

# Indians Go On Warpath --Rout KKK

By George Lavan

The Ku Klux Klan was chased out of Robeson County, North Carolina, by Indians against whom it had been threatening racial violence. The battle that sent the klansmen scurrying into the bushes and across the nearby line into South Carolina took place on Jan. 18 just outside of Maxton, N. C.

Of a population of 95,000 in Robeson County, some 40,000 are Lumbee Indians and 25,000 are Negroes. There is a three-way segregation system.

In the previous week the KKK had undertaken an anti-Indian campaign. Two fiery crosses — the traditional warning of night-riding violence to come — had been burned on Indian property. One was outside the home of an Indian woman who reputedly has been dating a white man. The other outside a house, previously occupied by whites, into which an Indian family has moved.

Then the KKK announced a public rally and cross-burning to be held Saturday night, Jan. 18, in a field outside Maxton.

Newspaper accounts of the numbers involved in the brief fighting vary widely. The number of klansmen ranges from 35 to 100, the number of Indians from 75 to 500.

Making the counting difficult is the fact that several thousand people came to watch the battle and did not participate but stayed in their cars or on the sidelines. Both the klansmen and the Indians carried weapons and a lot of firing took place — most of it into the air.

The KKK was completely routed. Its Grand Wizard, Rev. James W. Cole, was not heard from again until he had crossed the state line back into South Carolina.

## Simeon Oxendine's Account

Simeon Oxendine, son of the mayor of the nearby predominantly Indian town of Pembroke, gave the New York Post the following account of the battle:

"The Indian boys got to the meeting field around a half-hour before the thing was scheduled to get underway. We stood around and watched while they set up a microphone and a light over a platform and a big KKK banner.

"We were pretty riled up and we started moving in. We just kept nudging closer to the platform. The Klansmen held their rifles in their hands — they didn't point them exactly at us, but they didn't keep them on their shoulders, either. Some of the boys carried rifles, too. That seemed to make the klansmen a little nervous. We just edged in around them, in a circle which got smaller and smaller all the time. They got even more nervous.

"Some of the boys set off a few firecrackers, back in the darkness outside the circle. The Klansmen didn't seem to get much calmer when they heard the bangs of the firecrackers. Pretty soon some of the boys grabbed the banner and pulled it down. Next they grabbed the loudspeaker and amplifier.

"Then one of the boys shot out the only light. It was pitch dark and the guns started roaring. All of us fired into the air — pitch black and us firing one gun after another.

"They [the KKK] seemed to want to leave. In fact they ran off at every angle. They started loading up in their cars and — I don't know — seemed like somehow most of the cars came up with flat tires. About now they were real humble. One guy threw away two pistols he carried and I says to him, 'Where's your guns? Hate to see you lose them.' He says, 'What guns? I didn't have any guns.'

## Authorities Crack Down on Klan

Sheriff's deputies broke up the melee by throwing tear gas. There were four minor casualties — shotgun pellets, etc. One arrest was made — a klansman found hiding in the bushes. He was charged with drunkenness and carrying a concealed weapon.

County authorities, sensing which way the wind is blowing, have warned the KKK to stay out of the county. An 18-man grand jury, three members of which were Indian and two Negro, subsequently issued a warrant for inciting to riot against KKK Grand Wizard, Rev. Cole.

The Indians' action continues a trend begun by the Negro people of the South. For the past year they have in numerous cases refused to be intimidated by KKK and White Citizens Councils cross burnings. Defiantly they have stood by watching the medieval antics of the racists.

## Memory of Laura Gray Honored at N.Y. Meeting

JAN. 17—A packed memorial meeting of friends and comrades of Laura Gray, Militant staff artist, who died Jan. 11, paid tribute to her life and work last night in the New York headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party.

Tom Kerry, National Organization Secretary of the SWP, opened the meeting with the reading of some of the many messages received from all over the country. These testified eloquently to the love and respect Laura Gray enjoyed during her life and to the sorrow suffered when her life came to an end.

