

WORKERS WORLD

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TEN CENTS

Eisenhower's Invitation to Khrushchev

Colonial Revolt and Soviet Sputniks Force Wall Street to Talk Peace

Lessons of Little Rock

The Southern "moderates" have done it again. After two years of national conflict and international publicity, the triumphant school board integrators who "beat" Governor Faubus, have accepted exactly six Negro students out of sixty who applied for admission to the formerly all-white high schools.

In 1957, nine Negro students were accepted. In 1959, six. This is what the Supreme Court calls "all deliberate speed."

The capitalist press has played up the anti-Negro demonstrations of white students. This gives the impression that integration is really impossible, the whites are no good, and just naturally hate the Negroes.

But civil rights fighters should remember this:

1. That the capitalist system has nursed these students from babyhood with its racist poison.

2. That the most reactionary adults are egging them on. One group has publicly offered legal aid to any white student who gets expelled for race-baiting. Another group has offered a college scholarship in such cases!

3. The white students in favor of integration are terrorized into silence. The neutral ones are won over by the segregationists, there being no courageous voice from white labor to pull them the other way.

Above all, civil rights fighters must remember that the "liberals" with the agreement of the Supreme Court have allowed only three students to attend Central High itself. This is an open

signal for a slaughter.

Had they accepted the whole sixty who applied, *there would not even be a serious struggle.*

Out of a thousand white students there are never more than a hundred hoodlums, even in the South. And considering all the above facts, sixty would win against a thousand.

Daisy Bates' Guards

On August 12, the night before Little Rock schools opened, the home of Daisy Bates, local NAACP leader, prominent in the school fight was shot at several times by occupants of a speeding car.

Mrs. Bates, her husband, and friends, were standing on the front lawn at the time of the shooting. No one was injured, but a white child nearby narrowly escaped death.

The Bates home is lit by floodlights at night and has been guarded by off-duty Negro policemen at the Bates' expense. On this particular night there was no such protection available since all city police were alerted for next day's guard duty in the school opening.

However, neighbors and friends, carrying shotguns and pistols, took over the guard this particular night. Undoubtedly, this saved the lives of the Bates family.

Ironically enough, Mrs. Bates recently took vigorous exception to the self-defense position of Rob Williams. Williams' whole position on the Negro struggle centers around his advocacy of just such a defense guard as saved Daisy Bates' life.

But for U. S. Exploiters of Half the World No Real "Peaceful Co-existence" is Possible; Ike Lies — And Khrushchev Covers Up for Him!

The capitalist exploiters of the American workers have now lost the balance of military power to the Soviet bloc and the colonial masses. And their atom-drunk brass-hatted stooges have begun to sober up on the dizzy spectacle of the Soviet sputniks hurtling through space sooner, farther, and better, than the American.

Their less drunken, but equally arrogant political stooges have seen open revolt in the lands they have plundered for fifty to a hundred years — the countries of Latin America.

Their slave-holding allies, the French and British overlords of Africa, having irretrievably lost China, now see their remaining colonies falling away as the black masses fight for freedom.

American imperialism can no longer rule by naked force alone. It simply doesn't have force enough! That is why Eisenhower invited Khrushchev to Washington.

The invitation has not changed anything fundamental in the world-wide class struggle. Nor will it change anything. But it is a clear admission by Wall Street that a fundamental change has already taken place. This in itself is a victory for the world working class.

But it is a very provisional victory. It is a very temporary victory. And it is bound up with lies. It is a victory wrapped up in illusions.

War against American labor

In the first place, this capitalist concession to world peace is accompanied by a war against American labor, led by none other than the American President himself. And it is accompanied by an intensified repression of the Negro people at home, thus boding ill for the colored peoples abroad — should they trust this President, and his peace talk.

American capitalism still calls the Eastern European workers states "captive nations," and only a month ago decreed "Captive Nations Week." Eisenhower has never formally repudiated his 1952 election promise to "liberate" the people of the workers states. Congress has never recognized Workers China, and is very unlikely to do so in the coming period, even if the Khrushchev-Eisenhower conversations "succeed."

Nevertheless, American Big Business is now willing at least to talk peace. But what kind of a peace is it aiming at?

What kind of peace?

Impressed with Soviet might, and fearful of still further losses of capitalist colonies to the socialist revolution, some American capitalists are in favor of a world-wide "deal."

They mask the terms of this deal in flowery language about "ending the tensions," "thawing out the cold war," etc. What they really want is a promise from the Soviet Government to keep its hands off the colonial movements. They think that Khrushchev can stop Africa from going the way of China. And they may give some promise of "peace" to get Khrushchev to do this.

They make it appear that only Khrushchev would be so cynical as to make such a "deal" — that they themselves would never think of "betraying" the Eastern European "captives" (by agreeing to the status quo), much less of double-crossing their British and French

allies and moving into "their" lush preserves in Africa! (Khrushchev would agree to this as part of the deal.)

The conservative New York Times blandly described the situation on August 9 as follows:

"The central goal of Soviet strategy . . . is nothing less than a deal with the United States that would in effect divide the world into two major spheres of influence, each guaranteeing the other primacy in its sphere and both pledged to prevent the rise of any third nation that might try to disturb the dominance of the two big powers."

