactics of the weak-kneed leadership. Build your own left-wing; raise your own class demands; stick with the fight; and you will bring the corporations to their knees.

Capitalist Property In Workers States

Rumania has only now at this late date (April 1, 1959) "outlawed sharecropping, the leasing of land the hiring of farm laborers." It has only now "provided for the expropriation of all land holdings that a peasant and his family could not work by themselves."

—The New York Times

Naive Stalinists and naive anti-Stalinists in this country believed that every living person in the workers states was a Communist, and every bit of property was state property.

Naturally such people could not understand the Hungarian counter-revolution. The Stalinists thought it was the work of foreign fascist devils; the radical "anti-Stalinists" thought it was a spontaneous revival of Leninism on a universal scale.

The truth is that most of the countries of Eastern Europe have but a tenuous hold on communism. And the possibilities of bourgeois-democratic movements are still very great, because of the primitiveness of socialist economic progress—not to mention the Stalinist misgovernment.

The Millionaire State

In Texas, the home of the oil millionaires and the cattle barons, the stamping grounds of H. L. Hunt and Clint Murchison (among the richest individuals in the world), the maximum unemployment benefits are 28 dollars per week, the minimum, seven.

1956 Bulletin on Hungary
reprinted!

"Class Nature
of the
Hungarian Uprising"

by V. Grey

35 cents

"The Global
Class Struggle"

(with a new introduction)

by Sam Marcy

35 cents

Order from

WORKERS WORLD
46 West 21st Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Japanese Need Trade With China

Inejiro Asanuma, leader of the Japanese Socialist Party, last month characterized the United States as the "common enemy" of both capitalist Japan and workers China.

Conservative Japanese politicians of Kishi's Liberal-Democratic Party deny this. But the truth is that Japan's trade interests lie in the direction of China, regardless of the social regime there. The "Socialist" Inejiro, is only expressing the long range economic needs of Japanese capitalism, while the conservative Kishi is expressing the immediate political needs of a clique helplessly dependent upon the U.S. State Department.

Capitalist Japan may yet recognize workers' China to the chagrin of Wall Street.

MOVIE CORNER

Both Hollywood and Howard Fast are hot on revolutions that have had a few hundred years to cool down. The former is now spending six million dollars on the latter's novel about Spartacus, revolutionary leader of the Roman slaves.

The movie will be truly colossal and even super-colossal. Technicolor? — Of course! Leading ladies and directors have already been changed in order to obtain absolute perfection. Kirk Douglas is laboring with infinite pains, if not capacity, with sword, dagger and trident in the character of the slave-gladiator.

Two hundred fifty extras will fight the revolution at \$22.50 per day. Charles Laughton, Tony Curtis and Sir Law-

rence Olivier will perform at a somewhat higher rate. Jean Simmons as Varinia will be winning, virtuous and proud. The production will no doubt give Spartacus his due as a hero and make sure to prove that the Roman patricians were scoundrels.

And although Spartacus died in 71 BC, the producers may yet find a way to work Jesus Christ into the script—and on the side of the revolution, too.

Therefore anyone who says that Hollywood isn't class-conscious, or that Howard Fast has gone over to the bourgeoisie is just a sore-headed sectarian.—Right?

Need 2 Billion, Anyone?

The Treasurer of the Dupont Company testified in United States District Court on October 24, that Duponts wouldn't know what to do with two billion dollars they would get from the sale of their GM stock if the government forced them to unload. He "had no idea of how the company would dispose of such a huge sum," he said.

It was announced on the same day that GM had laid off an additional 5,500 employees from its Buick and Fisher Body divisions. — Possibly these men might help the Dupont official with an idea or two.

LARCENY!

When plump, silver-haired Mrs. Elizabeth O'Neill, age 56, confessed to Miami police that she had committed hundreds of petty thefts from local office buildings, she pointed to the billions spent by the government for foreign aid and reasoned, "so this country certainly owes me a bare living."

She was dead wrong. If this country gave all its people a bare living, how could they furnish arms for the British and French to shoot down the heroic fighters of Africa or pay dictator Trujillo enough for his son to buy furs for Hollywood beauties? First things first.

Come All Ye Faithful!

Tibetan refugees, like Hungarian refugees, should be admitted to this country, and Congress should provide a \$10 million appropriation immediately to help finance their resettlement.

So says Roland Elliott of the Church World Service. And the National Catholic Welfare Council and the U. S. Committee for Refugees endorse these sentiments.

Refugees from Nyasaland, Rhodesia and Mississippi were not mentioned by these churchly sympathizers with mankind.

Labor's "Friend" Abroad

W. Averell Harriman was in India last month studying the CP government in the state of Kerala, figuring out how to destroy it. — Last fall the American CP (with Moscow's blessing) backed Harriman for governor of the state of New York.

Angry UAW Rank and File Defy Boss-Minded Leaders

L. Bird

Again and again during the past year, the UAW rank and file have revolted against the policies of the International leadership.

Detroit Chrysler workers have spearheaded the struggle to preserve and improve their hard-won rights. Speed up and automation, coupled with the inhuman oppression of the company, add up to an intolerable situation.

Chrysler has sliced union representation and relief time to the bone. The workers hit the bricks. But Reuther and his chief stooge, Woodcock, capitulated to Chrysler's union-busting assaults, while advising the workers "to turn the other cheek." Conditions inside the shop are so bad that workers have been heard to say, "No one will reach the retirement age."