The meeting heard a rendition of the Workers' Funeral March in a hall that displayed on both sides the original drawings of Laura's most famous cartoons.

In this selection of her work appeared the famous New Year's baby, looking shy and bewildered in an oversized army uniform, the Negro child standing up to the big, sheet-wrapped figure of a Ku Klux Klanner, and many other personalities she created.

Attending the memorial meeting were representatives of other radical groups in addition to her comrades and close friends. They came to pay their last respects to a socialist fighter who spoke a universal language through her art.

A personal friend of Comrade Gray, the first to speak, told of her youth and early work, first as a painter and then as a sculptor. He offered \$100 for the publication of a book of her cartoons.

Constance Weissman, another close friend of Laura's, spoke of the years of their friendship—



LAURA GRAY

the years since Laura began her work for the Militant in 1944.

Each of the incidents told by Mrs. Weissman brought the unique personality of Laura Gray into vivid focus. Mrs. Weissman spoke of how difficult it was for Laura's friends, who understood how precarious her health was, to protect her.

"I don't believe anyone could keep her in sick-bed unless she literally couldn't get out. Throughout the time I knew her, all her close friends tried to take care of her, but they met with resistance because she was determined not to live her life as an invalid.

Art Preis, Militant staff writer, spoke on the history of Laura Gray's life and work. He

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# THE MILITANT

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# Reuther Scheme Deals Blow To Labor's Fight on Layoffs

## Eisenhower Hits Labor On Wages

JAN. 22—Eisenhower's economic message to Congress, Jan. 20, reeks from beginning to end with his pro-Big Business point of view. Nothing in that message proposed a solution to the tragic fact that 5.2 per cent of the labor force is out of work.

The President's cold indifference to the plight of jobless men and women throughout the country was matched only by his vigorous assault on labor's need to defend its living standards. The workers in 1957 lost ground with a continual rise in prices and in addition face an uncertain and insecure future. Still Eisenhower concentrated his message on the pro-Big Business idea that labor should abandon demands for increased wages.

"The leadership of labor must recognize," said Eisenhower, "that wage increases that go beyond over-all productivity gains are inconsistent with stable prices, and that the resumption of economic growth can be slowed by wage increases that involve either higher prices or a further narrowing of the margins between prices and costs."

### SOUNDS LIKE ANY BOSS

In plain, everyday language Eisenhower is telling the workers not to interfere with the profits of the capitalist class—the wealthy and privileged owners of American industry. His "advice" is the same as that given by any profit-greedy boss in the country.

A good part of the labor bureaucracy may accept Eisenhower's edit. But the American workers can recognize the bellying voice of an employer even when it issues from the mouth of the President of the United States.

## The Growing Army of Jobless



Scene above, taken in January at New York City unemployment office, is part of growing jobless picture throughout nation. Compensation claims in the city last week, despite seasonal pick-up in garment trades, stood at 231,300. Total number of claims in New York state is estimated at 418,200.

## Reports to the Militant On Steel Unemployment

PITTSBURGH.—The last published report on steel production here is that the mills are operating at 55% of capacity. Coal mines are now at 40%. The mines that are still open are working only two or three days a week. The American Iron and Steel Institute has come out with a new policy in reporting production in order to conceal the sharp decline. Ben Fairless, president of the institute, said in the Jan. 12 Post-Gazette: "From now on the estimated percentage of tons produced will be eliminated but the report will show percentage of rate utilized from the preceding week." The papers are also trying to conceal how bad things really are. They call it a "sidewise movement." It would take a guy with an awful lot of guts to tell a worker that to his face around here. In some places, especially the Morganton-Fairmont area, the image of 1932 has begun to show up.

According to the steel workers union some 125,000 members are unemployed nationally and another 200,000 are working only part time. There is a great need for something like Unemployed Councils to keep the workers acquainted with the facts, and start acting on the problem.