They want the CP's muzzled!

Of course the Times well understands that a necessary part of such a "deal" would be a promise from Khrushchev to muzzle the CP's of the world. And it thoughtfully adds the following proviso:

"Premier Khrushchev has to find some way to meet the problem of the strong Communist parties outside his orbit."

In other words, the Communist parties in the capitalist countries might still want to prepare the struggle for communism. And "Khrushchev has to find some way to meet the problem!"

Obviously the Times is not too optimistic about Khrushchev's ability to pull this gigantic "deal." And the Times is right not to be too optimistic.

Khrushchev is quite willing to sell out the Communist parties of the world; Khrushchev is quite willing to sell out the colonial revolution; but he is not able to do so. The oppressed masses of the world will not be denied their rights to a share in civilization. They are going to fight, regardless.

And the vicious imperialism which wages hidden war on them during "peaceful" times will wage more open war, although perhaps still in the name of "peace."

There can be no permanent peace until every colony is free — and in fact until every country is socialist. The struggle for this freedom, this socialism, will be intense. It is the most pernicious delusion to believe that the capitalists are simply going to preside at the funeral of their own system.

—And the workers strangled!

The American capitalists who refuse to give the steelworkers fifteen cents an hour out of the most swollen profits in history, and the President who openly sides with these capitalists, are not going to give the green light to peaceful Soviet progress and the peaceful liberation of the colonial millions.

The world class struggle will inevitably continue, whatever temporary respite the Soviet Union itself may win. However long the present peace may last, the Soviet and American workers must understand that the class struggle is the true situation, and "peaceful co-existence" is a lie!

Mayor Does His Duty!

A New York real estate company is starting a 69 million dollar hotel to rival the ritzy Waldorf Astoria. It began operations by throwing a big champagne luncheon in three giant tents on the construction site. The guests, who included Mayor Wagner and top city officials, were regaled with a 15 piece orchestra.

Across the river in Brooklyn at 423 Watkins Ave., Mrs. Mary Smith occupies a flat where the ceiling is falling in, and there is no running water. There is a cleaning factory on the ground floor, and she lives in constant fear of fire breaking out.

The Mayor hasn't yet joined Mrs. Smith for a champagne luncheon. Nor has he found time to inspect her premises or to have anyone else do so.

Spiking Our Guns!

David J. McDonald revealed in full page newspaper ads that "Mr. X, an executive of one of the steel companies," has made at least \$480,000 on his own company's stock in the last few months, and is now drawing a very cushy salary while his employees sweat out the strike.

Excellent sleuth work. More revelations like this are in order!

But two questions to McDonald: Didn't you know that "Mr. X" is really would-be union buster Roger M. Blough, chairman of US Steel Company? Are you trying to be nice to him, not giving his name so you can patch things up after the strike?

Battles are not won by spiking the guns!

OFF THE CHAIN GANG!

Asbury Howard, the militant civil rights fighter of Bessemer, Alabama, is out of the chain gang after serving his full six months (with no time off).

Howard, a Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers representative, had displayed a large sign and cartoon showing a Negro in chains, praying for deliverance. He was chain-ganged for this "crime."

The Bessemer community was so aroused over this outrage, that the authorities drew back in fear from jailing Asbury Jr. (They tried to frame him too, last spring when they jailed his father).

A friend of Howard informs us that this fighter refused a chance to have a three day pass to be with his loved ones at Easter time. He was the only one who was offered such a pass and he wanted no privileges that his prison mates could not also enjoy.

Welcome back Asbury Howard, and may your persecutors rot!

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TROTSKY



LENIN

Disarming the Workers

In 1953, David J. McDonald, president of the powerful steelworkers union and Ben Fairless, then head of the giant US Steel Corporation, toured the steel mills to show the workers that the interests of the bosses and the workers were the same. — That was "Mutual Trusteeship", as McDonald called it.

But the steel corporations' present vicious attack on the union is now proving that the theory of "Mutual Trusteeship" was a cruel deception of the workers.

In 1959, Nikita Khrushchev, head of the most powerful workers organization in the world (the Soviet Union), and Eisenhower, head of the most powerful capitalist organization, the imperialist United States, are going on a similar

tour. They are going on a tour to prove to the world that the interests of the workers and the bosses on a world scale, are the same. And Khrushchev, like McDonald, will say that the two organizations can live side by side peacefully, and that capitalism has no good reason to attack communism. He calls this, not "Mutual Trusteeship", but "Peaceful Co-existence."

Just as the "Mutual Trusteeship" theory mis-educated and disarmed the steelworkers, so the "Peaceful Co-existence" theory is disarming the world's working class, as the capitalist world keeps arming to the teeth. Much as we fight for peace, we must expose this false theory, and prepare the workers for the inevitable capitalist attack.



The above dot, dot, dot, minus the question mark, is an illegal code devised for employment applications handled by the New York State Department of Labor.