The recent Bell strike in Buffalo provides another example of the role of the International.

Bell demanded a 50 per cent cut in union representatives and a 65 per cent reduction in grievance time. The leaders of Local 501, under pressure of the workers, led the fight to reject this union-busting company proposal. International officials in the area demanded acceptance of the company's terms. But the workers after a 3-1 vote, went on strike.

Martin Gerber, UAW Regional Director, warned the workers, "this community will hold Local 501 responsible" if the strike forces a permanent Bell shutdown as the company had threatened. The ranks defied him.

The Buffalo newspapers and the company utilized this cleavage within the union to put further pressure on the strikers. As a result of this three-pronged attack, the Bell workers after staying out for a week, voted to end the strike. Embittered with the sell-out tactics of the International, many workers were openly speaking of removing the International Representatives who service the local. They also talked of disaffiliating from the UAW and joining with Hoffa and the Teamsters. In

retaliation, Reuther ordered a "probe" of Local 501, removed the local leadership, and appointed Martin Gerber as administrator.

Unemployed Demonstrate

The unemployed UAW workers are on the march too—especially in the Detroit area where unemployment is at its highest. Unemployment committees have been organized from below. They have issued slingers, presented demands, and initiated mass demonstrations.

In an unprecedented action, the unemployed picketed the Dodge Main plant in protest against overtime while 12,000 workers were on the streets. Their brother workers, in a heart-warming display of class solidarity, refused to cross the picket line and shut the plant down.

Pickets have appeared in front of Solidarity House, the UAW Headquarters, demanding action by the leadership. More than 1,000 unemployed marched on Detroit's City Hall, demanding that the City Council endorse a 30 for 40 bill. Other unemployed demonstrations forced the Wayne County AFL-CIO to call for unemployment compensation for the duration of unemployment.

This great mass of militant unemployed represents the potential nucleus of a left-wing within the labor movement. It is precisely this that frightens Reuther and pushes him into calling for a mass demonstration in Washington, and the setting up of local unemployed committees.

Negroes Hardest Hit

In connection with unemployment, a most vital issue, the plight of the Negro worker is barely mentioned by the leadership. Last hired and first fired, the Negro worker has been hardest hit

in this depression. Conditions inside the UAW shops for Negroes are proof that the leadership has abandoned the fight for equal rights.

Of the more than 1,000 UAW shops, less than 100 have a written Fair-Employment Practice clause. At a meeting of GM union representatives last summer in upstate New York, a Negro worker took the floor and charged that the Corporation refuses to upgrade Negroes and continues to hold them down to the dirtiest and lowest paying jobs. He also charged the International with failing to correct this situation. Although this worker didn't point it out, it is a fact that the UAW International Executive Board does not have any Negro representation, although before the present depression, about 25 per cent of the UAW membership was composed of Negroes.

Workers Continue Fight

The most pressing questions facing the auto workers are unemployment, speed up, and automation. In the past two years, the UAW has lost more than 500,000 members. U.S. News and World Report estimates, "in the past decade, factory production has gone up 39 per cent, while factory employment has gone up only 1 per cent."

The UAW under Reuther, in spite of the highest strike vote in its history last year, and in spite of a rank and file militant upsurge, reminiscent of The Thirties, has capitulated under the pressure of the Cold War on major issues such as 30-40, working conditions, runaway plants, and union representation. And what is worse, capitulated without a fight. As Marx said long ago, "A surrender without a battle undermines the proletariat's readiness for struggle and is demoralizing."

Despite this, the workers refuse to be cowed, and despite the lack of politically conscious leadership, have continued to wage a militant struggle against the bosses and the International.

The auto workers, in ever-increasing numbers, are beginning to realize that they cannot depend on the union bureaucracy as now constituted, to fight for and carry through their demands. As one worker said, disgusted with the new contract, "If they don't want to fight for us, let's get someone who will."

There are also rumblings among the auto workers about the necessity to re-open the contract and fight for a 30 hour week with no loss in pay. Finally, the workers are beginning to realize that the union bureaucracy is an obstacle on the road to the solution of the problem of unemployment and atomic war.

Pregnant

The 20th Century Fund announced last month that "modern capitalism is in almost no danger of being overthrown by collectivism."

—That "almost" reminds us of the virgin who was only a "little bit" pregnant.

News Notes

About 90 per cent of Poland's farms are now privately owned.

The Belgian Congo is 77 times as big as Belgium in area, and The African population is 100 times as big as the Belgian population there.

In West Virginia, mechanization of coal mining has now gone so far that 68,000 men now dig more coal than 125,000 men did ten years ago.

Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. has returned from a month's tour of India and claims that his visit there has strengthened his belief in non-violence as a means to achieve racial justice. He did not visit Africa, so naturally could not comment on the British murders of Negroes there.

Khrushchev's School Plan Dumped; Rightists Win Debate on Education

Eleanor Stephens

A great debate has been raging in the Soviet Union since last September. The subject: Should all youth over 15 work and study at the same time, or will the cleavage between production workers and the high-paid professional caste be deepened?

"In my opinion, all pupils—without exception—should be engaged in socially useful labor at factories, collective farms and so forth, when they have finished seven or eight grades," Khrushchev told the Presidium of the Communist Party's Central Committee last fall.