## From Youngstown Area

YOUNGSTOWN.—Steel production here is reported at 55% of operating capacity. There are more than twice as many steel workers on short work weeks in the area than on full time. Unemployment claims are the highest since 1949 and are still rising. Many workers have exhausted their benefits, since the cutbacks started here last February (long before Sputnik) and continued throughout the year.

The decline in employment was accelerated by the fact that, throughout the year, there was continued construction—in a few key places—of automatic methods, as well as general increase of speed-up.

Some of the politicians are feeling the heat. Congressman Kirwan, in a recent speech, put the unemployment problem as number one, even over Sputnik. The aspiring candidate for governor, Cline Jackson of Youngstown, came out for the legalization of Supplementary Unemployment Benefits in Ohio, one of the few states that refuses to allow any addition to state benefits.

### SEEK ANSWERS

The workers had, in general, counted on these benefits. Now they are without them while the union fights it out in court. They are very disturbed about this, are seeking answers, but are not yet decided as to what to do. They fight among themselves to stay on the job. The struggle over whether to share the work at reduced pay or take the layoffs becomes furious—the younger workers fighting for four days and the older ones wanting to maintain the full week.

Most workers are deeply in debt for homes, cars and appliances. They are blaming the Republicans for the crisis, feeling that the Democrats would have prevented it. But when it is explained that the Democratic prosperity was war prosperity, they agree and say they do not want war as a solution.

A feeling of bitterness prevails among the huge mass of workers—a feeling that they will

not sit by and let their families go hungry or allow the mortgage holders to take away their homes. But the feeling is still unorganized and will be for a while yet. By and large, the workers are still watching and waiting, hoping that everything will turn out OK. But it is a very thin hope in most cases. Already there is some increase in union activities by the rank-and-file. Until recently, the local union leaders were silent on the gravity of the problem and have, so far, not encouraged mobilization of the workers to take action.

## From Buffalo Area

BUFFALO.—In the first week of 1958, Bethlehem Steel's Lackawanna plant, third largest steel plant in the world, operated only 17 of its 35 open hearths. With Republic Steel Corporation running only four of its nine open hearths and Colorado Fuel and Iron heating one of its three furnaces, steel operation in the Buffalo area has dropped to 53.7 of capacity, a 10-year low mark in steel operations.

Tremendous plant expansion in the last few years has increased Niagara Frontier steel capacity by one million tons (over one-half million increase by Bethlehem alone). But this is no comfort to the steel workers, who had to bear the burden of increased tonnage capacity with its speedup, and loss of their job security. An example of this can be seen in the Open Hearth Department of Bethlehem, where the company has built new 300-ton furnaces. They have been able to shut down all of the older 150-ton furnaces, and furlough many of the open hearth crews and still produce at nearly 70 per cent of capacity.

### RECALL DEPRESSION

Plant talk up and down the line centers strictly around problems of layoffs and short work weeks. Old timers recollect vividly the hardships of raising their families during the no-work thirties, while younger men listen quietly and thoughtfully.

Joseph Molony, New York State District Director for the United Steel Workers, reported laid-off steel workers and those on short work weeks are running into the thousands. As layoffs increase, the demand for 30 hours work at forty hours pay should be incorporated in the steel contract proposals that come up July 1959. But unemployed steel workers and half-time steel workers can't wait until Summer 1959. The rank and file are pressing now for their District leadership to push for action. In these inflationary times, state unemployment and SUB payments cannot provide an adequate income for workers' families. And for the lean pay check of the thousands of steel workers on half-time, there is no supplement. (This is one company method of getting around payment of SUB).

While present unemployment and short-work hardships last, the United Steel Workers should push for a moratorium on all debts and for payment by the steel companies of premiums on sickness and accident insurance to protect the workers' families. The burden of these responsibilities should be on the profit-laden corporations.