This vicious practice is to inform the prospective boss that the applicant for a job is "non-white." It is in direct violation of the much publicized, little enforced New York State law, making discrimination in employment illegal. Indications of race, creed or color on application cards are forbidden.

Here is the story:

Last month Mrs. Catherine Goldman took over the job of interviewer in the New York City high school employment division of the New York State Department of Labor. Mrs. Goldman, reported to a departmental hearing that Mrs. Fanelli, her predecessor, instructed her to make certain dots on application cards

to be sent to employers, as an indication that the persons interviewed were "non-whites." When Mrs. Fanelli was questioned about this, she admitted it was part of the "routine."

In the course of the exposure, the State Commission against Discrimination claimed that "discrimination was loosely interpreted or condoned in all echelons of the division."

We can't help wonder how many other people working for the New York State Department of Labor have been similarly trained in the "routine" of the job. Everyone knows that the state governments in the South are viciously Jim Crow. But the "liberal" New York State government claims to be for equality, sets up commissions, and sponsors advertising against prejudice.

Anti-Negro laws and lynch terror in the South; hypocrisy and fraud in the North!

"Security" — Another Phony!

On August 6, Neil H. McElroy, U.S. Secretary of Defense, publicly invited Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev to inspect a rocket base, a Strategic Air Command base, or even the underground headquarters of Strategic Air Command at Omaha, Nebraska.

But literally millions of American workers are denied access to any of these places (and hundreds of other places) because they are labeled as "security risks"!

Khrushchev is supposed to be the main enemy of American imperialism. He is supposed to be the person for whom all the "spies" and radicals in this country are working. But Khrushchev can see the military "secrets." The American radicals and alleged radicals cannot.

How McElroy's invitation exposes the whole "security risk" program as a

phony! — The government will not allow a radical worker to be a sweeper in a plant that makes latrines for battle ships. The government requires an iron-clad "loyalty" oath and investigates the day-by-day life history of any worker who has to come within 100 yards of a single rocket. But it invites Khrushchev himself to "inspect" a rocket base! This is not only to "impress" Khrushchev, McElroy says, but to "inform" him!

The truth is that "security" has nothing to do with military defense of the American working people. It really means security for the big corporations to continue coming profits at the public expense without being challenged by any militant leadership among their employees.

The Secretary of Defense has just said as much.

Buy Black

Elijah Muhammad advises his followers first to "buy black", and second to buy in those establishments which employ Negro as well as white help. This is an effective way of applying pressure for justice wherever possible.

But where is it possible?

Can you buy an automobile made by a black manufacturer, or gasoline produced by a black oil millionaire? Can you buy steel from a black steel company, or rubber from a black rubber company?

There were once hundreds of automobile manufacturers in the United States. Today there are only five that count. It cost Henry J. Kaiser 35 million dollars to learn that a newcomer cannot crash the gate.

If every Negro in the country were to buy from a black storekeeper instead

of a white one, this would be a step forward for national consciousness, for race pride, etc. But how would it help the Negro steelworker, the Negro auto worker, or the Negro rubber worker, etc.? That is, how would it improve their standard of living?

What these workers need is *more money*. Whether they spend it in a black store or a white store, they need more of it. And to get it, they have to fight the corporations they work for.

Buy black? Of course! But the big white capitalist doesn't care *where* you spend your money as long as the money gets back to him in the long run.

Buy black? Of course! But unite with the white workers to demand higher wages from the big white capitalist!

Then, when you "buy black", you will really be able to buy something!

Kassim Moving Further Right — Preparing to Behead the CP

V. Grey

The revolution in Iraq has just suffered a nearly fatal blow.

The bourgeois-nationalist Premier Kassim has shifted still further to the right, and openly cracked down on the Communist Party. And Khrushchev has ordered the Iraq CP leadership to take this lying down — in fact to crawl before its enemy, Kassim, and lick his hand.

The heroic CP-led Popular Resistance Force (already previously "disarmed" by Kassim) rose up against the reaction at the oil city of Kirkuk on July 14-18. On July 19, Kassim read the riot act to the CP for this, and called the CP editors to a press conference where he told them that this sort of action was to be condemned rather than praised in their paper. On July 29, the Military Governor of Iraq, General Abdi, decreed that anyone caught wearing the uniform of the Popular Resistance Forces would get three years in prison.

On August 3, the leading CP newspaper repudiated the Kirkuk action of its own armed forces as "criminal acts, emotionalism and miscalculation."

The same editorial stated that the CP dropped all demands for government posts because these demands had created "a negative attitude among the authorities." (That is, they had gotten Kassim and Co. angry with the CP.)

This was after Kassim had even dared to condemn CP leaders for their actions in putting down the reactionary Mosul revolt against his own government.

Furthermore, just before the July 14th anniversary of the popular revolution of 1958, Kassim proclaimed an amnesty for all *right wing* political prisoners while he began moving to legalize the Popular Resistance Forces.

It was especially important for the anti-Communists that Kassim do this. As the Christian Science Monitor said on July 31:

"Following the Mosul Revolt, the People's Resistance Force virtually took law and order into its own hands in controlling Iraqi streets."