Khrushchev's plan was to compel all students to combine productive work with study during at least two of their three high school years, beginning at the age of 15.

Obviously Khrushchev is correct insofar as he is trying to accomplish the aim of all real Marxists—that is, abolish the difference between intellectual and physical labor, end the centuries-old class snobbery that perpetuates the gulf between them. Lenin said, "It is impossible to picture the ideal of future society apart from a combination of study with productive work by the younger generation. . . ."—And Khrushchev utilized this quotation to prove his point.

Majority of students work

The great majority of 15-year-olds in Soviet schools are already producing while they study. (The capitalist press pretends that Khrushchev just wants to increase the labor force. This is nonsense.) Those most affected by the projected plan would have been a comparatively small minority with little weight in the total labor force.

Khrushchev's reiterated emphasis on "all children" can only mean he intended to force the minority who had not been producing at all, to go to work. Since this minority is composed of the sons and daughters of a privileged strata with interests opposed to the grouping represented by Khrushchev, his motive was factional and political, not utilitarian, as the bourgeois critics pretend.

Of course, Khrushchev's equalitarian position on the schools is in direct contradiction to the position he took only a short while ago at the 21st Congress, where he railed against "levelling" (see Workers World, March 1959), and indeed in contradiction to his whole political career as Stalin's hand-raiser and defender of the bureaucracy.

How could such an important figure as Khrushchev voice two such contradictory positions within a four-month period?

Pressure from the right

If Khrushchev were motivated only by principle, he could not have made two such opposite statements. But he is a bureaucrat, trying to maneuver between the right and the left currents in the Soviet Union. At the same time that he fears the "levelling" current of a rising tide of opposition from the left, he also fears the wave of right opposition from large sections of the privileged strata.

Khrushchev knows, as Stalin knew, that the bureaucratic ship he captains can founder in either current (although it is more at home in the stream of con-

servatism). But at the moment he made the proposition to send all school children to work, his greatest fear was of the right wing stratum.

His memorandum says: "In town and country alike all school graduates should go to work and there should be no exemptions. . . . This will be democratic since the same conditions will hold for all citizens—neither the parents' position nor their special appeals should release anyone from doing productive labor."

But the "parents' position" and "their special appeals" have won the day in spite of Khrushchev's efforts, and the new generation of bureaucratic beatniks will continue to spend after-school hours with rock-and-roll (if not with Dr. Zhivago and his friends).

The well-heeled right wingers have won the day in the struggle against Khrushchev's plan. His verbal formulations were adopted in the new school regulations, but other provisions effectively watered them down until their essence was drowned.

It is now clear that formal secondary education will remain as of old in the Soviet Union and that job training will not have the place demanded by Khrushchev. It is true that "General education-labor polytechnic schools" have been established, but two thirds of pupils' time will be devoted to academic courses.—This is only a formalization of what already existed—an improvement over capitalist education of course, but not the least guarantee of ending the reactionary division between intellectual and physical labor.

Revolution and Counter-revolution in IRAQ:

Workers Armed Again After Rightist Revolt

The whip of the *counter-revolution* has once again spurred on the masses to new efforts and brought them to the brink of revolutionary victory in Iraq.

The reactionary Mosul uprising, early in March, pushed the bonapartist Premier Kassim again to the left. In self defense he had to arm the same Popular Militia that he had previously curbed and disarmed. And once again he awakened the popular masses far more than he had intended.

The March 27 purge of reactionaries, as well as middle class sympathizers of Nasser, was done to the accompaniment of irresistible proletarian street demonstrations.

"Workers are demanding exorbitant wages," wrote the United Press correspondent. "They drop their tools to join any passing mob." This is bourgeois language to describe a revolutionary situation.

The local Communist Party leaders are demanding still more arms for the Popular Militia. They are absolutely right to do so. And they will be deceived, defeated and destroyed, if they give up these arms again.

This is because Communism has not yet conquered in Iraq—no matter what epithets the capitalist press screams out in America.

Kassim is still the recognized leader of the Iraqi government. He is a bonapartist nationalist. He is balancing himself between the forces of awakening native capital and the forces of the revolutionary proletariat. Only the cautious policy of the Kremlin keeps him from going down before a Communist dictatorship.

The more conservative American press is well aware of this. For example, the New York Times reported the revolutionary rising on page 1 of its March 29 edition. But it explained on page 10 that "the State Department was still hopeful today that Premier

Abdul Karim Kassim would be able to prevent a Communist take-over in Iraq."

The arch-conservative New Leader even suggests in its April 6 edition that the State Department would do better to bet on Kassim than on Nasser!

Actually, Kassim is the same bourgeois nationalist type as Nasser. And so far, in spite of the revolutionary pressure of the masses, he has shown even less disposition to fight the imperialists than his Egyptian opponent.

Only faintly threatening the imperialists with expropriation, he is now dickering for second rate concessions from the Iraq Petroleum Co. (owned entirely by foreign capital). And his agents vehemently deny that Iraq will take over its own oil. (New York Times, April 8.)

Meanwhile Khrushchev is making clear that he will continue to play an opportunist game of his own. True, he has sent a small number of exiled Kurdish revolutionaries back into their native Iraq. But this is small help to the revolution, in spite of the red-baiting exaggerations of both Nasser and the imperialists.