## Leaders of Other Unions Disturbed by His Retreat On Shorter-Week Bid

By Art Preis

JAN. 22—Whatever the outcome of the United Automobile Workers special convention opening today in Detroit, President Walter Reuther's surprise proposal to drop the UAW's demand for the shorter work-week and to seek instead an involved profit-sharing scheme will have wide repercussions in the American labor movement.

Growing mass unemployment has put the program of the shorter work-week with no reduction in take-home pay at the top of the agenda for organized labor. It had been widely hoped that the powerful auto union would spearhead a national drive for this program.

"Other union chiefs," reports A. H. Raskin of the N. Y. Times, "are aggrieved that he [Reuther] put a blanket over the hope of strong elements in labor that a breakthrough on the shorter-hours front could be achieved this year. They feel he has substituted a dubious 'gimmick' for a program they consider necessary to curb technological unemployment."

### 'TEMPORARY DEFERMENT'

Last April, Reuther pretended to go along with the UAW convention's program for a four-day, 32-hour week as the major demand in forthcoming "Big Three" negotiations with General Motors, Ford and Chrysler. On Jan. 14, in a letter to union locals and delegates—sent too late for any serious discussion by the ranks—Reuther announced his new profit-sharing scheme "which provides for the temporary deferment of the shorter work week."

This "temporary" deferment has actually been going on for a good many years. At the UAW convention in March 1953, Reuther pushed through a resolution attacking the proposal for a 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay. He claimed that proponents of the shorter work-week "play the Communist game by proposing, in effect, to reduce America's production by one-fourth."

Now more than 200,000 auto workers are jobless and 600,000 are working a three- and four-

day week with reduced take-home pay, according to the UAW's own estimate. But Reuther still waves the flag and argues against the shorter work-week because "the Russian earth satellites can be a kind of bloodless Pearl Harbor" and "we need to strengthen our military posture."

Reuther's super-patriotic concern over the Sputnik danger is sheer demagoguery. The Scripps-Howard newspaper chain, on Jan. 18 in its weekly Washington round-up, revealed: "Pentagon officials have told Congress they believe Russian sputniks mean Reds are not preparing for a nuclear war. If they'd been planning to attack, witnesses think they'd have kept secret their sputniks, and ability to orbit them. By unveiling them now, they've caused us to increase our defense budget, increase our own missiles program."

Long before Sputnik, almost

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REUTHER

## Okinawa Votes Against U.S. Army Occupation

U.S. Army efforts to thwart the will of the people of Okinawa received a humiliating setback with the election, Jan. 12, of Saichi Kaneshi as Mayor of Naha, capital of the American-controlled Ryukyu Islands. Kaneshi campaigned in opposition to U.S. occupation of the islands and for reunification with Japan. By a vote of 34,968 to 33,968, he defeated Tatsuo Taira, described as a "moderate" socialist who also favored unification with Japan. The New York Times correspondent in Okinawa said, Jan. 14, that Kaneshi's victory "gave United States prestige a severe setback in Asia."

From Washington, the Times reports that U.S. officials are "chagrined" because "strenuous and ill-concealed Government maneuvering to get a more sympathetic Mayor into power had obviously backfired."

The backfiring came from efforts of the occupation authorities to gerrymander the election. For years all political groups in Okinawa had urged merger of the capital city of Naha with Mawashi. This was resisted by the U.S. military command which exercises final veto on all political matters in this "show case of Western democracy." However, a few weeks before the elections, the U.S. brass figured that unification would strengthen the conservatives and ordered unification.

The election results showed that Kaneshi would have been narrowly defeated if the merger had not been effected.

Opposition to undemocratic U.S. rule has been particularly high since the military authorities effected removal of the last mayor, who was also an opponent of American occupation. That ouster was accomplished by the U.S. High Commissioner, General Moore, issuing a decree changing the Constitution "in the name of the people."