This means that the CP was within striking distance of taking the state power in Iraq. It could have overthrown Kassim and started a workers state.

Yet today the Popular Resistance Force is being broken down. And the

CP leadership is cravenly whitewashing Kassim and calling for all-out political support to the bourgeois republic.

Why?

The New York Times put its capitalistic finger on the answer July 22, when it stated: "Khrushchev is likely to seek quietly to restrain Iraq's eager Communists and to assure General Kassim that the Soviet Union is not fostering revolutionary activities."

When a revolutionary group must assure the government that it is not fostering revolution, it soon finds itself compelled to foster the *counter-revolution* (if only by default). And that is what Khrushchev is compelling the Iraqi CP to do.

On July 21, Khrushchev invited Kassim to visit Moscow. This was after Kassim had begun to smash the Popular Resistance Force. But this does not mean that Khrushchev wants to complain to Kassim about his treatment of the CP.

On the same day this invitation was announced, the Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister offered to supply Kassim's government with atomic weapons!

As the Christian Science Monitor puts it: "On the one hand, Premier Kassim . . . is taking increasingly firm steps against Communism at home. On the other hand, Soviet technicians continue to stream into Iraq to replace ousted American and British advisers."

This simply means that the Moscow leadership is more interested in making an alliance with capitalist Iraq than it is in taking a chance on fighting for a *socialist* Iraq. In practice, this comes down to *making sure there will be no socialist Iraq*.

In a revolutionary situation, such as has prevailed for the last year or so in Iraq, all class forces are in dynamic motion. If one class relaxes another class gains. One class sooner or later consolidates its forces, wins the whole country to its banner, and defeats its opponent class for a more or less lengthy period.

It serves the immediate interests of Soviet diplomacy for the Iraqi CP to retreat as it has done. But this retreat is at the same time a terrible set-back for the Iraqi revolution, and by this token, for the world revolution and for the Soviet Union itself.

Book Review

Africa, Africa! — by Derek Kartun
... International Publishers.

A valuable novel, well written. It recounts the barbaric atrocities inflicted upon the people of Africa by imperialist Britain. Kartun begins by describing the rise of the African working class and its thirst for knowledge.

This thirst did not arise simply because the British willed it so. It arose because it was necessary to train skilled labor for building and running the railroads, mining the ores etc. The British had to build trade schools and teach the ABC's (and a good deal more!).

But a man who can read blue prints can also read militant newspapers. He may even read the Communist Manifesto! Thus a leadership emerges from beneath the trampling of imperialist boots.

Mr. Kartun describes this awakening of the African proletariat, the organization of trade unions and strikes. He shows the rise of organizations dedicated to drive the imperialist money-

mongers out of Africa at all costs. And he describes the efforts of the exploiting minority to keep this black tide of resentment from spreading. The British passed laws to outlaw trade unions, enforced them cruelly, intimidating and exiling the militants.

But as in every case where capitalist oppression keeps men in bondage, there emerges from the ranks a leader. In Africa this leader was Jomo Kenyatta. He led the Mau Mau, an organization which vowed unto death to drive the British out of Africa.

Although the book is excellent in many, many ways, it fails to connect the problems of the black man in Africa with the problems of his counterpart in America. Why was it that only yesterday, blacks in America were ashamed of being connected in any way with their African homeland? Why?

It was simply that the capitalist press and movies talked about Africa as the "dark" continent, with nothing but savages, and instilled a deep feeling of shame in black Americans. Today however, the picture has changed. The whole "colored" world is displaying the banner of solidarity with struggling Africa. The black American is proud to identify himself with his revolutionary homeland.

But imperialist oppression is one and indivisible. The dollar-a-day African mineworker and the dollar-a-day American plantation worker must throw out both British and American capitalism in order to really taste the sweet juice of freedom.

—R. Ndumbah

Poor Little Rich Boy

Playboy John Jacob was cut out of the will of his late half-brother Vincent Astor because his behavior was "disgusting" — according to Vincent's widow, main beneficiary in the will.

John Jacob is contesting the will, claiming that Vincent was senile. John now "only" has \$5,000,000 left from a previous inheritance. And for John Jacob, whose standard of living is a little high, this is hardly enough.

Butcher of Workers in Latin America Gets His Orders From U.S. Big Business

Jane Edwards

Generalissimo Rafael L. Trujillo, murderer, Wall Street stooge and dictator of the Dominican Republic, must have had occasion to smile at the announcement by the United States Government, proclaiming the third week in July as "Captive Nations Week."

If any country in the world is a "captive nation", that country is the Dominican Republic. The whole nation is a prison, with many wards and dungeons. Trujillo is prison warden and chief of the guards.

In order to bring "democracy" — Wall Street style — to the people of the Dominican Republic, U. S. Marines occupied the country from 1916 to 1924. Seeking to build a native military force loyal to Wall Street, the Marines worked with and trained the scum of the island's population.

One such person, Rafael L. Trujillo, village tough and cattle thief, soon gained the confidence of the U. S. military. Spying and informing on his own people, and supplying prostitutes to Marine officers, Trujillo was soon promoted to the top leadership of the native military force that the Marines were building.

