

# LABOR ACTION

Independent Socialist Weekly

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APRIL 29, 1957

FIVE CENTS

## 'Prayer Pilgrimage' to Capital Calls for Mass Demonstration

A "Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom" of 50,000 Negroes and whites has been called for May 17, the third anniversary of the Supreme Court decision on desegregation. The Pilgrimage will be to the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. at 12 noon on May 17. Leaders of the movement are Roy Wilkins, of the NAACP; Rev. Martin L. King, Jr., the guiding spirit of the Montgomery bus boycott; and A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

In an appeal issued by Randolph, the significance of the Pilgrimage was described: "This event will have decisive importance in its impact on the Congress when it is deliberating on the vital Civil Rights Bill now pending. For the first time in 80 years there is a real possibility of Congressional action. This is a moment of great decision. It will also afford all decent thinking Americans the opportunity to protest the unspeakable outrages occurring in the South: bombings of churches and homes, violent attacks on women and children, and repression of the NAACP."

Wide support has already developed within the Negro community for the Pilgrimage. Before the first public announcement, various churches and organizations

had already contributed \$5000 in cash and pledged another \$8000. White liberal groups and the various trade unions have also already indicated their support. But the requirements for the movement go far beyond this initial donation. Randolph has asked the supporters of the Pilgrimage to "Give a Day for Freedom," to come to Washington on Friday, May 17.

### TO CONFRONT CONGRESS

The Pilgrimage grew out of discussions among various leaders of the Negro struggle during the past several months. These involved those active in bus boycotts, in the NAACP, in unions, churches and other groups. For some time, they had been appealing to Eisenhower to take some decisive action. Now, instead, the emphasis is on confronting Congress with a mighty demonstration of determination and solidarity, in order that Congress does not once again merely give civil rights a token hearing.

In addition to the Congressional aspect of the movement, there will be an emphasis upon militant, non-violent struggle. The general spirit of the Pilgrimage derives from the Southern areas of upheaval where the churches have played a crucial role, and where this method of struggle has proved so effective. In this sense also, the current Pilgrimage will involve support from wider elements in the Negro and

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## Right-Wing Storm Against 'Fair-Dealer' Eisenhower Is Blowing Thru Congress

By SAM TAYLOR

When Congress reconvenes after the Easter recess, the Battle of the Budget should reach a higher pitch. Thus far Congress, or rather the House, has primarily been considering appropriations for the normal functioning of federal government agencies.

The Senate has not considered a single big money bill up to this time; the House has passed on only about a fifth of the entire budget, and has voted a cut of about \$1.1 billion thus far. Still ahead are the controversial housing, education and foreign aid bills, as well as the entire military budget.

Further cuts will be directed toward these programs as the frenzy to cut the budget, in order to have a tax cut in time for the 1958 congressional elections, reaches fever heat. Democratic Speaker of the House Rayburn and Minority Leader Martin are both already on record favoring a tax cut for 1958.

The pattern of congressional action on the budget, according to one Washington correspondent, "is as classic and standard as a figure in some ritualistic, courtly dance—say the minuet." It is about as follows.

The president introduces the budget and it is greeted by congressional howls that it is too high. The House Committee on Appropriations then proceeds to apply

the "meat ax" to the tune of horror stories about incredible examples of bureaucratic bungling, boondoggling and inefficiencies.

Then the House itself takes over and restores some, if not all, of the cuts. This year, for example, the House restored about 80 per cent of the appropriation for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

In the next round of the dance, the Senate proceeds to restore even more of the cuts, and finally it goes to the president more or less near the original form.

At every stage in this process lobbyists descend upon Congress seeking special favors and restoration of cuts affecting their own particular interest. The only item immune from the "economy knife" is the "pork barrel" rivers and harbors bill, since Congress as a whole acts as the lobbyist for this measure. Education,

(Turn to last page)

## May Day 1957: New Struggle, New Hope

May Day 1957 is a day full of hope and inspiration, as well as a day of mourning and solemn rededication for democratic socialists.

Hope and inspiration—because the past year has seen the first great mass struggles against one of the two systems of exploitation and oppression which still rule over the world.

Mourning—for the heroes who have fallen in the struggle for socialism and democracy in Hungary.

Solemn rededication—to the struggle for socialist emancipation from the old, dying capitalist order, as well as from the new tyranny which has replaced it on one-third of the world.

The struggle for socialism and democracy in Hungary and Poland, the rumblings of discontent and opposition in the Russian citadel of Communism itself—these have opened up a new perspective for democratic socialism all over the world.

They have struck a mortal blow to the twin myths which have clouded the consciousness of the working class in all countries for three decades: the myth that the Russian system of bureaucratic despotism is socialism; and the myth that this system is a solid monolith which makes impossible forever any struggle of its own peoples for freedom.

The Hungarian Revolution and the Polish upheaval have demonstrated that these myths have lost what hold they may once have had on the peoples, and above all on the working class, in the Russian Communist empire itself.

But in the past, they have also served to divide and confuse the working classes in the capitalist world. On the one hand, large sections of the labor movement have turned to Communism as the only realistic alternative to capitalism. On the other, socialist movements which have rejected the Russian bureaucratic regime of oppression and terror, as utterly foreign to the aims and aspirations of the workers' movement, have felt themselves driven, to one degree or another,

to give support to capitalist governments on the ground that only thus could they safeguard themselves against the threat of military expansion by Russian imperialism.

This fatal division, together with the paralysis which has resulted from it for the world labor movement, is far from ended. But the Hungarian and Polish revolutions have struck smashing blows at its foundations.

For the first time in twenty years, in most countries where the working class is overwhelmingly socialist, the conditions for the reunification and rebirth of the socialist movement have become clearly apparent.

In the United States, where all shades of socialistic opinion are represented by small groups, and where the mass of the organized labor movement is indifferent or hostile to socialism, the conditions for a new revival, a new beginning of the socialist movement are also coming into view.

The unification of the labor movement and the bitter and heroic struggle of the Negroes in the South for equality have begun to create a new political atmosphere for the socialist movement itself.

The disintegration of the Communist Party, and the questioning and searching of many of its present and former adherents for a new basis for their socialist aspirations, present an opportunity and a challenge to all democratic socialists. For the first time in decades, to their usual task of socialist education and propaganda in general is added the task of working for the regroupment and reconstitution of the socialist movement in America on new and more promising foundations.

The great events of the past year in Eastern Europe have inspired and renewed the confidence and determination of all genuine socialists.

At our May Day celebrations, we will stand in silent tribute to the men and women, our comrades, who have given the last, full measure of devotion to the cause of human freedom. But our greatest tribute to them can be only the sense of dedication with which we devote ourselves, in the year ahead, to the task of reconstituting and rebuilding the socialist movement in our own country.

IN NEW YORK, CELEBRATE MAY DAY WITH THE ISL AND YSL — FRIDAY, MAY 3 — SEE PAGE FOUR

# Jordan: Socialists vs. Kings

Readers will remember Brijen K. Gupta's informative articles on the Arab Middle East in LA last February. Gupta toured that area last summer, interviewing its leaders. We're glad to publish here his interpretation of recent events in Jordan.—ED.

By BRIJEN K. GUPTA

The crisis in Jordan has been interpreted by the Western press as a tug-of-war between the "pro-Soviet" political forces led by Suleiman Nabulsi and Abdullah Rimawi and the pro-Atlantic forces led by King Hussein and his Palace Minister Bahjatbeg Talhuni. We shall be nearer the truth in considering the crisis as a conflict between the republicans and the monarchists.

The National Socialist Party of former Premier Nabulsi merely pays lip-service to the concept of "constitutional monarchy." One of its leaders told me last summer that "The king will soon have to take an indefinite leave of absence from Jordan." The Baath Socialist Resurrection Party of Abdullah Rimawi, on the other hand, is staunchly republican, and for years failed to secure legal recognition in Jordan because of its refusal to commit itself to the concept of constitutional monarchy.

The Jordanian elections last October, in which these two socialist parties emerged as the most popular, commanding between them the largest bloc of seats in the parliament, served notice on the monarchy—and incidentally on the Western imperialists and the Israeli regime.

And we also know that the Eden government, which welcomes reaction at home and abroad, feeling in advance the strength of the socialist groupings in Jordan, had tried on the eve of the elections to bring in Iraqi troops to occupy Jordan. It knew well in advance that with the coming of socialists to power, the Anglo-Jordanian alliance would pass from the realm of international politics to that of history.

But it was the monarchy that stood in the greatest danger of all at the hands of a left-of-center government. The Israeli invasion of Egypt gave the monarchy a little respite, for the attention of all the Arab governments was diverted from domestic to foreign affairs. But as soon as the invasion was halted, Premier Nabulsi in mid-December declared that Jordan could not forever exist as an arti-

ficial state. He recommended unification with Syria or Egypt or both.

Nabulsi proved to be as good as his word. Within a few weeks he entered into an agreement with Syria to fuse the diplomatic services of the two countries. Syria was henceforth to represent Jordan in the various capitals, except for a few major ones.