U. S. occupation of Okinawa has also served to deepen anti-U. S. sentiment in Japan itself. Commenting on the Naha election, a leading Tokyo daily said: "It would be very regrettable... to see Okinawa turn out to be the Cyprus of Asia." This attitude was discussed by C. L. Sulzberger in the Jan. 18 N. Y. Times. He wrote that if the present trend continues, "...it will develop in only one way—that of Cyprus. We will find an increasing hostility among the islanders—as Britain encountered among the Cypriotes. We will meet bitterness among the Japanese as the British did in Greece."



# 'The Naked God' - A Truthful Book About Stalinism

By Joseph Hansen

"... he who leaves the Party is cast not only into the other camp, as the Party would have it, but to the bosom of the worst reactionaries of that 'other camp.'"

—Howard Fast

THE NAKED GOD, by Howard Fast. Frederick A. Praeger, Publisher, New York: 1957. 197 pp. \$3.50.

The creed of the professional haters of the Soviet Union is that anyone who breaks from Stalinism necessarily breaks from socialism and has no choice, if he is concerned about freedom and democracy.

democracy, but to become a defender of capitalism—and they have sufficient funds and other inducements to make their view attractive.

This is also the creed of the Stalinist bureaucrats and they, too, have considerable ways and means of making it appear true, including amalgams and frame-ups. Every socialist tendency opposing the Soviet ruling caste and its agents, beginning with Leon Trotsky and his followers, has experienced the application of this "criticism."

The fact that not a few earnest figures, turning in revolution from Stalinism, have given up the socialist ideal that first brought them to the Communist party, has lent a certain plausibility to the contention that only two choices face the world: Stalinism, or capitalism. The truth is that Stalinism is just as incompatible with socialism as capitalism is with the struggle for freedom and democracy.

Howard Fast's future course is not yet clear. Out of his own experience in the Communist party, the author of *The Naked God* expected that his exposure of Stalinism in practice would be met with vilification and slander. What he might not have expected when he wrote this angry but truthful book was the effectiveness of the cam-



HOWARD FAST

no alternative to the CP as the instrument for achieving it.

(Fast does not mention this, but they had been so thoroughly poisoned against Trotskyism that they really believed this socialist alternative to Stalinism to be "fascist" in character.)

The Khrushchev speech constituted an official admission of the truth of the exposures of Stalinism. It thus confirmed in a way that could not be denied the misgivings that members like Fast had long experienced. "So the terrible, terrible speech became a reality for us—not because of what had happened in Russia, but because of our experience here in the Communist Party of the United States." (p. 52)

The impetus Khrushchev's speech gave to independent thinking can be judged from the fact that Fast like others in a similar position began reading Trotskyist literature after avoiding it for some twenty years.

At first Fast, along with others among the rank and file and lower echelons of the leadership, had hopes that the Communist party might now be reformed. "Many of us then believed that if we moved quickly and decisively, we could seize control of the entire Party, find new leadership of decent honest and humane people, form a democratic, humanistic movement for socialism—and perhaps light a spark that would fire the imagination of the entire world Communist movement." (p. 60)

These hopes, centered around John Gates, did not materialize.

Fast believes that the character of the CP precluded success. He is also convinced, however, "that the most important reason for the defeat of the Gates Faction was that, reduced to its basic logic, it could call for only liquidation." (p. 61)

Whether or not this is an accurate judgment, the fact is that the Gates grouping did not engage in a vigorous struggle against Stalinism and those who might have rallied against the die-hard Stalinists began, like Fast, to leave the party.

As for the Communist party of the Soviet Union, Fast thinks it "incapable of reform." "The thin hope that the Party could possibly become humanized under the keen and devastating blows of observant and capable writers, playing their age-old task of speaking their piece with no hold barred, was utterly and finally shattered when Trotsky and the men around him were defeated, exiled and murdered." (p. 120)

Fast likewise appears to rule out the possibility of "self-reform" of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

"How little has changed! In 1954, Soviet representatives told me fervently that never again would one man rule their country; but we have seen the return of a single man to power. The whole world has watched his brutal and thoroughly Stalinist climb to power. Under the world's scrutiny, he appears to have refrained from the callous murder of his defeated colleagues that was the mode of Stalin's time; instead, he publicly exercised a grotesque sense of humor, if this sort of thing can be called humor."