Through a series of murders and assassinations, Trujillo gained more power, and in 1930 set himself up as supreme military dictator. For the last thirty years, the self-appointed generalissimo has ruled with a bloody hand.

That Trujillo has indeed the blessings of Wall Street during his thirty years of bloody rule is revealed by a quick survey of some of the major American investments on the island — investments which return millions of dollars in profits each year.

There is the U. S. owned Porto Rico Sugar Company which has over 60 million dollars invested in sugar on the

island. The United Fruit Company (Rockefeller and DuPont interests) through one of its subsidiaries, the Grenada Company, has banana properties which are valued at about 21 million dollars. A local subsidiary of the Alcoa Company, a Mellon controlled enterprise, has a 55 year concession for the exploitation of bauxite deposits. Pan American World Airways (controlled by the Rockefellers) monopolizes the air transportation in the Dominican Republic. The Dominican Telephone Company, a subsidiary of the General Telephone Corporation (Chase National) controls almost all communications. This is to say nothing of the General Electric International Corporation, Abbott Laboratories and Westinghouse who also "operate" there.

Trujillo's bloody war on labor goes back to 1930 when he first rose to power and destroyed the Dominican Confederation of Labor, a very militant union which had fought many battles for the working class. That same year, under his orders, a workers demonstration was machine-gunned. He set up a fascist-type labor front — an organization soaked in the blood of many dead unionists.

One of the world's most brutal massacres of the working class took place in the Dominican Republic in 1931 under the personal supervision of Trujillo. He saw to it that some 20,000 Negro Haitian workers who came across the Dominican border looking for work were deliberately butchered. The methods he had learned from the U. S. Marines were being put to "practical" use!!

And Trujillo's onslaught against labor continued. In 1942, a sugar worker who had fought for higher wages was found murdered. A sign found on his corpse read: "This worker has already had his

wage increase!"

This has been the pattern in the Dominican Republic for the past thirty years: *U. S. owned sugar plantations — Trujillo's... slave labor — murdered workers!*

Trujillo is one of the island's largest landowners, but his interests are small in comparison to the millions of dollars of profits drained out of the country by U. S. imperialism. Trujillo's enterprises are but Wall Street's concessions to its puppet for a job well done. Wall Street is willing to pay its overseer well, if he keeps the slaves subdued.

Without Wall Street's arms and support, Trujillo could not keep the workers down. Without Wall Street's blessings, the Dominican Republic would not

Trujillo's Work

August 10 — The official Dominican Republic Radio broadcast an appeal to the Cuban people to take up arms against the Castro government. It advised them to start by setting fires and killing.

—Reported in N. Y. Times

be playing host to another puppet-butchery for U. S. capitalism — Batista. Without Wall Street, the past 30 years, known as the Era of Trujillo, a bloody era for the working class there, would never have been. Yes, without Wall Street the large and bright red, white and blue neon signs which spell out Trujillo y Dios (Trujillo and God) would flash no more in Ciudad Trujillo, as they do today.

But every day events show us that the workers and peasants of Latin America are on the move, and Trujillo's days are numbered.

All-White Jury — Southern "Justice"

An all-white jury in Dalton, Georgia, last month sentenced a 21-year old killer to one year in jail for "involuntary manslaughter."

The killer, Leroy Gentry, was one of a group of four white men who fired a shot gun at a group of Negro kids having a fish-fry. The victim was 11-year-old Tommy Dwight.

Since the killer did not "intend" to kill his victim, but only meant to "scare" him, the jury decided that the crime was "involuntary" as in the case of a careful driver hitting a drunken man in the dark.

Of course, if a Negro in Dalton were caught with a shotgun during a robbery, even if he didn't shoot the gun at all, he would be given at least ten to twenty years in jail. Only last summer, in the famous Jimmy Wilson case, the State of Alabama condemned a man to death for stealing a dollar and ninety-five cents, and he didn't have a gun at all!

And as for the treatment accorded to young Negro boys, we need only recall last fall's outrage in Monroe, North Carolina. Two boys age nine and ten were sent to the state reformatory for an "indeterminate term" because they were kissed by a seven-year-old white girl!

But when four white men merrily shoot up a small boys' harmless fish-fry, killing one — it is a case of "involuntary manslaughter" and a slap on the wrist for the killer!

How long can this persecution go on? How long, how long?

Until the masses forge weapons of self-defense, until they create Civil Rights Defense Guards!

Soviet workers receive full hospitalization free during their whole lifetime. And there are more doctors to attend them — both relatively and absolutely — than there are in the United States.

Mau Mau Spirit is Still Alive; Fights for Freedom in Kenya

John Penn

The professional hater of workers, and skilled union baiter, Victor Riesel, revealed in a recent article that the African Mau Mau is an organization of the oppressed fighting for the oppressed. He also revealed that the Mau Mau Emergency Laws "oddly enough" take care of unions too.

Riesel states: "The statutes were passed in 1955 to keep unions in line, after the Mau Mau had been beaten in the field."

He says that "the government insists on maintaining its Mau Mau Emergency Laws over a considerable part of the colony." That is, over the poor people and the workers.