Negotiations for an economic union with a common currency were in progress when the king decided to strike and dismiss the government. The business groups decided to support the monarchy, for an economic union with Syria would have meant goodbye to the sterling bloc.

## KING SLIPPING

It is on this background that the events of the last few weeks in Jordan should be analyzed.

First: The King has become a victim of the tide of Arab nationalism with which he wanted to swim. He underestimated the current of republican ideas among the Jordanian masses, who on the one hand are told of Jordan's poverty and on the other witness the luxury of the palace.

He backed Arab unity because he felt that unity meant a confederation of various Arab states in which he would be able to keep Jordan as his personal fief. It was only recently that he realized that the only kind of federation acceptable to Egypt and Syria would be one based on republican ideals.

Second: The King has lost the support of the masses, especially the middle classes, the workers and the peasants: Those "liberals" who had some faith in a constitutional monarchy have been thoroughly disgusted by the King's act in unconstitutionally dismissing the Nabulsi cabinet.

The tribal leaders still appear loyal to him, but the tribal community is only one-third of the Jordanian population. In the army, the group of free officers is strongly influenced by the Baath ideology, and if it were not for the presence of a few monarchists in the top echelons of the army, Hussein might have lost his throne last week.

## ROYAL DIVERSION

Third, the king is trying to divert the attention of the masses from domestic problems (which involve the fate of the throne) to the Israeli problem.

He counts as follows: A war with Israel, in which the Jordanians are most likely to be defeated, would disgrace the republican forces in Jordan. Israel would invade and then withdraw, which would come as a blessing to the monarchy.

There is evidence that the French foreign office is inciting Israel to venture a war with Jordan, and it would not be surprising if the British foreign office is similarly advising the Nuri es-Said regime in Iraq to send its forces into Jordan to help the king out.

Fourth: The king's own palace is in disorder. The queen is reported to be favoring the republican forces and advising the king to abdicate with good grace. She has, however, lost to the queen mother, who believes in an alliance with

Iraq and Britain. The queen has for some time been living in Cairo.

Fifth: The king has not yet lost. Between an apparent defeat and an acceptance of defeat, he has put in Suleiman Nabulsi as foreign minister in the new conservative cabinet. Nabulsi, on the other hand, seems to have accepted the appointment not because he thinks that the present government can work but because there is need for a man to be inside the ring to watch the maneuverings of the monarchists and at least keep the country from falling a prey either to Israeli or Anglo-French diplomacy.

It is up to the king either to accept the verdict of the masses or to force a violent showdown. If violence comes it would be the king who would be responsible for it, but it would be the socialists who would suffer.

But if the republican forces can have their day, the impact of their victory may topple the throne in Baghdad and bring the National Democratic Congress to power in Iraq by a popular revolution.

# N.Y. Rally Commemorates Warsaw Ghetto Uprising

By AL FINDLEY

New York, Apr. 19

The anniversary of an event that ranks among the greatest in history was observed today by the Jewish Labor Bund. The spot for the commemoration, 23rd Street and Riverside Drive, was chosen because the city of New York had inscribed a memorial salute to the Heroes of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising there.

April 19 is the anniversary of that epic struggle in which a people, relatively unarmed, and herded into the narrow confines of the Ghetto, starved by meager rations, rose in revolt against their Nazi murderers and fought for their human dignity. It took the overwhelming might of the Wehrmacht, with its tanks and heavy artillery, weeks to extinguish that bright torch of freedom.

The speakers at the meeting paid homage to the courage, idealism and social vision of the Warsaw Ghetto fighters. They correctly pointed out that their fight was not only an isolated act of desperation to save themselves from extermination by the bestial Nazi anti-Semitism, that it did not come only as a result of the terrible position in which the Jews found themselves.

It was the culmination of a half-century of revolutionary development and organization. It was the Jewish workers and the Jewish socialist groups (first the Bund and then socialist Zionist groups and other Jewish groups) that initiated and carried through the struggle. The Ghetto fighters proclaimed their fight as a fight for socialism and for human dignity and freedom.

## STIMULATED REVOLT

Over 150 people attended this open-air meeting, the first of its kind to be held in New York City. One of the central points stressed by the speakers was a call for the erection of a more fitting memorial to perpetuate the memory of the historic event.

The speakers pointed out that no stone or marble structure was adequate to this task, that the best form for a memorial was the rededication to the struggle for the ideals of the Warsaw Ghetto fighters, the ideal of a world free from racial discrimination, from anti-Semitism, from a system that bred Nazi barbarism—for a socialist world.

The occasion gave rise to a sorrowful remembrance of the six million Jews who were exterminated by the Nazis. A spokesman from the international organization of victims of Hitlerism was present and in the name of all the victims of Nazism hailed the struggle of the Warsaw Ghetto fighters. He pointed out that in addition to the six million Jews killed by the Nazis, at least two million more people had been their victims. He too called for the erection of a more fitting memorial.

Other speakers pointed out that the Warsaw Ghetto uprising had been the prototype of other risings, which took place in Bialystok, Lodz and Vilna: Even in the extermination camps under the shadow of

the crematoriums, armed struggles took place. At Oswiecim, where two million people were put to death, the victims turned on their murderers and threw many of them into the ovens they had prepared for their victims. Of course, they were defeated by superior armaments but not until they had taken a toll of the SS troops.

Special mention was made of Arthur Zygelbaum. When the news of the uprising began to filter out of the slaughterhouse of German-occupied Europe, the Bundists and others tried to arouse the Allies and the public to organize aid for the beleaguered Jews. None was forthcoming. Arthur Zygelbaum attempted to draw public attention and break through the apathy in the most dramatic manner he knew of. He committed suicide in public in London in order to do this.

But the shock to the world's conscience did not prove strong enough to move it into action, and the Ghetto was left to its fate.

The meeting called for a greater observance of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising that began April 19. Speakers criticized the Zionists and other Jewish organizations for not giving this day its proper place.

I for one felt that this call should not have been limited to Jewish organizations. The anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising should be marked by all socialists and devotees of human freedom. It is one of the great struggles that takes place—sometimes in one nation, sometimes in another, for the cause of socialism and human dignity.

The meeting, which had started with the singing of the Partisan Song, ended with a Ghetto song and the inspiring hymn of Jewish revolutionaries, "We Swear."

## CONTRIBUTE TO THE ISL FUND DRIVE

Independent Socialist League  
114 West 14 Street, N.Y.C.

Enclosed is \$.....as my contribution to the ISL's Fund Drive.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY STATE .....

(Make checks out to Albert Gates)

## ISL FUND DRIVE

# We Need the Final Spurt to Win

By ALBERT GATES  
Fund Drive Director

There was quite a dip in contributions from the week before, although in general the drive has picked up in the last half of the ten-week period.

This week almost \$900 was received, and this sum was contributed by only six areas. New York and Chicago set the pace with payments of \$465 and \$300 respectively.

Oregon came through with its quota and closed its campaign successfully. Pittsburgh, Philadelphia and Detroit complete the list of cities making payments this week.

The standings, however, did not change a great deal. St. Louis still remains in

first place, followed by Seattle, Bay Area and Oregon as the only areas that have reached 100 per cent or better. Detroit and Chicago have climbed considerably in the standings, running right behind the National Office.

New York, Philadelphia, Newark, Los Angeles and Pittsburgh are still key areas in the campaign, since with the exception of Newark they are either just around the fifty per cent mark or below it. These are the cities which have the power to change everything with a real spurt in the next couple of weeks. We are only \$3000 from the mark and two payments of \$1500 each in the next couple of weeks will do the job.

That's about all we can say at this point of the campaign, which is in the nature of a semi-final report.

## FUND DRIVE BOX SCORE

City	Quota	Paid	%
	\$10,000	\$6998	69.9
St. Louis	25	30	120
Seattle	100	115	115
Bay Area	400	440	110
Oregon	50	50	100
Nat'l Office	1,250	1143	91.1
Detroit	400	358	89.5
Chicago	2,000	1755	87.7
Buffalo	100	85	85
Newark	450	312	69.4
Cleveland	150	85	56.6
New York	3,900	2159	55.3
Philadelphia	200	110	55
Los Angeles	650	300	46.1
Streator	25	10	40
Pittsburgh	200	70	35
Reading	75	0	0
Mass.	25	0	0

## Chicago May Day

Chicago will have a united socialist May Day meeting.

Participating in the joint May Day Committee are the Socialist Party, Independent Socialist League, Jewish Socialist Verband, Friends of the Jewish Labor Bund, IWW, Workmen's Circle, Young Socialist League, U. of C. Socialist Club.

The meeting, dedicated to the Hungarian freedom fight, will be held Tuesday evening, April 30 at the Hamilton Hotel, 20 So. Dearborn. Norman Thomas and others will speak, followed by entertainment and singing. The committee announces that there will be no admission charge.

# The Negro Workers' Fight Against Jim Crow in the Trade Unions

By HERBERT HILL

Throughout the industrial economy of the United States major changes are taking place that directly affect every wage earner, white and colored. These significant technological changes, called automation, have a special meaning for Negro workers and a direct relationship to the well-being of the entire Negro community.