Khrushchev does not want to give substantial help to Iraq because he doesn't want to "provoke" imperialism. He doesn't want to spoil the possibility of a Summit Conference. And he doesn't want to antagonize the "neutral" Nehru any further, especially after the Tibet affair. And he will now want to shut off the stream of popular action — if he can.

But the masses of Iraq are now in motion. They have already upset the calculations of Kassim. And Kassim has been forced to at least partially re-arm the Popular Militia, as reported in the New York Times of March 9.

The upsurge of the Iraqi masses may yet upset the calculations of Khrushchev, too. They may yet seize state power and set up the first workers state in the Middle East.

Stalinists Arm Workers With Sleeping Pills

On October 25, 1956, the Soviet international magazine, New Times, began an article with the following paragraph:

"The word 'Suez' is to be met in the world press as frequently as before. But whereas it formerly sounded like an alarm signal, a portent of serious conflict, now it is a reminder of the firmness with which the peace-loving nations have insisted on a just and pacific solution of the problem. It is not unlikely that in the future the word will be associated in people's minds with a successful example of settling acute international conflicts by peaceful means."

New Times could not have been more wrong. On October 31, 1956, the British and French imperialists attacked a nearly defenseless Egypt, slaughtering the poor like so many sheep in a stock pen. The bombs began to drop on Suez less than a week after New Times was on the stands.

The Soviet leadership gave the Egyptian masses this poisonous pacifist advice just before the British gave them a rain of death. This did not result from a mere error in judgment or timing on the part of the Stalinist leaders. It flowed from a completely erroneous estimate of our epoch and a basically class-collaborationist point of view.

The CP leaders have learned nothing from the scandalous blunder described above. They continue to lull the workers with pacifist sob stories and fairy tales about the possibility of "peaceful co-existence."

For example, William Z. Foster in his letter to Mao Tse Tung of December 19, 1958 said the following:

(Referring to the anti-Chinese war-drive of American imperialism) . . . "the Chinese people . . . can afford to laugh at these gymnastics of the 'paper tiger' . . . the imperialists know, that

they are powerless against the international solidarity of the socialist world . . . Before long, the United States will find itself in an entirely untenable position in relation to people's China. . . . (The Soviet bloc made it quite impossible for the imperialists to wage their hoped-for world war.)"

He who thinks his mortal enemy is a "paper tiger" will be destroyed. Of course, both Foster and Mao are well aware that Wall Street's deadly imperialism is no paper tiger. They are not fooling themselves as much as they are deceiving the workers.

China itself is already in arms. But the workers of the world, and particularly the American workers, must be told that the capitalist class will not surrender without a death struggle. It is necessary to summon the workers to a fight, not sing them to sleep with pacifist lullabies.

It is quite true that the power of the Soviet bloc was a tremendous factor in preventing war so far, but even if the Soviet bloc were twice as powerful, the capitalist class would at a certain point risk everything to hold onto its wealth and power. This is the lesson of all history. The capitalists know this lesson well. But the Stalinist leaders obscure it and thus make the coming wars and revolutions all the easier for the capitalists and all the harder for the workers.

Hope he's wrong, but—

Calvin B. Hoover's new book, *Economy, Liberty, and the State*, concludes that "liberty" (i.e., capitalism), has little chance of being restored in the "Iron Curtain" countries — "except to some extent in Yugoslavia and possibly in Poland."

Showdown in Ceylon?

Trotskyists and their allies led a one-day general strike in Ceylon on March 3 against the government passing the fascist-type Public Security Act.

The Act was subsequently passed, but by a majority of only one vote in the Ceylonese Senate. The situation is one of extreme tension. Events seem to be

moving to a showdown in Ceylon.

The staging of the general strike by the Left and the passage of the Act by the Right, determines with an iron logic, that there will be a new stage of struggle in Ceylon. The workers' leaders will soon be called upon to make more crucial decisions than ever before.

20th Congress Seen As Shift to RIGHT

It is now three years since the 20th Congress of the CP of the Soviet Union. During that time there have been great changes in the world and new shifts in favor of the working class. In last month's Workers World we indicated the leftist moods now prevailing in the Soviet Union as a result of the great Soviet scientific advances (Sputnik, etc.), the capitalist recession, and the continuing colonial revolution. But a few remarks are in order now about the famous 20th Congress.

The 20th Congress was basically a swing to the right. The rightward swing was concealed by Khrushchev's appeals to "democracy," "collective leadership," and so-called "anti-Stalinism."

World capitalism, with a true class instinct, and in possession of a few of the facts, was not fooled by the democratic camouflage. It welcomed the 20th Congress, and only worried that there might be a return to "Stalinism."

On the other hand, many radicals,

Polish Tragedy

"It is now admitted that the removal of the landed aristocracy from their possessions left wild game without protection against over-shooting." — N. Y. Times, March 22.

Precise definition

"The unorthodox partly free-enterprise economy" is the way the wholly free-enterprise New York Times (March 22, 1959) refers to Yugoslavia. Their definition of the economy of this deformed workers state is unfortunately correct.

BIG OPPORTUNITY!

Advertisement for prospective stock buyers in the March 30 New York Herald-Tribune:

"We will send you a study which tells the incredible story of how \$78 could have theoretically grown to over \$2,000,000 in thirty years (that is, since the last big crash in 1929—ed.) by using this big profit-making principle of stock group rotation."