After stating that these oppressive laws are being maintained now, his slippery pen writes two paragraphs lower: "During the Mau Mau Emergency the government refused to permit union shop stewards to collect dues in the plants, on the docks, in the hotels and at other concentrations of workers. Then the security police picked up almost two score labor leaders and put them in detention camps as Mau Mau sympathizers."

While stating that the Emergency Laws still are being maintained, he turns around and states that it was only during the "emergency" that the colonial government tried to crush the workers. This is Riesel's way of covering-up for the continued brutality, terrorism, and murder practiced upon the African people.

Riesel gives American bosses a tip and says, "these laws could also keep unions clean." Besides throwing workers in detention camps, the laws demand that the officers of the unions must be able to speak two languages. The unions must register with the government — names of all members etc. The unions can be dissolved if they give the boss a hard

time, or if they make a political criticism. Riesel says that these laws can keep "unions clean," clean out of Africa! It is no accident that in America, the boss president, Eisenhower, is also working on "reform laws" to clean up unions."

Riesel also reveals that a new organization of the oppressed is being organized in Africa — The Kiaima Kia Thayu. He slanders them as terrorists, etc. But the Kiaima Kia Thayu may yet carry the work of the Mau Mau to a higher level and succeed in bringing freedom to Kenya.

Solidarity

The West German Metal Workers Union sent a resolution of solidarity to the American steelworkers. The resolution said in part:

"The fight of the United States steelworkers is also our fight. You have our full sympathy, and we wish you success in this fight."

Charge it to Woolworth!

Associated Press reports that Barbara Hutton, Woolworth heiress, has just spent \$200,000 on a collection of fall and winter fashions in Paris consisting of suits, day dresses, cocktail and evening gowns, coats and furs in mostly browns and blacks. When asked about the \$200,000 bill, her designer replied: "Oh, it was a lot more than that."

An ex-Woolworth worker who is now on relief, reports to us that in order to get shoes for her five daughters she must bring the old worn shoes and show the holes to her welfare worker before they are replaced.

The Rockefeller Murders

Frederick Matteger

A new whitewashing biography of the Rockefeller family appeared last month, and an almost open announcement that Nelson Rockefeller, Governor of New York State is going to run for President. The following true story should help to keep the record straight.—ed.

What methods will the billionaire Rockefeller family use to get what it wants from workers in days to come? Will it be the folksy smile, the I'm-a-good-guy wink, the bright (and hollow) promises of the "Rocky" who ran for governor of New York? Will it be the stunt of shiny new dimes given to children as cameras clicked and plump flunkies scribbled notes for joyous hymns of old John D.?

Or will it be the method of Ludlow, Colorado where Rockefeller-hired killers shot up and then burned a strikers' tent colony and killed at least 21 men, women, and children on April 20, 1914?

At Ludlow and surrounding mining towns before 1914 the workers had been held down by force. The Rockefeller-controlled Colorado Fuel and Iron Company owned entire towns. The company openly installed town officials and police. The only place to buy was at the company store which was making a 20% profit. The only doctor to send for was the company doctor who charged for special treatment even though a regular deduction was made for medical expenses. Company weighmen cheated the miners out of another part of their already short wages. To complain, however, meant being kicked out of your job, your house, and the town. Earlier strikes had been smashed by armed force and scabs from outside.

Organized by the United Mine Workers, the miners of southern Colorado went on strike in revolt against these and other injustices. They knew they could not stay in the company towns. On September 23, 1913 these mine workers dramatically showed the inspiring courage of an aroused working class.

With the snow falling, winter coming on, 9,000 miners with their families marched down the canyons of Colorado

to live in tent camps.

It was 6 months later, months marked by bitterness and violence, that the company sent its thugs, who now made up the militia, to a hill overlooking the tent colony of Ludlow. They mounted a machine gun there. As the miners sprang to defense, the militia sprayed their tents with machine gun and rifle fire. After hours of gun battle the company thugs poured oil on the tents and set them afire. In one tent 11 children and 2 women were found dead. A leader of the strikers, Louis Tikas, was captured, beaten by the militia Lieutenant Linderfelt and shot dead as he lay unconscious.

On hearing of this, the enraged miners armed themselves and attacked mine after mine. Various unions offered to raise 10,000 men. The fight continued until federal troops were sent in. Under the protection of these federal troops the Rockefeller agents broke the strike with scabs. To mollify public anger, Rockefeller pretended to help the miners by setting up a company union.

For years after this a campaign was carried on to sweeten up the public picture of old John D. Rockefeller: The kindly, sunken mouthed, old man leaning over to give a new dime to a smiling little girl — remember that picture?

Today his five grandsons carry on the direction of this most powerful of all capitalist empires. And while they, their papers, their magazines and their TV propaganda paint false pictures and perfume the air, these super-money grabbers press down on the workers, drive ahead to the inevitable depression, and prepare for the third world war.

These smiling liars have learned from old John D. They try to fool the public with words like "democracy," "freedom," "the American way of life," and . . . "communism."