The fact that there is a great concentration of Negro workers in the ranks of the unskilled and semi-skilled means that the increasing introduction of advanced methods of production will result in the wholesale displacement of Negroes currently employed in unskilled jobs. Already one can cite many instances where a highly trained white man and a new machine have replaced many unskilled Negro workers.

A basic need today is to make possible the full realization of the individual Negro's talents and abilities in terms of industrial and engineering skills, to eliminate all the restrictions and limitations which prevent Negro youth from becoming highly skilled workers, sharing the full benefits of the rich American economy.

The federal government through grants-in-aid from the U. S. Office of Education in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare provides funds which subsidize apprenticeship training programs in the various states. The federal government, therefore, is directly subsidizing discrimination in the skilled trades wherever the respective union involved excludes Negroes from admission into the training programs in the various states. The federal government, therefore, is directly subsidizing discrimination in the skilled trades wherever the respective union involved excludes Negroes from admission into the training programs.

At the present time there is virtually a systematic exclusion of qualified Negro youth from certain apprenticeship training programs jointly conducted by industrial management and labor unions in the North as well as in the South. For many craft occupations the only way a worker can be recognized as qualified for employment is to complete the apprenticeship training program. This is true for the printing trades, among machinists and metal workers, the various craft unions in the building and construction trades industry and many others. The role of the labor union in these occupations is decisive because the trade union determines who is admitted into the training program and, therefore, who is admitted into the union.

A clause requiring union membership as a condition of employment is to be found in virtually all collective-bargaining agreements in the building and construction-trades industry. Because unions perform certain managerial functions in the construction industry the refusal to admit into membership because of color completely denies qualified Negroes the right to work in their chosen trades.

## USING A UNION AS A TOOL

The most significant example during 1956 of the adamant racist practices of some building-trades unions was the refusal of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 38, Cleveland, to admit Negro mechanics.

On June 18 the Community Relations Board of Cleveland, which performs the function of a fair employment practices commission, found Local 38 of the IBEW, unanimously, guilty of racial discrimination against Negro workers. The decision of the Community Relations Board called for the admission of qualified Negroes and for the acceptance of Negroes into the apprenticeship training programs conducted by the union.

Local 38 remains in defiance of the decision of the board and has refused to admit Negroes, however well qualified, into union membership. As a result skilled Negro mechanics are completely denied the right to work in all major construction installations in the Cleveland area. This includes major construction projects erected with federal government funds such as six Nike launching and control sites for guided mis-

Excerpts from a talk by Herbert Hill, Labor Secretary of the NAACP, to the National Civil Liberties Clearing House conference on April 5, Washington.

siles under construction for the U. S. army and a large Veterans Administration hospital.

It is most unfortunate that the President's Committee on Government Contracts has provided itself with a rationalization declaring that the committee has no jurisdiction over the admitted discrimination against Negro workers by Local 38 because the union is not a party to the government contract. It is absolutely clear that the building contractor who is a party to the contract is violating the contract's anti-discrimination clause because of the arrangement with the union.

The only possible conclusion, therefore, from the position taken by the President's Committee is that employers throughout the country may with impunity violate the anti-discrimination clause of the U. S. government contract simply by entering into an agreement with a trade union which bars Negroes from membership and employment. The claim of non-jurisdiction in the Cleveland IBEW case makes a mockery of the functioning of the President's Committee since the nature of this case involves similar practices by building-trades unions all over the country.

## DANGEROUS PRECEDENT

On February 18, 1955 the Wisconsin Industrial Commission found Local 8 of the Bricklayers, Masons, Marble Masons Protective International Union guilty of racial discrimination in refusing to admit into membership two qualified Negro bricklayers, Robert Ross and James Harris. This finding was the result of a long period of investigation and finally a public hearing on January 19, 1955.

The Wisconsin Industrial Commission which administers the state's extremely limited and weak fair employment practices statute attempted to secure compliance with its decision after the union refused to admit the Negroes by initiating a court action. In response the Bricklayers Union brought an action in the Wisconsin state courts to have the findings and recommendations of the commission set aside.

The court without reviewing the issue of refusal of membership held that the order of the commission, being merely an unenforceable recommendation, was not subject to review by the courts. In the course of this litigation the court held that:

"Membership in a voluntary association is a privilege which may be accorded or withheld, and not a right which can be gained and then enforced.

"The courts cannot compel the admission of an individual into such an association, and if his application is refused, he is entirely without legal remedy no matter how arbitrary or unjust may be his exclusion."

Application of this doctrine involving voluntary associations and clubs to a trade union is indeed a dangerous one and would set a precedent having serious consequences in related situations elsewhere. The two Negro plaintiffs are appealing this decision in the Wisconsin State Supreme Court.

Because of statutory limitations the Wisconsin Industrial Commission no longer has jurisdiction in this matter. Appeals to the International Union of Bricklayers organization have brought no results. Local 8 remains as it has always been in the past, a completely "lily-white" union.

## GAINS STYMIED IN THE SOUTH

AFL-CIO policy declarations against racial discrimination in trade unions and the continued support by the merged labor movement for civil-rights measures is welcomed by Negro wage earners and the entire Negro community. The commitment of the national AFL-CIO to "help assure the implementation of the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the public schools" was particularly meaningful in the light of attacks on this policy by some Southern unions and threats of disaffiliation because of the AFL-CIO's affirmative position on civil rights.

Trade-union attitudes toward Negro labor in the South are invariably torn between the traditional humanitarian and democratic ideals of the American labor movement and the regional bias against integration and equality of opportunity. Because the racial policies of trade unions are often the decisive factor in determining the employment status of Negro workers in major sectors of the economy, it is hoped that the national leadership of the AFL-CIO will soon proceed to eliminate anti-Negro practices in the ranks of affiliated unions, especially the building-trades unions, with the same vigor shown in its determination to cleanse organized labor of gangsters and racketeers.

A most disturbing aspect of the great industrial development taking place in the southeastern states has been

the serious inability of Negro workers to register any significant employment gains since the end of World War II in the manufacturing plants which are transforming not only the countryside but also the old social patterns of Southern life.

Investigations indicate that in the textile industry, still the basic industry of the South, Negroes remain in a most marginal position. Among the 400,000 textile workers in Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina there is apparently not a single Negro employed as a weaver, spinner or loom fixer.

One might have anticipated that Southern industrial development taking place in areas of heavy Negro population would result in a greater use of available Negro labor. Unfortunately this has not happened. For example, according to state government figures the number of textile workers employed in South Carolina was 48,000 in 1918 and 124,000 in 1950, while the percentage of Negroes in the textile labor force fell from 9 per cent to 4.8 per cent over this same period.

## FORWARD AT LOCKHEED

In heavy industry, as opposed to consumer manufacturing, the gains of Negro labor are most limited. Negro employment is negligible in such major industrial plants as the General Motors and Ford plants in Atlanta; Hayes-King Aircraft Company in Birmingham and the big Ford assembly plant in Dallas, Texas. In these plants if Negroes are employed at all it is in the most menial jobs.

An investigation by the NAACP at the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation plant in Marietta, Georgia indicates as of January 1957 that the company employs 1,350 Negroes out of a total work force of 18,000 workers. This limited figure represents an unusually large number of Negro employees in relation to the prevailing pattern in industrial plants in and around Atlanta. More typical of the Southern industrial scene is the fact that the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation employs 2,400 white women but only seven Negro women, all in custodial menial jobs. The full meaning of these figures can only be understood in relation to the large and diverse Negro manpower source available in the Marietta-Atlanta area.

The limited occupational diversification found at the Lockheed Aircraft plant is typical of the status of Negroes in other sectors of the growing southern economy. Of 450 job classifications available to white workers, Negroes are to be found in no more than 30, most of whom are working in two segregated departments.

As the result of a sustained effort between the NAACP and the president and Southern regional director of the International Association of Machinists and the filing of complaints with the President's Committee on Government Contracts against the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, Negroes will soon be admitted for the first time into the apprenticeship training program jointly conducted by the union and the company. The racially segregated local unions will be integrated by the international union and will be an important step in the elimination of the segregated work pattern within the plant.

## THE ISSUE IS SHARPENING

Among the most significant developments involving the status of Negroes in Southern industry during the past year were the events in the oil-refining and chemical industry where the NAACP made an attack against the separate line of progression in collective-bargaining agreements.

At the large Magnolia Refinery in Beaumont, Texas a group of 32 Negro workers were promoted for the first time into the "process mechanical division" which had hitherto been "lily-white." In addition several Negroes were initially employed in production departments hitherto employing white labor exclusively and for the first time segregation was eliminated in the all-Negro "labor department." Similar changes involving a lesser number of Negroes took place at the Gulf Oil Corporation and at the Shell Oil Company's plants in Houston, Texas and at the Cit-Con Oil Refinery in Lake Charles, Louisiana.

In the course of filing complaints before the President's Committee on Government Contracts the Association documented an industry-wide pattern of discriminatory employment practices including improper classification of Negro workers, wage differentials based upon race, denial of apprentice and other training facilities to Negroes and violation of seniority rights together with a lack of democratic trade-union representation.