This two million dollar study was offered for the "introductory rate of \$5!"

Workers and Bosses

The best thing we ever did in the Blast Furnace Department was to make the Company put Jimmy Becker in the repair gang.

Jimmy Becker was a Negro. And the repair gang at that time was all white. Jimmy had worked on the furnaces for five years. And fresh young kids (all white) were being hired right off the street. They were being hired as helpers in the gang at about the same rate of pay as Jimmy, and for much easier work.

So Jimmy put in a grievance. And we fellows helped him to fight it. The Company was dirty as hell about it, and even some of the workers were hard to talk to—at first. The foreman whipped up the worst loud-mouths in the repair gang to talk a lot of white superiority stuff. And this made it hard for the white guys who were backing Jimmy. A couple of them got scared and thought the loud-mouths were speaking for everybody.

But we held out and we finally won the grievance. I'll never forget the day that Jimmy got in the gang. He was a great big man—heavy, tough, hard-working, and very good natured. But underneath, he was hard and strong. And he had to be, to stick it out.

The apple-polishing loud-mouths were hard at it that first day—and you would have thought that Jimmy had only two friends in the world. But Jimmy pretended not to notice—and laughed and

joked with us about his brand new overalls.

I have often thought afterwards when I read about Jackie Robinson having to endure a lot of insults, how Jimmy never got the money and publicity that Jackie did. Jackie deserves a lot of credit. But Jimmy was every bit as good a man—and maybe better.

Although the repair job was easier than the furnace job, it carried hardly any more pay with it, and as a matter of fact, Jimmy had to take a five-cent cut for a while. But he held on for dear life. He didn't suddenly decide that it wasn't worth the struggle. He fought it out.

And the good part of it was that after a while the white guys didn't seem to notice he was colored—and most of them were backward and uneducated. After a while even the company loud-mouths began to shut up when the rest of the gang didn't pay them any attention.

Best of all, when the loud-mouths' prediction came true—and other Negroes joined the repair gang a few months later, the majority of the fellows took it for granted, and nobody said a word against it.

But believe me, if we had let ourselves think the loud-mouths represented the majority, we would have been licked to start with. And if Jimmy hadn't been so strong himself, the gang would still be lily-white.

Don't be A Sourpuss

Since I haven't seen my boyhood friends in many years, it was with much joy and expectation that I looked forward to meeting them again. There was nostalgia in my heart as the bus drove into my boyhood memories, into the hard-coal region, through Pottsville, St. Clair, Frackville, and down into Gibberton Borough.

The mountains were torn up when I lived here years ago. But now they were really gutted and stripped, with holes hundreds of feet deep—and so long that you could see them extending into the workers' backyards. Huge trucks pounded coal dirt into the air, dirtying the wash on clotheslines and covering people's homes, inside and out, with layers of coal dust.

Housewives were hanging up their wash, and children were playing on the edges of the gaping holes. I noticed the wet clothes were ragged, and the kids were not very lively.

I visited the home of an old friend. His name was Bill. He was married now and had a family—two boys. With what little he had, he made me feel at home. Finally, I asked him how things were going for him.

He said, "Well, John, not so good. The federal and state governments have been telling us for years now that they are going to bring industry in to provide work for us. I want to work. I tell them

I want to work. But I can't get work. I'm on relief. I'm a beggar. I don't want to be a beggar. I can work. . . . They give us surplus foods—all starches. My body is bloated, so is my wife's. My kids are starving. Come over here and take a look."

We went over to the window and looked out into the backyard. He pointed to the two children who were playing there. Their little bodies were pinched. You could see they hadn't been eating meat.

As Bill pointed, he said, "Those are my kids. This is the American way of life. The local businessmen put up billboards telling us, 'Don't be a sourpuss'—and look at my kids."

I couldn't help recalling the time when Bill was real tough. He could always make a buck.

"With all the broken promises of the Government, there is one promise they keep. I mean their promise to have cops and snoopers around all the time. They send in inspectors to see if our homes and yards are clean. As if we were bums. But do they say anything to the coal operators when they tear up our mountains and valleys, and leave these holes for our kids to play around?"

I talked all night with Bill, and I found my nostalgia turning into pain. I found my joy turning into hatred against the mineowners and all the rest of the capitalists and their government as well. —John Penn

AFRICAN ANGER BOILS OVER!

John Black

The British imperialists claim they have discovered a "plot" to massacre the white overlords of the Central African Federation. This alleged discovery has served the colonial masters as a smokescreen behind which to carry out a ruthless suppression of the anti-imperialist liberation movement.

Vampire jets, armored cars, tear gas and rifles have claimed the lives of over 50 Africans. Thousands in Nyasaland and the Rhodesias have been rounded up and thrown into concentration camps. All African organizations have been outlawed, and membership in them is punishable by extremely heavy terms at hard labor.

No whites have been massacred, as the British claim, but scores of black proletarians in Rhodesia and Nyasaland have been slaughtered, and a fearful reign of terror has been unleashed against the long-suffering, but now awakening African millions.

The Central African Federation, which includes Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, is not a real federation at all. It is a clever and hypocritical political artifice of the British for maintaining and extending white imperialist supremacy in the area. Nyasaland has almost no white settlers at all. It was artificially grafted on to the other two countries in the "Federation" as a device to assure a cheap labor supply for the mines and plantations of the more sparsely populated Rhodesias.