However, once there is a severe crisis, and the workers begin to demand their rights, these new Rockefeller (together with the Morgans, Mellons, DuPonts etc.) will be as brutal and ruthless as any who went before.

The Debacle in Kerala

THE CAPITALISTS OVERTHREW THE GOVERNMENT But the "Communists" Acted Like Social Democrats And Some R-r-revolutionaries Acted Worse!

By the Editors

The overthrow of the CP government in Kerala was carefully watched by the capitalists of the whole world. It deserves equal attention from the international working class.

This event answers — although not for the first time in history — several life-and-death questions for the workers. Among these are:

1. Is it possible for the Communist Party or any other workers' party to take power by the ballot (with no matter how great a majority) and peacefully carry out its own program? Will the bourgeoisie peacefully abide by the decision of the majority?

2. Is it necessary for the CP government to resign because it does not reflect the will of 51 percent of the people it governs? Is it a betrayal of democracy for it to continue in office if this seems to be the case?

3. Is it correct for a workers' party, to demand the resignation of a CP government when only a bourgeois party can replace that government in the succeeding election?

What happened?

When the CP was elected to office in the Indian state of Kerala, it had enormous prestige with the masses. But over a period of more than two years, it lost a great deal of this popularity because it failed to carry out any substantial plank of its platform. It conducted itself in a typical Social-Democratic manner, appeasing the bourgeoisie, retreating on even the mildest social reforms, and not behaving much more "socialist" than the bourgeois Nehru himself.

But even when the CP government acts in a right-wing fashion, even when it opposes strikes and collaborates with the bourgeoisie in suppressing them, the ungrateful capitalists cannot accept a CP government as the executive committee to manage their affairs. They must, for their own peace of mind, and in fact self-preservation, destroy such a government at the first opportune moment.

Capitalists plotted to overthrow By force and violence!

The capitalists are well aware of the sellouts of the CP. But they have seen what happened in Russia, in China, in North Korea, North Viet Nam and Eastern Europe. They cannot accommodate themselves to the existence of a CP government, even when it acts as the caretaker for the capitalist state as in Kerala. *They will overthrow such a government by force and violence.*

The Indian bourgeoisie made up their minds long ago to overthrow the CP government. And they mobilized all the reactionary forces behind them to do the job. The CP failed to inspire the masses to hit back. Instead of fighting back, the CP retreated further.

Because the CP did not act in a communist manner and seize the plants and plantations, — high prices, unemployment, and the misery of the poor continued and grew worse. And Indian capital refused to make further investments in factories etc. in Kerala — because it feared that perhaps later on, the CP would carry out its program. Thus the crisis deepened.

They appealed to backwardness And confused the masses!

The so-called Education Act which the CP government finally passed, was a mild and modest measure. But it was directed against the reactionary private managers of Kerala's archaic school system. It would have diminished the powers of the Muslim, Hindu, and Catholic hierarchies.

The capitalists chose this occasion to throw down the gauntlet. They opened the campaign to overthrow the CP government, mobilizing not only the petty bourgeois elements, but great numbers of workers as well.

How could the bourgeoisie mobilize the workers? First through the Hindu Nairs Service Society, the Catholic Church and the Muslim League. Precisely because the CP failed to satisfy the workers' material needs the workers were held that much more in spiritual bondage by religion. Second, through the anti-communist union leaders who called demonstrations and strikes for apparently progressive ends. Third, by demagogic accusations that the CP was responsible for the economic crisis, and by promises that the Congress Party would

set things right when the CP was ousted.

What did the CP do? — It is hard enough to build socialism in one country when a workers party has state power — the dictatorship of the proletariat. But when such a party merely wins an election in just one city or state of a capitalist country, it is in a far greater contradiction. It is not only surrounded by capitalist states; it is enmeshed in capitalist society. In such a case, the best thing is to fight it out. — The CP chose to capitulate.

It gave up nineteen twentieths of its program in order to hold on to office in one twentieth of India.

But given this situation, where the CP so discredited itself, what should be the attitude of a proletarian revolutionary party, if such a party is on the scene? Should it join the chorus of the bourgeoisie and demand the resignation of the CP government? Should it join hands with the extreme right wing to oust a workers party, no matter how wrong or corrupt, from office under these conditions?

The answer, according to Trotsky, is absolutely NO.

The answer, according to the Militant, organ of some so-called "Trotskyists", is YES! (July 20, Aug. 10).

"Revolutionaries" line was like CP's criminal bloc with Hitler!

A historical analogy literally leaps to our pen — an analogy that the Militant quoted a hundred times in bygone days. Today it must be applied to the Militant itself.

In 1931, Hitler (not yet in power) demanded the resignation of the Social Democratic Severing government in Prussia, the biggest state in Germany at the time. *Hitler wanted a new election.*

Severing was doing the same thing in Prussia that the CP has done for the past two years in Kerala — making a mess of things and paving the way for the reaction to take over.

The CP joined in with the Hitler-bourgeois chorus, asking for the resignation of Severing, even though the CP itself was not prepared or able to take power alone (against both Hitler and the SP). Leon Trotsky condemned this as criminal.