Much credit belongs to the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union which established and enforced a new industry-wide policy prohibiting the separate line of progression in collective bargaining agreements and calling upon local affiliates to eliminate discriminatory practices and segregated locals.

Racial conflict in the South has now begun to directly affect the future of Southern industrialization. Today, throughout the South, in precisely those states where there has been the greatest movement of new manufacturing plants the issue of the Negro's status has been posed in the sharpest terms, sharper now than perhaps at any time since the Reconstruction period.

## PHILADELPHIA

### United Socialist and Third Camp May Day Meeting

WEDNESDAY, MAY 1  
7:45 p.m.

Participating are the Phila. branches of the following organizations:

Independent Socialist League  
Third Camp Contact Committee  
Socialist Party-SDF  
Young Socialist League  
Young People's Socialist League

PLACE: Robert's, 205 South 15 Street (Second floor, enter through restaurant)

DISPATCH FROM DUBLIN

# Irish Vote Punishes Laborites

By M. M.

Dublin, Apr. 6

The coalition government in Ireland is down; the general election is over; and as I write, the votes are being counted.

McBride, one-time leader of the direct-actionist Irish Republican Army, and a constitutionalist since 1947 when he launched his Republican Party, withdrew the support of his three deputies from the government. The course he adopted was urged upon the Irish Labor Party repeatedly in the last 18 months; but the *coup de grace* was administered by the clever, maneuvering, opportunist and demagogic lawyer.

Observers are puzzled by McBride's action. While undoubtedly the tide was running high against the government in recent months, McBride as late as last October supported a motion of confidence in the coalition at an all-party jamboree held to boost the morale of the govern-

ment's parliamentary ranks.

It is true that on economic issues he has been mildly critical of the lack of government policies to beat the crisis of mass unemployment. On the issue of the physical-force IRA and the government's measures to deal with the problem, he has at no time, however, indicated clearly where he stood on the current campaign of engaging in violence across the border.

It is known that the rump of his party, which is largely composed of ex-IRA activists, was chafing at the authorities' use of the Offenses Against the State Act to disperse the IRA, and had thrown down the gauntlet to him to get out and break the government. This he did by presenting a no-conference motion to be taken at the spring session of the parliament.

Fianna Fail (De Valera's party) was not to be outmaneuvered, however. Rather than troop into the lobby behind McBride (whom they detest with an all-pervading fervor) on his terms, they indicated their intention to present a no-confidence motion themselves. Sensing the ignominy of a prolonged and discreditable debate, the government dissolved parliament to cut their political losses. But too late. De Valera has skated home with something to spare.

## BLOW AT LP

The workers, appalled by the utter disregard for principles and ethics by the Labor ministers in the coalition government, have given the Labor Party its answer. The small pre-election force of 19 deputies has been reduced to 12.

Some commentators suggest that this was better than expected. Those who were returned were outstanding personalities, whose membership in the Labor Party has always been only incidental to their wardheeling activities.

Larkin, sensing the mood of the people and a possible defeat at their hands in South Dublin, refused to contest his

seat, which he has held uninterruptedly for 14 years. But he can accept a large measure of the blame for the debacle, having consistently defended and advocated the coalition line inside the Labor Party, from his spurious left position, which derives from his Stalinist associations of long ago.

An indication of the decadence of the Irish Labor Party is the fact that the son of James Connolly, Roddy, contested Larkin's seat for the party and polled a paltry 1700 votes, coming second-last in a field of 10 candidates. The militant Unemployed Protest Committee had their nominee, John Murphy, an unemployed carpenter, elected in this constituency.

Murphy's victory spotlights the mass proportions that the unemployment figures had assumed under the coalition in its last months of office.

## LEFT-WING VICTORY

The highlight of the election was the return of Dr. Noll Browne in Dublin Southeast.

Dr. Browne, a democratic socialist, has had a turbulent existence since entering political life some 10 years ago. At that time he was returned in the 1948 general election as a Republican deputy. His party shared office in the coalition with Labor and the Conservative Fine Gael, Browne becoming minister for Health.

True to his promise, he proceeded to put medicine and the health services on a socialist basis. In 1951, just three years after taking office, the culmination of his efforts was a free Mother and Child Health Service. The powerful Irish Medical Association and the Catholic hierarchy united on a cash and moral basis to defeat the measure.

McBride, the Machiavellian lawyer overshadowed in the party by the brilliant, industrious and honest Browne, drove him from the party and thereby brought the coalition crashing to the ground.

Browne and several of his colleagues who had fought for a secular and socialist accent on politics in Ireland, betrayed by their natural allies, the clerical-indulgent Labor Party, had remarkable successes at the subsequent general election; but they compromised their whole position by actively supporting and subsequently outrightly joining De Valera's party. Browne's socialist and secular views found little response in De Valera's party, which had long since jettisoned its left wing.

The party machine refused to accept Browne as a candidate, and, under pressure from liberals, socialists left Laborites and honest citizens, he consented to stand in his old constituency of Dublin Southeast as an independent social-democrat. His victory was remarkable; he polled nearly as many votes as the outgoing prime minister, Costello.

It is interesting to note that perhaps

the most militant and active socialist members of the Labor Party's Dublin organization flocked to support and vote for Browne, the only acknowledged and uncompromising socialist in the whole campaign, including the Labor Party candidates.

Not even the son of Connolly, who was perhaps the greatest socialist Ireland has produced, felt impelled to refer to this great movement which is the hope of humanity everywhere. Browne—the middle-class idealist, the man of integrity, isolated and surrounded by a handful of adherents—has raised the banner of socialist working-class politics from the mire of the Labor Party sewer.

The victory of Murphy, candidate of the Unemployed Protest Committee, is both a tribute to the class-consciousness of the workers of South Dublin and the Trojan efforts of a tiny group of Stalinist militants who promoted Murphy together with a leading Jesuit (each struggling to cancel out the influence of the other). Truly a remarkable setup!

These sidelights on the election serve to pick out the positive class features. The overwhelming victory of De Valera (an effective majority of 15-20 votes) was not a pro-De Valera expression but an uncontrolled revulsion against the indifference and bankruptcy of the coalition parties.

Even the sectarian and negative Sinn Fein (the political organization of the physical-forceists) which is pledged to abstention from parliament, had a remarkable success, with four deputies elected and polling 50,000 first-preference votes. It appeared as a "new hope" to the cynical and apathetic mass.

What progress would an independent socialist-led Labor Party have made in the context! The decadence of the capitalist parties would have been thoroughly exposed to socialist analysis; and the political conclusions drawn by the working class would have placed a majority Labor government on the political agenda within the next five years.

## CHALLENGE

(Continued from page 5)

somewhat behind the point they should be at. And three areas have so far sent in either nothing (Los Angeles and Pittsburgh) or next to nothing (Berkeley). We trust that this will be remedied by the time of the next report.

The YSL's need for funds is a serious one. Among other things, the preparations for our forthcoming national convention are eating up a god deal of the money as it comes in. In addition, all of our other activities, and the expansion of them that we look forward to, requires a more-than-solvent treasury. The YSL has no "angels"; we have to depend on our members and friends.

Given the new arrival in the socialist movement, given the opportunities that lie before us, it is both necessary and possible for us not only to fulfill the aim of our financial campaign, but to over-subscribe it. All members and friends should redouble their efforts to make our drive a success. Challenge readers can do their bit making their checks or money orders payable to Max Martin, and sending them to YSL, 114 West 14 St., New York, N. Y.

## WHAT'S THE SCORE?

City	Quota	Paid	%
TOTAL	\$1650	\$366	22.2
At Lge. & N.O.	125	70	56.0
New York	750	230	30.7
Dayton Area	50	10	20.0
Chicago	300	54	18.0
Berkeley	100	2	2.0
Los Angeles	200	0	0.0
Pittsburgh	125	0	0.0

## LABOR ACTION • 17<sup>th</sup> YEAR

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## Pilgrimage — —

(Continued from page 1)

white community than has been given any other demonstration.

In order that the "Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom" be successful, 50,000 Negro and white people must be at the Lincoln Memorial on May 17. All the major cities in the nation have their quotas for the Pilgrimage—for instance, New York's is 10,000 — and these must be filled. Incidentally, it has already been announced that Montgomery, Alabama, and Tallahassee, Florida, scenes of two of the most militant struggles against Jim Crow in public transportation, will be represented. But everyone else in the nation who is concerned with civil rights must show up in Washington on May 17.

Below is a box which appeared in the *Amsterdam News*. It tells how you too can participate in this great demonstration for civil rights.

### HAVE YOU SIGNED YOUR FREEDOM PLEDGE?

I want to do my share for freedom.

- I will go to Washington, D. C., May 17, on the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom.
- I will bring two friends with me.
- I will drive my car.

PRINT YOUR NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

PHONE No. ....

(Mail this coupon to the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom, 20 West 40 Street, N. Y. C., immediately.)

It's going to be on Friday, May 3, in New York

## Celebrate May Day

with the Independent Socialist League and YSL

Skit! . . . Buffet eats . . . Dancing . . . Talk by Shachtman

At ADELPHI HALL, 74 Fifth Avenue, near 13 Street

### MAY DAY GREETINGS

" . . . Years ago I recognized my kinship with all living things, and I made up my mind that I was not one whit better than the meanest of the earth. I said then, I say now, that while there is a lower class, I am in it; while there is a criminal element, I am of it; while there is a soul in prison, I am not free."