Bitter lot of natives

In Southern Rhodesia, African workers are paid about one-tenth of the prevailing wage for the white workers. And in the Northern Rhodesian copper mines, the minimum wage for white workers is more than five times the maximum paid to the highest paid African surface workers.

Africans are banned from white hotels, schools, busses and elevators. There is segregation at the Post Office and all other public buildings. Most bitter of all to the African is the discriminatory distribution of land which gives the white interloper the largest and choicest farms, and the native tiller of the soil, the bare leavings.

Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation, calls these conditions "pinpricks" and blames Communists and the recent Accra Conference for the anti-imperialist struggles. (The exact reverse is the case.)

The immediate political cause of the recent upheavals of these Africans is this: there is an increasing threat of Dominion status for the Federation in 1960. "Dominion status" in this case means independence for the white colonial master from any parliamentary regulation of his oppression against the native Africans. And it means increased slavery for the African.

The Africans well understand that "Dominion status" is only another step in the direction of a Union of South Africa style "apartheid" white supremacy dictatorship.

The Nyasas have never wavered in their determination to prevent the extension of vicious Rhodesian racialism to their country. In 1953, when Federation was threatened, a vast popular protest movement arose. Some 400,000 gave a penny or two apiece to raise a fund of over \$5,000 to send a delegation to London to protest against Federation. They attempted to see the Queen but she would not meet with them. Protest meetings in Nyasaland were broken up by colonial troops. Dozens of Nyasas were killed at that time.

African anger boiled up again this February with the banning of African political organizations and the arrest and jailing of hundreds of their militant leaders. This sparked vast demonstrations and a wave of strikes throughout the Federation. Nyasaland Governor Sir Robert Armitage, who earned his imperialist spurs in Cyprus called for Federal troops. Neighboring Tanganyika also prepared to send in police and troops.

These moves sparked counter-action by the Nationalist movement. By the end of February the Federal Government reported that it was unable to fly in troops to Nyasaland because the only available airport at Fort Hill had been blocked by barrels and tree trunks. Africans seized control of customs houses and blocked the main road along which imperialist reinforcements from Tanganyika were preparing to enter.

Construction crews at the vast Kariba dam project walked off the job and for days the 7000 workers battled police, who tried to escort scabs to work. The pay scale on the Kariba dam was four cents per hour. In March the strategic railroad union, one of the strongest of the African labor organizations, met at Ndola in the heart of the copper mining territory of Northern Rhodesia, and prepared for a strike of its 20,000 workers. Their main grievance is over unequal pay and unequal job opportunities.

The two white railroad workers unions in the Federation had agreed with the African railroad workers on a plan to upgrade Negro workers. The Government has been stalling on this. U.S. imperialist interests, concentrated in the copper mines and the railroads servicing them, are directly affected by these plans and the unions know this.

The intimations by Welensky that he would use force to prevent the strike brought this comment from union president Konkola: "Sir Roy may have his guns but we have an economic weapon. No government can run without railroads."

Crack in the Wall

by Theodore Kovalsky

It was a long rambling crack. It started at the baseboard and crawled up uncertainly toward the window, then recoiled and started toward the side wall for a little way, changed its mind again and went zig-zagging upward between the window and the wall until it passed the top of the window. Then it threw all caution to the winds and plunged into the other wall, where it climbed on a bold diagonal to the ceiling and swooped the length of the room all along the angle between wall and ceiling.

The funny thing was that Joe never could remember that crack when he left the sitting room. But when he was there he knew every inch of it, like some explorer who had followed every bend and sweep of a long river and had mapped its course. Joe knew that crack. He had made a study of it.

It was a long time now. It was so long that it seemed natural not to work — not good, but natural. And that was queer, too. Because Joe had worked ever since he had been a child. At first it had been field work. There had been some schooling in a little frame building with a little frame outhouse behind it, but it was mainly the field work he remembered. And he recalled that even the white kids, the poor ones, that is, had field work ahead of schooling.

After that it was one thing and another, none of it good, hard work heaving turpentine barrels, miserable jobs with a pick and shovel, none of them paying enough to support a man, aside from a family.

Then came the trip north. First there was the job in the Niagara Falls chemical plant with the stain and the stench of the chemicals and the firetrap house that had assimilated and hoarded the same odor that poured from the nearby plant. That had been pretty bad, but Joe could still remember how good it had seemed at first, how much better than the south. He had never earned so much money in his life.

After that came Lackawanna and the steel plant, again hard work, hard, hot, killing work. But Joe never minded. He did his job on the furnaces, cleaning the runners, drilling out the tapped hole, running the iron and ducking as he poked out the gates in the runners while the fountains of sparks and hot metal exploded toward the roof of the cast-house.

So it was strange that it seemed so natural — although not good — that he was not working, for all of his life he had worked and worked hard. You could tell it to look at him. It was not because Joe was such a big man. The factories and fields are full of short men as well as tall ones. Perhaps it was his hands, large, broad hands, still hard with callous in spite of their idleness, still curving as though to grasp tools strongly and skillfully, hands that visibly hungered for work.

Joe sat quietly and watched the crack. At first he had prowled the streets, going from factory to factory, from docks to warehouse. Even when he was drawing his unemployment insurance he looked for work. The benefit checks weren't enough, but mainly he was a worker: he wanted to work.