"World figures such as Molotov, Malenkov and Shepilov were sent into ignominious exile, even as the Roman emperors delivered their palace enemies to the barbarian borders of their realm. And grinning and cackling, Mr. Nikita Khrushchev paraded his victory and himself before the world, the symbol of 'all man's hope.'" (p. 138)

Khrushchev is ironically recognized as a leader of a "new type." "Not even Stalin, for all his cold-blooded ferocity, had made public display, in diplomatic terms, of boorishness, drunkenness and wild bragadochio; this was new for the Party, if frighteningly familiar in historical terms, this chest-beating, strutting, Jew-hating and Jew-baiting leader of the Communist Party of Russia." (p. 180)

## Dynamics of Socialist Production

The fact that Fast does not believe in the self-reform of the bureaucracy does not mean that he rules out the possibility of regeneration of the Soviet Union. "I think I have proved in the material presented here that the Party itself is not one, but a merciless situation of stress between membership and leadership—a situation that can only be maintained by a bloody repression of any and all dissent. How much more terrible and unbearable then must be the contradiction between the Communist Party and the people of any country where it has power!" (p. 182)

In this living contradiction between the people and the Stalinist bureaucracy, Fast believes that the people will eventually win out. "... the Communist Party, wherever socialism exists as an economic system, faces an enormous contradiction between itself and the socialist society it feeds upon. This contradiction cannot endure, but must resolve itself; whereupon the major forces directed against the Communist Party will in very short order—historically speaking—oppose it with a force and determination it cannot survive. The very economics and dynamics of socialist production demand generations of educated men and women—scientists, professionals, artists, people whose very mode of existence demands that they face reality and inquire as to the nature of that reality. A part of the reality they must face is the Communist Party, and they will face it in the large as humanists who cherish life and hate the practice of fear, superstition and ignorance that is Party dogma today." (pp. 85-86)

In another place, Fast declares: "Socialism, justice and the brotherhood of man are mighty and irresistible forces they will grow to fruition in spite of the Communist Party—and Soviet socialism will not forever lie supine under the heel of the commissar" (p. 99)

As I have tried to indicate, *The Naked God* is a remarkable book that strikes telling blows against Stalinism. Nevertheless, as might be expected, the author has not entirely freed himself from the Stalinist pattern of thinking.

A conspicuous example is his consideration of the lack of de-

mocracy in the Communist Party. Fast's description of the authoritarian practices in the Communist party is accurate and convincing. But whether this is due in the final analysis to Lenin's concepts or to Stalinist perversions is left unanswered. The fact is that Fast was never in a party organized in accordance with Lenin's views on combining internal democracy with unity in public action.

More than implication is left with the reader that Fast is tending to the opinion that Stalinism is the continuation of Leninism. This, of course, is the opinion of the social democrats.

It is likewise the opinion of the Stalinists, the difference being that the Stalinists place a positive and the social democrats a negative sign on the "continuation."

Stalin's destruction of Lenin's party and Trotsky's continuation of Lenin's program and practice is left out of consideration in both cases.

An even more graphic vestige of Stalinist ideology is the following: "We are poised, I think, between acts of wisdom and acts of destruction. If we act wisely, with a new tolerance; a new understanding and especially, a new effort to prove good faith to the people of the East, then it may well be that we will witness the peaceful cooperation of democratic socialism and democratic capitalism in the building of a better world for our children."

Appealing as this is on the surface, the ambiguous "we" might have been taken from an editorial statement of either a Stalinist or a capitalist newspaper. The rest is an expression of the deceptive foreign policy of the Stalin and Khrushchev whom Fast so savagely and correctly denounces. In this context, it is difficult to judge what Fast intends by his favorable reference to "democratic" capitalism and its alleged capacity to cooperate peacefully in building a better world.