EUGENE V. DEBS, 1918

DETROIT • ISL

## E. German Opposition Has Deep-Laid Roots

By MICHAEL HARRINGTON

It is becoming increasingly clear that a process developed in East Germany during the last year or so quite similar to the developments in Poland and Hungary in their early stage: the spread of oppositional ideas among a stratum of intellectuals and students.

Previously, *Challenge* has reported the role of George Lukacs, the Hungarian Marxist who went with Nagy; and in recent weeks, LABOR ACTION has documented the program of the group which centered around Wolfgang Harich in East Berlin. The current issue of the German Steel Workers magazine, *Der Gewerkschafter*, contains more information on this very important struggle.

To begin with, the Harich movement was not an isolated phenomenon. It included (as Harich reported in his document) intellectuals like Bertolt Brecht. But more, it resulted in disaffection through the Stalinist academic world in East Germany. The staffs of *Sontag*, *Eulenspiegel* (a satiric magazine), *Wochenpost*, and *Einheit* (the latter, the theoretical organ of the SED, the Stalinist Party) have all been purged by Ulbricht. At the University of Leipzig, in the Scientific Institute, and at other institutions, various professors have been removed or have "resigned."

According to Ernest Salter in *Der Gewerkschafter*, the current issue of the publication of the Central Committee of the SED, *Neuer Weg*, has published a revealing article on how deep this process has gone. To begin with, the Stalinists note that the dangerous revisionism has taken place under the cover of "the struggle against dogmatism, and sec-

ularism in 'scientific work,' and that it has resulted in heterodox theories which betray the influence of groups in Poland and Yugoslavia.

The historical faculties are singled out by the Stalinists for particular criticism. Two sources of the development are noted: that there is a tendency toward using Western sources; and that the notion of debating with "anti-Marxist" currents has taken hold. This, the Stalinists rightly hold, is not a "theoretical" matter—but is often tied up with political opposition to "the line of the Party itself." The German Academy of Science and the Historical Institute at Humboldt University are singled out by specific, and bitter, attack.

One of the themes in the SED statement is of interest with regard to another development. In a previous issue of *Challenge* which dealt with the influence of Georg Lukacs in Hungary and in Germany (Harich was a protege of Lukacs), we detailed Lukacs' argument in favor of discussion with Western intellectuals and non-Party currents. Prior to the Hungarian events, an article by Lukacs taking this position appeared in *Aufbau*, a Stalinist German magazine. Given the new attack, it is obvious that Lukacs' appeal went deep and found a responsive chord among the German intellectuals—indeed, that

Harich. In the light of the recent talk about "returning" to socialist justice, this preceding is of considerable interest. *Der Gewerkschafter* reports that it was an old-fashioned Stalinist trial. Non-Stalinist reporters were barred, the audience was composed of SED functionaries. The accusations were not published prior to the trial, and the speeches of the defense were not made public. Instead, there were brief and cryptic communiques which stated the *fait accompli*.

### IMPACT OF HUNGARY

What is the meaning of this development in East Germany?

In part, it is a clear indication of a bitter intra-party struggle between the Stalinist and "revisionist" (in the Polish sense of the word) tendencies. The anti-Stalinist grouping has been profoundly influenced by the events of the last year, by the Twentieth Party Congress, the Polish October and the Hungarian Revolution. These three themes appear in almost all of the reports of oppositional activity. (This should be a check on those who feel that the Hungarian Revolution was a "failure"; like the Paris Commune, the Hungarian struggle for freedom and socialism will have a tremendous, positive impact upon the working-class movement throughout the world, it will go on and on, winning new successes through its own magnificent tragedy.)

The fact that the struggle breaks out inside the Communist Party is also of significance. This repeats the development in both Poland and Hungary, where publications like *Po Prostu* and groups like the *Petofi Circle*, both organized "within," became the center of agitation in the months preceding the actual outburst of popular revolt. In East Germany, as in Poland and Hungary, the Stalinist Party is the result of a forced merger of the Social Democracy and the Communists. And this means that there is an entire, potential stratum of opposition within the Party itself.

Secondly, in East Germany, again as in Poland and Hungary, the first evidence of a developing opposition has appeared among the intellectuals and academicians. Clearly, this is not an independent phenomenon. For it to take place at all, the regime must be under the pressure of the masses, as yet unarticulated into a political program. That tremendous force from below causes an opening within the ruling Party itself; it is the social basis of the tendencies and the factions. And although the phenomenon first becomes visible among the intellectuals, we can know, almost with a certainty, that this is the result of mass pressure.

But once begun, the revolt of a section of the Party based upon the opposition of the people becomes, itself, a political factor; it leads to an articulation of a political program. The Harich platform (as published in recent issues of LABOR ACTION) represents this stage of the anti-Stalinist movement. And the Harich program, like that of Lukacs in Hungary in the early stages, is one which is posed within the context of "loyalty" to the Party and the Russian Communism. Whether this is a tactic, a form of Aesopian language, or the consequence of a genuine confusion on the part of those who are only beginning to break with Stalinism, is not really crucial. What is decisive is that we understand that the objective tendency of such a movement is in the direction of ever-increasing opposition to the regime itself.

In Hungary, the apparent content of the discussion was over "socialist realism," and a debate over aesthetics transformed itself rapidly into the proposal of a revolutionary program. In East Germany, the program is more political, yet filled with

Lukacs' position has now become a matter for the security police.

The campaign focused, of course, on contradictions and illusions. Thus, Harich's surprise that his platform was not taken seriously by the SED, his attempt to reach his German masters through the intervention of his Russian masters.

### MORE WILL BE HEARD

But with East Germany, there is a difference. For one thing, the Russian Stalinist stake there (politically, militarily) is higher than anywhere in the satellites. For another, world Stalinism has now gone through the experience of October in Warsaw and Budapest. Ulbricht has learned a lesson, that is clear. Harich was sentenced to ten years in prison. The old Stalinist method of the political trial was brushed off; the rhetoric about "socialist legality" was quickly forgotten.

And yet, Ulbricht cannot end the opposition with a trial, with a purge of a few faculties, and leave it at that. As *Der Gewerkschafter* remarks, the result of this development will be to transfer the activity of the opposition to another level. What now cannot take place in the magazines and in the class rooms will happen in the small groups, in the various student houses. For although Harich was a leader, this was no movement which he invented. Its source lies deep in East German Stalinist society, and these causes cannot be sentenced to ten years in jail. They persist, and so will their effect.

Thus, once again, we learn of the role of the students and the professors in the anti-Stalinist revolution. And it is well to make a careful analysis. For we shall be hearing more from these quarters as time goes on: more from the students at Moscow University who were expelled for questioning the Russian intervention in Hungary; more from the group around *Po Prostu* which continues to be a center of opposition to the cold counter-revolution of Gomulka; more from the Budapest students who continued their open fight into January of this year; and more from East Germany where the trial of Harich is the beginning of a development and not its end.

### YSL FUND DRIVE

## YSL Fund Drive Is Getting Slow Start

By MAX MARTIN

The 1957 Fund Drive of the Young Socialist League got off to a slow start during its first three weeks. As a glance at the "What's the Score?" column will show, we have collected \$366 to date, or 22.2 per cent of our \$1650 national quota. To ensure 100 per cent success for the drive and its completion on time, we should have reached the one-quarter mark at this point.

Moreover, the \$366 received by the National Office so far represents mainly the efforts of the "At Large and N.O." category and the New York Unit.

"At Large and N.O." has collected \$70, which is more than half its quota, while New York has come through with \$230, or slightly over 30 per cent of the amount it has pledged itself to raise. "At Large" and New York are doing excellent jobs.

Other units are lagging, though; all should really be at or close to New York's level.

Dayton Area and Chicago, which have sent in sizable amounts, 20 and 18 per cent of their quotas respectively, are

(Continued on page 4)

## C.O. Testing Right to Refuse ROTC

By M. O.

With the increasing militarization of the American college campus, which party stems from the colleges' necessity to secure government funds of one kind or another to subsist, the rights of individual college students are rapidly becoming secondary to the demands of the state and federal governments. This kind of situation is currently highlighted in the case of Kenneth Hanauer, a third-year student at the University of Maryland's College of Education.

Hanauer, 24, a member of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, had served two years civilian alternative service in place of military service as a conscientious objector. He was admitted to the U. of Maryland last fall and was exempted from military training in the University's Air Force R.O.T.C. program. The university then suddenly changed its mind and ordered Hanauer to take military training or get out. The university receives funds from the federal government under the Morrill Act, and must have military training; the law, however, need not make the training compulsory. Most land grant colleges exempt conscientious objectors, and all exempt those who have served their time in the armed forces.

Hanauer is consequently suing for a Writ of Mandamus directing the president of the University and the Board of Regents to retain him as a student without requiring him to take Air R.O.T.C. The case is currently under advisement of the Maryland Circuit bench.