Then the checks ran out and Joe applied for welfare aid. His big fists clenched, he held back his anger while they questioned him with sharp suspicion, intimating that he was a "chiseler" who could get a job if he really wanted one.

After a while Joe stopped looking. He was not resigned, but there were no jobs. There was no place to look.

So he sat in his living room. He moved his big body a little to one side in the chair so the broken spring didn't dig into his back. And he watched the crack in the front wall.

He thought, "This is an old house, but it's not so old it couldn't be fixed up to be a good place to live. And I'm forty years old, and I worked all my life, and I've got years and years ahead of me, and if somebody'd give me the chance I could do a good job of work. But instead of that they let me run to seed, just like this old house."

The British Government on March 24th, went through the traditional routine and named a four-man commission to investigate the disturbances in Nyasaland. The Colonial Office in London has tried for some years now to make it appear that its policy towards the colonies is a liberal one. But in the course of the debate in Parliament, the Earl of Perth, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, announced: "Our policy is to do all we can to restore the authority of the chiefs. . . ."

These "chiefs" which the Colonial Office now proposes to restore to their authority are in almost all cases appointed stooges of the British imperialists. They have served them as Quislings and are increasingly disavowed by the awakening masses of the area. Their authority, by the grace of the British bayonets, was based on the old tribal structure. The revolutionary movement

sweeping through the Federation and throughout the continent takes its drive from the break up of the tribal system. The Federation has undergone a process of proletarianization and all the efforts of the Colonial Office will not restore archaic tribal chiefs where union leaders are now the accepted and recognized spokesmen.

Jim Crow Christians

Jet Magazine (April 2, '59) tells of a new organization in Birmingham, Alabama to keep the Methodist churches lily white and pure. It is called "The Methodist Laymen's Union."

Explaining the philosophy of this anti-Negro outfit, Judge White Windham, its president, warns: "If there is anyone here who hates Negroes, he'd better not join us. We're not building on hatred but on a Christian foundation."

Figures Prove No Real Increase Of Negro Voters in the South

Of more than 13 million Negroes in the South, only one and a quarter million are registered to vote.

A study made by the Southern Regional Council in November of 1958 places the total registration of Negroes in 11 Southern states at an estimated 1,266,488.

This figure has barely increased over the total number of Negroes reported registered in 1957, and with the exception of a few large cities in the South, reactionary opposition to Negro voting has remained the same. The total registration of Negroes in these states in 1952 was 1,008,614. The six intervening years of "gradualism" have been gradual indeed in terms of progress for the Negro voter in the South.

In the Black Belt Counties, where Negroes in most cases outnumber the whites, resistance to their voting is the heaviest. In Alabama, last reports available indicated there are only 50,000 to 60,000 registered Negro voters out of a Negro population of 1 million.

In Macon County, Alabama, the Negro citizens outnumber the whites five to one. There are 14,539 Negroes reported to be of voting age. Yet Negro registration was only about 1,100 compared with 2,700 white voters.

In the Black Belt counties of Alabama: *Bullock* (74% Negro) there are just 6 Negroes out of 5,425 of voting age. *Dallas* (65% Negro) there are 275 registered Negroes out of 18,145 of voting age.

In Mississippi—out of a population of almost a million Negroes, less than 2% of them were registered. In two counties of Mississippi, where the Negroes constitute the great majority of the population:

Issaquena—1,790 Negroes of voting age, but none were registered as of the 1952 and 1956 surveys.

Clark County—3,849 Negroes of voting age, but none were registered as of the surveys in 1952 and 1956.

In September 1957, a Federal Civil Rights Commission was established. But it has not brought any benefits to Negro voters in any part of the South. Recently this Commission conducted hearings in

Montgomery, Alabama, presumably for investigation of the "allegations" that Negroes were being denied the right to vote in Alabama. The results of this "investigation" speaks for itself. The "investigation" concerned Macon County, Alabama (the Tuskegee area) where an entire election district was deliberately gerrymandered off the map solely to prevent the election of Negroes to office.

This was the most brazen and blatant of all recent "legal" discrimination against Negro voters, and deserves a few extra words. In the face of a fierce struggle waged by the Negroes of the Tuskegee area (including a very effective Negro boycott of the white merchants), the members of the Board of Elections of Macon County resigned. As a result, the U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr., ruled that since there is no functioning Board in Macon County, there is no one left for the Justice Department to take action against!

The judge therefore dismissed a Negro suit for election justice and returned everything to the previous status quo: white supremacy.

Progress on integration

Gradualism Adds Up To Almost Nothing

Five years after the Supreme Court decision, only five per cent of all Negro students have become integrated in the public school system in the South. And in the deep South, Negro children are just as segregated as ever.

According to Southern School News, a publication in Nashville, Tennessee, there is now a total of 148,500 Negro students in the South who are actually attending schools on an integrated basis, with a total of 438,000 in "integrated situations," (out of almost three million Negro school children in the 17 states).

The phrase—"integrated situations" is a hypocritical cover-up for the fact that there is practically no integration. Actually it means that 438,000 Negro children are in districts which have barely made a start towards desegregation.

In Washington, D.C., where integration did take place to a larger extent,

there were more Negroes in mixed schools (73,623) than in all the border states put together. This means integration in the really Southern schools is considerably less than the over-all figures indicate. If we subtract the number of 73,623 in Washington from the total number integrated (148,500), we get the grand total of 75,000 Negro students actually integrated in the South outside of Washington, D.C. And nearly all of these 75,000 are in the border states.