Fortunately the general election, by a narrow margin, upheld Severing. (Nevertheless Hitler did take over two years later, with the CP continuing its anti-united front policy.) But this colossal and criminal political error of the CP has at least provided us with a classical example of *what not to do!*

Of course if there were a revolutionary party in the field capable of mobilizing the majority of the masses behind it, that party would be very stupid not to demand the resignation (or the overthrow) of the centrist or reformist government.

But this was not the situation in Kerala. The "Revolutionary Socialist Party", the largest of the left-wing parties opposing the CP was said to have had 23,000 members in all India last year. The CP has hundreds of thousands of members and millions of supporters.

But these same socialists say Capitalists can be "impartial"!

The Secretary of this Revolutionary Socialist Party, not even dreaming of taking the power himself, asks for the resignation of the CP government. Then he suggests the "installation of an impartial caretaker government" until an election can be held. This is published by the Militant (Aug. 10) with a straight face!

What impartial agency is to install this impartial government? And what politician in all India, not to say all the world, is impartial? The Militant knows the answer to these questions very well. But under the pressure of world capitalism, it tears up the lessons of the class struggle and throws them to the winds.

The RSP and the "Trotskyist" Revolutionary Workers Party of Kerala say they have "different reasons" for demanding the resignation of the CP government in Kerala — "different" from those of Nehru and company.

Here is a sample of those "different reasons" from an editorial in the RWP paper:

"The people of the state (Kerala) must be allowed to freely exercise their democratic right to have an elected government of their own choice.

(The CP government was elected to serve two more years — ed.) Since the CP government does not reflect the will of the people, it is the right of the people to compel the government to resign. Fresh elections must be held." (Militant, July 20)

How dishonest to say that the CP government "does not reflect the will of the people"! Will the government that is now going to be elected in Kerala under the saturation propaganda barrage of the bourgeoisie "reflect the will of the people"?

Of course, to these "democratic socialists", it is an obvious truth that the capitalist Congress Party of India "reflects the will of the people." Doesn't it have a parliamentary majority throughout India? — Perhaps it is unfair to call them dishonest. But if they are not dishonest, they are fools.

Here we must explain why the American Sunday Worker has not said *one word* about Kerala these last four crucial weeks, and would not dream of refuting the worthy democratic thoughts quoted above.

Two of a kind?

It is because the Worker editors, like the "democratic socialists" who write the Militant, are also hypnotized by the election returns. They would not know how to answer the above brilliant defense of capitalist democracy. And in fact they would probably repeat it word for word if anybody else but their own party were involved.

But while the Worker and the Militant may be equally petty bourgeois in ideology, equally duped by the lies of bourgeois democracy, there is one great and fundamental difference between them on the scene in Kerala. The Kerala CP was a mass party with governmental power; the so-called "Trotskyists" were a small opposition party. And a basic class conflict was taking place between the bourgeoisie and the CP regardless of the reformist ideology of the CP, and regardless of the CP's Social Democratic-type support of capitalist institutions in Kerala.

In this situation, the Militant found a way, as it often does, to be on the same side as the world bourgeoisie. It added up all the betrayals of the CP, and subtracted the onslaught of the capitalist class! Thus it arrived at "different reasons" for helping the capitalists overthrow the CP government.

Serious workers will learn How to avoid such defeats

What should genuine revolutionists have done in Kerala?

They should have offered the CP a united front on a military basis against the reactionary Muslim League, the Catholic and Hindu forces etc.

The CP of course should not have used the police. (The bourgeoisie led the masses; the CP led the police!) It should have organized workers defense guards and fought violence with violence on a mass scale.

But as Blitz Magazine, an Indian Publication, said; "The Communists have treated Congress violence with Gandhian moderation." — a perfect formula for counter-revolutionary victory!

The formula was strengthened by the confusion of the misled and starving masses. It was further strengthened by "democratic" phrases combined with ridiculous ultra-leftism by the RSP and RWP. This, added to the CP's own false line, doubly insured the overthrow of the CP government and the victory of the bourgeoisie.

This was a defeat for the working class.

Let us learn something from this defeat. The Kerala experience has demonstrated *from all sides* how revolutionists do not act!

The fundamental lesson of the defeat is of course repeated a thousand times in the works of Lenin. And that is the idea that the capitalist class will not yield the power without an armed struggle.

But the lesson must be continually learned again and again from life as well as from books. Many pacifists and not a few "communists" hailed the Kerala "experiment" two years ago as a proof that Lenin was outdated, and the revolution could be made peacefully.

That soap bubble at least, has now been punctured by the Indian capitalists.

Let us learn from this. And let us learn also from the fact that the riots, strikes and demonstrations have now stopped. — The bourgeoisie are in control again! They no longer need these demonstrations against the CP!

Of course, some of the *leaders* who found the CP government so "intolerable" will find Nehru's bourgeois stooges much more tolerable. And they will learn nothing because they do not want to learn.

But all honest revolutionaries will learn from this defeat that it is wrong, it is criminal, it is fatal for the workers, to block with the bourgeoisie against a workers' party no matter how cowardly or opportunistic that party may be.