Hanauer, who is being permitted to continue his studies pending the court decision, contends that forcing him to take Air ROTC training would be contrary to

his religious beliefs, and is actually inconsistent with the findings of the Selective Service System, which did exempt him from military service. Further, he argues that to exclude him from a state-supported institution except if he gives up his religious beliefs amounts to imposing a religious test as a condition of enjoying educational privileges, which is unconstitutional under somewhat the same theory that barring Negroes from such schools would be unconstitutional. In 1935 in the case of the University of Maryland vs. Murray, it was ruled by the Maryland Court of Appeals that Murray, a Negro, should be admitted to the Law School since to deny him admittance would be denying him equal protection of the law and is in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Charter of the University itself states that "No sectarian or partisan test shall be allowed or exercised . . . in the admissions of students. . . ."

While the Hanauer case is undergoing litigation, another case, that of Jack A. Craybill, a Brethren conscientious objector at the same university, will be coming up. Graybill was not originally exempted from Air ROTC when he signed up for courses, while Hanauer was. Graybill signed up for ROTC under protest and was later informed that he had thus waived his right to contest the requirement. He was not permitted to continue his studies.

If Hanauer and Craybill can successfully regain status as students while being recognized as objectors to militarism (albeit on religious rather than political grounds, which have nowhere yet been recognized legally), an important victory against the intrusion of the uniform onto college campuses will have been won.

# Economic Drives Behind Chinese Stalinism Under Mao

By TONY CLIFF

During recent events in Hungary the Chinese press came out firmly in support of Moscow's oppressive policy. Thus, for instance, the editorial for November 5 in Peking's *People's Daily*, entitled "Celebrate the Great Victory of the Hungarian People," stated:

"The joyful news has arrived that the Hungarian people . . . with the support of the Soviet armed forces have overthrown the reactionary Nagy government which betrayed the Hungarian people and the Hungarian nation."

**Every victory of Russian arms in Hungary was applauded in ever more glowing terms.**

On December 29, 1956, the *People's Daily* published a major pronouncement entitled "More on the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." This approved the general course of Moscow's policy, in the main justified Stalin's career, supported Russia's policy in Hungary and reproved Tito. It emphasized the "leading role of the Soviet Union in the Socialist camp."

Chou En-lai again and again harped on the same theme throughout his tour of Moscow, Warsaw and Budapest in January this year. It was indicative that Chou applauded the loudest after Khrushchev had said:

"All of us Communists . . . consider it a matter of pride for us to be as true to Marxism-Leninism as was Stalin himself." (*Manchester Guardian*, January 18, 1957.)

To many a sincere Communist, suffering under the profound illusion that Mao and his regime are not Stalinist, this must have come as a great shock. However, to anyone using the Marxist method of analysis, which looks at the economic foundation of politics, Mao's extreme Stalinism is not unexpected.

**To understand Mao's policies one must bear in mind the main historical task facing the Chinese bureaucracy, the task of industrializing the country.**

The Chinese bourgeoisie proved incapable of accomplishing this. The Chinese working class, after the defeat of the 1925-27 revolution, the world slump and the Japanese invasion, being pulverized and leaderless, has not played an active, decisive role for the last three decades.

The task of industrializing an extremely backward country when it cannot rely on the aid of industrially advanced socialist centers is extremely difficult. It demands that the people tighten their belts in order to make quick capital accumulation possible. A considerable tightening of the belt cannot be done democratically for any length of time. Hence the more backward the country and the greater the drive toward quick industrialization, the more harsh and totalitarian the regime has to be.

The rulers of such a regime, while being the guardians of capital accumulation, will not, of course, forget themselves; they accordingly derive increasing privileges from their position of absolute control over the economy, society and State.

## LOW STARTING POINT

China is extremely backward economically.

Thus, for instance, steel consumption per head of population in 1950 was 2 pounds, as against 11 in India, 111 in Japan, 278 in Russia, 556 in Britain, and 1,130 in the United States. (W. S. Woytinsky and E. S. Woytinsky, *World Population and Production*, New York, 1953, p. 1124.)

The output of electricity in 1950 was 3,500 million kwh. in China, as against 5,063 million in India and Pakistan (whose population is two-thirds of China's), 38,840 million in Japan and 91,200 million in Russia. (*Ibid.* p. 967.)

The number of spindles in China in 1951 was 4 million as against 10.8 million in India. (*Ibid.* p. 1067.)

Chinese transport is also extremely backward: It was estimated that prior to the Second World War there was 1 km. of railways per 25,300 people in China,

as against 1 per 6,878 in India. (U.N., *Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East, 1947*, Shanghai, 1948, p. 113.) In motor transport China was even more backward relatively to India.

**As a result of economic backwardness, China's national income is extremely low.**

Colin Clark estimates that the net income produced per head of population in China (1933-5) was 138 International Units, (he defines the Unit as "the amount of goods and services which one dollar would produce in U.S.A. over the average of the period 1925-34); in India (1944-5), 246; USSR (1937), 379; Hungary (1938-9), 408; Poland (1938), 508; Japan (1940), 600; Britain (1947), 1,383; U.S.A. (1947), 2,566 (C. Clark, *Conditions of Economic Progress*, First Edition, London, 1940, and Second Edition, London (1951).)

The rate of industrial growth aimed at by Mao in his first Five Year Plan is quite ambitious, although it falls short of Russia's aims in her first Five Year Plan (see Table 1).

So meager are China's initial resources that even after her first Five Year Plan she will be far behind Russia's level of production not only after its first Five Year Plan, but even before it was started. This can be seen clearly from Table 2.

China will need a number of Five Year Plans to reach the level Russia reached even prior to her Plan era.

## DEMANDS OF CAPITAL

**China's First Five Year Plan shows an even greater emphasis on heavy industry than Russia's First Five Year Plan.**

According to the plan, of all gross capital investment in industry, 88.8 per cent will be devoted to means of production industries, and only 11.2 per cent to light industries (Li Fu-chun, *Report on the First Five Year Plan*, Peking, 1955, p. 34). In Russia the corresponding figures were 85.9 and 14.1.

The subordination of consumer-goods industries to the needs of capital goods is shown in the fact that while the amount of profits of light industries in the years 1952-1955 was some 10.8 milliard yuan larger than the amounts invested in these same industries, this sum went mainly to capitalize heavy industry. (*Statistical Bulletin*, [Chinese], Peking, November 14, 1956.)

**With the national income very low, capital investment takes up a big portion of the national income.**

It has been stated that gross capital investment in 1952 made up 15.7 per cent of the national income; in 1953 it was 18.3 per cent; in 1954, 21.6 per cent; in 1955, 20.5 per cent; in 1956, 22.8 per cent. (*Jen Min Jih Pao*, [*People's Daily*], September 20, 1956.) This rate is only a little lower than in Russia during her

first Five Year Plan, but seeing that in absolute terms the level of national income in China is some three times lower than in Russia at the time, a rate of 20 per cent accumulation is a much greater burden than a rate of even 30 per cent would have been in Russia.

**In absolute terms, however, the capital accumulation in China is quite small.**

Thus the average annual investment rate during the five years 1953-7 was planned to be 8,548 million People's Dollars, or, at the official rate of exchange, some 3,650 million U.S. dollars. In Canada, with a population one-fortieth of China's population in 1956, capital investment reached 7,900 million U.S. dollars. (Even if we consider possible differences in price levels between the two countries, the picture would not alter radically.)

The military budget of China made up 18.1 per cent of the national income in 1952; in 1953, 15.9 per cent; in 1954, 15.2 per cent; and in 1955, 16.2 per cent. (Calculated from Wang Tzu-ying, "On Public Finance," *Ta Kung Pao*, Tientsin, January 29, 1955.) These figures compare with the military budget of Russia in 1928, which made up only 2 per cent of the gross national product of the country.

## EXPLOITATION

With a high rate of capital accumulation, and with the great burden of the military budget, workers' wages naturally lag far behind their output, that is, the rate of exploitation is high—and it is rising.

This was underlined by a *People's Daily* editorial, which stated:

"In 1952, the workers of state-operated enterprises produced a yearly average rate of 100 million People's Dollars per worker. Of this, except for 500 thousand dollars as the average monthly wage for each worker, 94 per cent directly represented capital created for the state." (*People's Daily*, December 13, 1953.)

The above figures probably exaggerate the rate of exploitation of the workers, but there is no doubt that it is extreme.

**As time goes by the rate of exploitation is increasing, as can be seen clearly from the lag of wages behind labor productivity.**

This was the situation according to the *People's Daily*:

Labor Productivity	Wage Increase	Increase (%)	(%)
1953	13	5	
1954	15	2.6	
1915	10	0.6	

(*People's Daily*, June 19, 1956)

(For reasons that cannot be dealt with in the present article, it can be proved that it is doubtful if real wages showed even the rise mentioned in this table.)

The exploitation of the peasantry is even more extreme than that of the industrial workers. For lack of space we shall mention only a few facts to show this.