As late as May 1958, only 15 school districts in Arkansas, Tennessee and North Carolina had begun or completed the desegregation of their schools. In these 15 districts, only 270 Negroes were in actual mixed classes.

But in the deep South, there has been no public desegregation at all. In only one deep southern state has even a gesture been made towards integration—but even that is meaningless. Miami, in Dade County, Florida, made a "token integration move." The Dade County Board of Public Instruction voted unanimously to assign four Negro students to the Orchard Villa School, now all white, next September.

Two of the students are sisters, Irene Armanda, and Jane Errol Glover, aged 7 and 9 respectively. They live within two bloc's of the school and attend an overcrowded Negro school almost two miles away. The other two are Shirley Marie Joseph and Gary Range, both first graders.

The white children, after the fall term begins, will be allowed to attend lily-white schools elsewhere if they elect to do so, if there is room, and if their families provide transportation.

Families of the Negro children did not feel that anything was accomplished. They felt that whether or not anyone applied, the school would be all Negro by fall. (The school is in an area rapidly changing from white to Negro, and the white school population has been dwindling.)

But outside of this pathetic "token" in Dade County, Florida, today in 1959, five years after the Supreme Court Decision declared segregation unconstitutional,—not one single Negro has been desegregated in the public schools in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina or Virginia.

Ohio Tax Gouge

Recently-elected Democratic Governor Mike Di Salle, barely seated in his chambers in Columbus, has taken off his gloves and used the mailed fist in his attack on the workers.

He proposed to the legislature that 337 million dollars in new taxes were needed to carry on the state government's work. Where is this money to come from? "Mainly the working class," says this so-called friend of labor. He proposed increased taxes on sales, cigarettes, liquor, automobiles, gasoline, and a few others. But the biggest revenue would come from the workers.

Many organizations are resisting this tax assault. In Mahoning County, the County AFL-CIO Council and Local 1330, United Steelworkers of America, denounced this attack on the living standards of the workers. These two labor bodies pointed out that those most able to pay are not being taxed as they should and that the tax load is being shifted "to the workers."

The AFL-CIO leadership in the state has kept silent and is failing to carry out the accepted principle that the taxes should be borne by those most able to pay. By this silence they are aiding the bosses in their attack on the workers' living standards.

The policies of the leadership of the AFL-CIO in Ohio are being exposed every day. Their support of capitalist party candidates, Republicans and Democrats, is paying off . . . for the bosses.

NAT TURNER'S REVOLT



Thirty years before the Civil War, Nat Turner, a Negro slave, made a heroic attempt to lead a great slave insurrection that struck terror into the hearts of the all-powerful white slave masters.

Build Civil Rights Defense Guards Now!

Just at a time when we are supposed to have more integration than ever, the white ruling class has stepped up its attacks on the Negro people.

The case of Asbury Howard is only the most recent and the most publicized. The vicious mob attack on him and his son was brazenly winked at by the very courts who are supposed to carry out the Supreme Court's decisions on desegregation.

The fourteen year old Emmett Till was murdered for talking "fresh" to a white woman. This was over three years ago. His degenerate white murderer's still swagger around as local heroes among the backward white victims of anti-Negro propaganda. And the Negroes of Mississippi are relatively helpless.

Cases like the Jimmy Wilson case, the now famous "Kissing Case," are only the most publicized examples of hundreds and even thousands of such acts that are well hidden from the headlines. The courts are sometimes compelled

to give a semblance of justice in the most publicized affairs. But the capitalist courts will not move at all in the majority of cases. They will not free the Negro race!

The Southern terror still rages around us. Negroes must defend themselves against the White Citizens Councils, against hoodlum assaults, against the Klan! Negroes must have protection.

Civil Rights Defense Guards are the answer. Guard units must be formed systematically. (They have already been created informally here and there.)

These are self-defense guards. And self-defense is the first law of nature. It is legal and constitutional to defend yourself. And it is the only way that even the Supreme Court decisions will ever be enforced.

Every Negro who would be free; every white ally who wants to see him free, should join in the fight to defend civil rights. Build Civil Rights Defense Guards!

Steel Local Backs Asbury Howard

Local 1330, United Steelworkers of America, CIO, in Youngstown, Ohio, took a strong stand on the Asbury Howard case. It called on the national leaders of AFL-CIO to enter the case and to demand the release of the three prisoners in Bessemer, Alabama. It demanded of Governor Patterson that he release the victims immediately, knowing that they were not guilty as charged, but being persecuted by the racists of the South.

Howard was chain-ganged for six months on Feb. 23 for having a poster painted, which portrayed a Negro in chains pleading for help in his fight for equal rights. He was charged with publishing "intemperate matter tending to provoke a breach of peace." His son and the sign painter were also imprisoned.

Even though Asbury Howard is a representative of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, which was expelled from the CIO because of supposed "red leaders," Local 1330, CIO, nevertheless understands and defends the principle that the defense of one organization or its officers, when attacked by the bosses, is a defense of the whole labor movement. The local also understands the importance of defending the leader of an organization fighting for the rights of Negroes.

The action of Local 1330 should be duplicated by as many organizations as possible with emphasis on even stronger actions in the future.