Vice-Premier Chen Yun stated that in the year July 1954 to June 1955, the state acquired in the form of grain tax and compulsory deliveries of produce a total

of 52 million tons of grain, or some 30 per cent of the total grain output of the country. (*New China News Agency*, April 30, 1955.) This figure is not far behind that taken by the Russian state as taxation in compulsory deliveries: in 1938 it was some 33 per cent. (A. Arina, "Kolkhozes in 1938," *Sotsialisticheskoe Selskokhozyaistvo*, Moscow, December, 1939.)

The figure for China exceeds what the peasantry used to pay as rent to landlords under the Kuomintang regime—some "30 million tons of grain" (Chen Han-seng, "Industrialization Begins," *China Reconstructs*, Peking, January-February, 1953).

**Capital being so very scarce and human labor so very plentiful and cheap, the natural result is the widespread use of forced labor—including prisoners, or slave laborers.**

Unlike Moscow, Peking is not shy about giving information on forced labor.

## FORCED LABOR

Thus, for instance, in a "Report on the Work of the Kwangtung Provincial Government during the Past Ten Months," given by Ku Tats'un, its vice-chairman on September 15, 1951, it was stated that in the province of Kwangtung alone during 10 months, a total of 89,701 counter-revolutionaries were arrested, 28,332 executed, while "those whose crimes were punishable by death, but who did not incur the intense hatred of the public were sentenced to death, but had their execution delayed for two years, during which time they were made to undertake forced labor to give them a chance to reform themselves." (*Canton, Nan Fang Jih Pao*, September 18, 1951.)

If some 60,000 people were condemned to slave labor in only one of China's 27 provinces in a matter of 10 months, the size of the slave-labor force in the country as a whole must be huge.

Po I-po, at the time minister of Finance, claimed that in three years "more than two million bandits" were liquidated (*New China's Economic Achievements, 1949-1952*, Peking, 1952, p. 152), the majority, presumably, not being killed but put to work.

A milder form of forced labor is the compulsory conscription of peasants to public works.

Thus, Fu Tsoyi, minister of Water Conservancy, stated on October 28, 1951:

"During the two years (October 1949-October, 1951) a total labor force of 10,370,000 workers was mobilized for various conservancy projects. . . ." (*People's Daily*, October 30, 1951.)

The average pay for this kind of work was some 2-3 catties of rice for a 12-hour workday. (Calculated from the book of the Stalinist, W. G. Burchett, *China's Feet Unbound*, London, 1952, p. 157). Under the Kuomintang in the years 1929-33, the average daily wage of agricultural workers was equal to 14 catties of rice. (J. L. Buck, *Land Utilization in China*, Shanghai, 1937, pp. 305-6.)

## TOTALITARIANISM

**The low level of the productive forces at the disposal of the Chinese bureaucracy makes for an even harsher political regime than in Russia. Space allows for only a few points to be dealt with in this connection.**

As in Russia so in China, there is also a system of internal passports, the obligation to register with the police any change of address, etc. (See the decree of the Ministry of State Security, *Provisional Regulations Governing Urban Population*, *New China News Agency*, Peking, July 16, 1951; Ministry of State Security, *Provisional Rules for Control of Hotels and Lodging Houses*, *New China News Agency*, Peking, August 4, 1951; State Council Directive Concerning the Establishing of a Permanent System for Registration of Persons, *New China News Agency*, Peking, July 2, 1955).

To control the population three sets of regulations were issued. First, *Organic Regulations of Urban Inhabitants' Committees*; secondly, *Organic Regulations of Urban Street Offices*; and thirdly, *Organic Regulations of Public Security Sub-stations*. (All three were adopted by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on December 31, 1954).

To strengthen these organizations, special Denunciation Rooms and Denunciation Post-Boxes were set up all over the country.

**Nothing shows the extreme of totalitarianism reached in China more than the demand that children should denounce**

(Turn to last page)

Table 1

	China		Russia	
	Index for 1957 (1952=100)	Yearly Rate of increase	Index for 1952 (1928=100)	Yearly Rate of increase
Value of gross industrial output	198.3	14.7	202.0	19.3
Output of large-scale industry	207.0	15.7	230.0	23.2

Table 2: Per Capita Output of Different Goods in China and Russia

	Unit	China		Russia	
		1952	1957 (target)	1928	1932
Power supply	kwh.	12.71	25.20	32.50	81.70
Steel	kg.	2.36	6.54	27.60	35.80
Cotton cloth	metres	6.70	8.85	18.00	16.30
Grain	kg.	286.95	305.74	475.20	421.50

(Yang Chien-pai, "A Comparative Analysis of China's First Five Year Plan and the Soviet Union's First Five Year Plan," *Statistical Work Bulletin* (Chinese), Peking, August, 1955.)

# May Day Greetings to Labor Action and the Challenge

**MAY  
DAY  
GREETINGS**

Cleveland Branch  
ISL

Independent  
Socialist  
Greetings  
on Labor's  
Day of  
Struggle

NEWARK • ISL

**BUILD  
THE YSL!**

San Francisco Bay Area  
Young Socialist Clubs

**MAY DAY  
GREETINGS**

PHILADELPHIA • ISL

*Greetings to Labor Action on Its 17th Birthday!*

**We Hail the Great  
Hungarian Revolution  
For Freedom and Socialism!**

New York • Independent Socialist League

**REUNITED AND REVIVED**

**To the Future of  
Democratic Socialism  
And the Third Camp**

Chicago • Independent Socialist League

**MAY DAY  
GREETINGS  
TO ALL  
FIGHTERS  
FOR  
SOCIALIST  
FREEDOM**

YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE  
National Action Committee

*May Day  
Greetings  
to the  
STAFF  
of  
LABOR ACTION*

*Well Done,  
Comrades!*

SAN FRANCISCO • ISL

*Toward a Meaningful  
and Durable  
Socialist Unity*

READING • ISL

*Greetings  
to Labor Action  
... from ANVIL*

**GREETINGS ON MAY DAY  
The Fight for  
A Socialist America  
Is the Best  
Defense of Democracy**

New York Young Socialist League

**In Memory of Martin Abern**

If labor is unable to maintain its rights now, it will find the obstacles and struggles many times more difficult later. In these battles, which go beyond economic struggles, labor will face a ruthless, relentless, dictatorial regime and an employing class which will not hesitate to try to defeat and crush the working class beyond recovery for an indeterminate time.

For every immediate and ultimate reason, therefore, it is better for workers now to learn the lesson of the ever-present conflicts with the ruling class: namely, to fight today to maintain and extend union rights and organization, even if the fight is not always a winning one—in order to be able on the morrow to better withstand all onslaughts, and to forge the new better world of socialism.

From *Administration's Anti-Labor Policy* by Martin Abern,  
LABOR ACTION, November 16, 1942.

**TOWARD  
SOCIALIST FREEDOM**

**There Can Be  
No Socialism Without Democracy,  
No Democracy Without Socialism**

Chicago Young Socialist League

# Mao's Chinese Stalinism — —

(Continued from page 6)

their own "counter-revolutionary" parents.

To give one example: The *China Youth Journal* published an open letter by a student called Lu Ch'eng-hsu, accusing her father of being an agent of Chiang Kai-shek. The letter opens with these words:

"Lu Hsu:

"When I write out this stinking name of yours, I feel ashamed and intolerably insulted. In the past I looked upon you as my father, but now I have seen your true face: you are a cannibal with your teeth bared in madness and your paws whipping about in the air."

It ends with these words:

"Now, I am a member of the New Democratic Youth League, and you are the people's enemy, forever unpardonable. Between us there is nothing in common now. I would rather be a daughter of the people than the slave of a special agent. It is our sworn principle that we will never co-exist with our enemy. So no matter where you hide yourself, we will get you in the end. You just wait and see." (*China Youth Journal* [Chinese], Peking, May 8, 1951.)

Such a level of depravity imposed by the totalitarian state was not surpassed, indeed not even reached, by Stalinist Russia.

## LEADERSHIP CULT

The cult of Mao is, in a way, even more extreme and nauseating than the former cult of Stalin.

Portraits of Mao hang everywhere. Five stories high, they adorn Shanghai and other cities. Trains carry portraits of Mao over the boilers. In many peasant houses his picture replaces the former kitchen god and a kind of grace is said before meals by the household: "Thank Chairman Mao for our good food." His pictures occupy the tiny household shrines where formerly clay images were kept.

A report of the Peking Municipal People's Government quotes a peasant approvingly: "Formerly we worshipped Kuan Kung, who was said to be omni-

potent. Where is his omnipotence? Whom shall we worship? To my mind, we should worship Chairman Mao." (*General Report of Peking Municipal People's Government on Agrarian Reform in Peking Suburban Areas*, approved by Government Administrative Council on November 21, 1950.)

Special obeisance is made to Mao at all public hearings. A description of a mass trial ran:

"The meeting opened with the singing of the national anthem. Then everybody took off their hats and bowed to the national flag and to the portrait of Chairman Mao" (Hsiao Ch'ien, *How the Tillers Win Back their Land*, Peking, 1954, p. 72), just as they had formerly done to the landlord as he was borne past them.

Not to be outdone, Wa-ch-mu-chi, Governor of the Yi Nationality Autonomous *chou* in Lianshen (Sikang) sang the following hymn of praise at the National People's Congress:

"The sun shines only in the day, the moon shines only at night. Only Chairman Mao is the sun that never sets." (*New China, News Agency*, Peking, July 26, 1953).

## BASIC ROAD

Practically the same words were used about Stalin: "I would have compared him to the shining moon, but the moon shines at midnight, not at noon. I would have compared him to the brilliant sun, but the sun radiates at noon, not at mid-

night." (*Znamya*, Soviet Authors' Union Monthly, October, 1946.)

The basic facets of the Stalinist regime are the subordination of consumption to the needs of quick capital accumulation, the bureaucratic management of industry, the limitation of workers' legal rights, the enforced "collectivization" of agriculture, the differentiation of society into privileged and pariahs and the totalitarian police dictatorship. All these traits are to be found in Mao's China.

Being a relatively late comer and rising on extremely backward productive forces, the oppressive facets of the system are even more accentuated in Mao's China than they were in Stalin's Russia.

The historical function of the bureaucracy is the accumulation of capital on the one hand and the creating of a working class on the other (a function fulfilled by the bourgeoisie in the West). The less capital a country is endowed with and the smaller its working class, the deeper are the roots of bureaucratic state capitalism and the longer its span of life, if taken in isolation.

To put it differently, as the backwardness of China is so much greater than that of Russia, not to speak of the European satellites, the working class so small in size and so lacking in cohesion and culture, the forces compelling the bureaucracy to give concessions and even threatening to explode the regime in revolution are much weaker in China than in Russia, not to speak of Eastern Europe.

# 'Fair-Dealer' Eisenhower — —

(Continued from page 11)

housing, expansion of social welfare, and foreign aid usually are in the most precarious position.

But this year there is special significance behind the minuet. The budget is a battlefield for control of the Republican Party between its liberal and conservative wings — "Modern Republicanism" versus the Old Guard. Immediately after Eisenhower's landslide victory last year, the struggle opens up for the 1960 nomination.

## POINT OF DISAGREEMENT

As we pointed out last week, the Eisenhower budget of \$71.8 billion definitely maintained a shift toward a "liberal" direction. This shift has been going on for at least the past two years.

Previously the budget could be reduced because of the liquidation of the high military spending resulting from the Korean War, and because the administration let the pipelines of previously authorized but unspent appropriations sink to a lower-than-normal level. The lower budgets of the first two years were deceptive, and could not be repeated in such a way as to provide another tax cut for big business such as they received in 1954. The point of disagreement with the Old Guard is that the administration, or at least its "Modern Republican" wing, wants to repeat this bit of financial manipulation.

"Modern Republicanism" is an attempt to shift the Republican Party toward a liberal middle ground, proposing a slight increase in certain welfare proposals as well as expanding military expenditures.

Eisenhower "Modern Republicanism" thereby came into head-on conflict with the financial and industrial interests in the party, for whom Treasury Secretary George Humphrey is the leading and most articulate spokesman. It was his open protest against the \$3 billion budget increase which started the protests and encouraged Republican Congressional figures such as Senators Bridges, Goldwater and now Knowland to dig their heels in against the Eisenhower policies.

## RIGHT-WING LAMENT

A report made to Lemuel Boulware, General Electric's vice-president in charge of public and employee relations, called "Preliminary Report of Task Force to Study Organizing Government Relations," sets forth this growing discontent, if not hostility.

Its main purpose is to establish a pattern for business to follow in combatting the unions and the increasing pro-union trend in government, including the present administration.

It quotes Boulware as follows:

"No one can deny that unions won the November 6 elections and business lost; even where the unions lost—including the White House—they had pushed the candidates and their party so far to the left as to win even in outward defeat."

It then goes on to propose that business ought to establish and "subsidize a 'brain trust' of writers (novelists, playwrights, etc.) to begin an active campaign of turning public attitudes away from the left through the source of popular attitude formation (television, movies, stage, radio, novels, magazine articles, etc.)."

Marquis Childs, the Washington columnist, who brings this report to public attention in his column in the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* of April 17, concludes by saying:

"Whether the business community or any important part of it will act on these ideas is uncertain. The General Electric memo typifies a climate of discontent that has been developing as some businessmen became disillusioned with what they are convinced is the New Deal approach of the Eisenhower Administration."

For their part the Eisenhower "Modern Republicans," by and large, have been trying to avoid a head-on conflict. The main spokesman and defender of the budget has to be the president since no one else has enough authority to be able to put it over in the Republican Party. But Eisenhower has been vacillating in an attempt to weave in and out of the Old Guard attacks. However, on the whole he has stood as firm as his minority strength in Congress would allow.

Thus far the main test of this "liberal" issue came over the cut in Post Office services. The Post Office ran short of funds due to a greater business load than was anticipated and appealed to Congress for a supplementary appropriation. Congress rejected it. Thereupon Postmaster General Summerfield, with the full knowledge and approval of the president, announced a sharp curtailment of postal services affecting many businesses. This produced a loud protest to Congress, and Congress then came across with the money.

## CLASH

This head-on clash with the "economy bloc" in Congress symbolized the administration's determination to push through with its "New Deal approach." If Congress, both the Old Guard Republicans and their Dixiecrat allies led by Senator Byrd,

In all probability, if not for the influence of revolutionary events elsewhere, China will have to go through a whole generation, or perhaps two, until its working class becomes a strong enough power to challenge the rule of the bureaucracy.

In isolation the present regime in China will probably surpass in harshness as well as in length of life its Russian Stalinist precursor. In this we find one reason why Peking did not take kindly to the "reformers" in Eastern Europe and why it applauded the defeat of "reactionary Nagy."

There is another reason, connected with the above, for Mao's support for "Stalinist" policies, and—if there is a split in the Kremlin—for the "Stalinist" faction.

Being interested in China's rapid rise to be a giant industrial and military world power, Mao cannot but oppose any weakening or softening of the austere regimen in Russia and Eastern Europe, a regimen that makes for emphasis on heavy industry at the expense of popular consumption. Mao prefers to get steel, machine tools, turbines, etc., rather than that the Russian or Hungarian people should get better housing, food and clothing.

Mao's China is a tremendous rock on which probably many revolutionary anti-Stalinist waves will break. However, in the long run, probably after a few decades, this rock will begin to crumble not only, or perhaps even mainly, through the effect of anti-Stalinist revolutions in Europe, but through revolutionary events in China itself.

were going to make drastic cuts in the budget, then the administration was going to cut government services in such a way as to bring the greatest amount of pressure on Congress. On this count the "Modern Republicans" won.

After demonstrating its strength, the administration then turned around and proposed a \$1.3 (or possibly a 1.3) billion cut in the budget in response to a Democratic-sponsored resolution asking the president to show where the budget could be cut. This took the sharp edge off the conservative critics, even though they know that most of the proposed cuts are bigger on paper than the amount of money that will actually be saved.

At best it is estimated that only about \$500 or \$600 million will be cut. The rest of it will appear in next year's budget or in supplementary appropriation requests after the regular budget is passed. In addition, most of the money appropriated for the 1958 fiscal year may not be spent for several years after that. At the present time it is estimated that there is about \$74 billion of past appropriations which have not been spent. Therefore at best it is quite possible that only a couple of hundred million will actually be cut.

This sleight-of-hand budget cut is universally recognized in Congress. It is a gesture to the conservative wing of the Republican Party, and yet a firm announcement that the administration is prepared to fight to carry through this "Fair Deal approach." When Congress reconvenes to complete the rest of the first session, it will be possible to get a better idea of the relative strength of the warring factions and the support they can muster.

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## The ISL Program in Brief

The Independent Socialist League stands for socialist democracy and against the two systems of exploitation which now divide the world: capitalism and Stalinism.

Capitalism cannot be reformed or liberalized, by any Fair Deal or other deal, so as to give the people freedom, abundance, security or peace. It must be abolished and replaced by a new social system, in which the people own and control the basic sectors of the economy, democratically controlling their own economic and political destinies.

Stalinism, in Russia and wherever it holds power, is a brutal totalitarianism—a new form of exploitation. Its agents in every country, the Communist Parties, are unrelenting enemies of socialism and have nothing in common with socialism—which cannot exist without effective democratic control by the people.

These two camps of capitalism and Stalinism are today at each other's throats in a worldwide imperialist rivalry for domination. This struggle can only lead to the most frightful war in history so long as the people leave the capitalist and Stalinist rulers in power. Independent Socialism stands for building and strengthening the Third Camp of the people against both war blocs.

The ISL, as a Marxist movement, looks to the working class and its ever-present struggle as the basic progressive force in society. The ISL is organized to spread the ideas of socialism in the labor movement and among all other sections of the people.

At the same time, Independent Socialists participate actively in every struggle to better the people's lot now, such as the fight for higher living standards, against Jim Crow and anti-Semitism, in defense of civil liberties and the trade-union movement. We seek to join together with all other militants in the labor movement as a left force working for the formation of an independent labor party and other progressive policies.

The fight for democracy and the fight for socialism are inseparable. There can be no lasting and genuine democracy without socialism, and there can be no socialism without democracy. To enroll under this banner, join the Independent Socialist League.