Whether these are nothing but remnants of a past from which Fast has broken definitively, indications of problems which he is trying to think through, or signs of development in the social-democratic, i.e., pro-capitalist, direction remains to be seen.

Whatever they turn out to be, they do not destroy the importance of *The Naked God* as the

honest expression of a writer who took a long time to see through Stalinism but who did see it finally as it really is—a major obstacle to socialism.

Let us turn now to the Stalinist efforts to prevent the membership of the Communist party from reading the book by prejudicing them against the author.

The inside dope coming down from the top bureaucrats is that Fast never was politically reliable. The party always had trouble with him. Now Fast has gone over to the State Department. Most of his book was ghost-written by a social democrat. When asked if these charges were to be made public, the local Bay Area CP leader who gave this "explanation" of *The Naked God* responded: "Well, no. We don't feel like jumping on a man who's already down."

Whether or not they feel like it, the policy, nevertheless, is to jump on the man. The Dec. 8 Worker, for instance, published a letter from a "shocked"

Art Shields, who had read in the New York World-Telegram & Sun "that Howard Fast had made a tape recording of a speech to be delivered over Radio Liberation's station in Munich, Germany."

Shields does not tell us what was in the tape recording. He says nothing about Fast's irrefutable testimony on what Stalinism does to those who mistake it for socialism. He does not discuss the key question raised by Fast—the meaning of Khrushchev's acknowledgment of a whole series of crimes committed by the paranoid Stalin.

Instead Shields talks rapidly and smoothly about the counter-revolutionary character of Radio Liberation and the anti-Soviet views of its sponsors. The "shocked" letter-writer concludes by expressing "doubt" that "the Soviet Union's enemies will gain much from Fast's radio collaboration. . . . But it is said to think that the author of 'Peekskill' has come to this."

## Stalinist Style Hatchet Job

Aside from this letter indicating the line to take on the author of Peekskill, neither the Worker nor the Daily Worker said anything about the sensational and much discussed book for some three more weeks. Perhaps the hope was that the silence would prove suffocating.

Or perhaps the temporary paralysis was due to the sympathy of at least part of the staff with Howard Fast and his decision to speak out.

The West Coast People's World proved less tongue-tied. In the Dec. 14 issue, A. R. reviewed the book. (A. R., we assume, is the editor Al Richmond.)

The "review," entitled "Fast's apology for his defection," begins with three brief quotations from *The Naked God*, one torn from the context of page 25, another from the context of page 66 and another from the context of page 99. All three are declarations by Fast emphasizing that he feels neither disillusioned, bitter, bruised or

depressed. This "excessive protestation," A. R. decides, naturally arouses "inevitable skepticism." The "evidence" thus shows Fast to have turned sour.

On top of this, Fast substitutes "passion" for "historical objectivity" and "theory." Still worse, "There is a vein of vanity in all this."

A. R. admits that Communists "have been afflicted with dogma. . .," have been "burdened with centralized bureaucracy. . .," and "grave crimes have been committed in the Soviet Union and other socialist lands. . . ." But when Fast "tugs at these restraints he reveals nothing new."

A. R. finishes what is not so much a "review" as a warning to the CP membership to suppress any curiosity about the book by coming down on the author with both boots: "His denials of disillusionment and bitterness might be believed by the book. But there is no doubting the hatred."

Finally the CP powers decided to have the Daily Worker shift

## Howard Fast's Challenge To Members of CP

"The secret report [of Khrushchev] is central. For years Trotsky was the devil's own name, and no Communist was permitted to read him, much less quote him. But a few weeks before writing this, I opened Leon Trotsky's book, *The Revolution Betrayed*. I had not looked at it for almost twenty years, but its words rang with the terrible timeliness of a commentary on the Khrushchev report written today. Yet the book was published in 1937."

"I care little at this point about denunciations by Communists, but I feel impelled to suggest that the right to challenge me be earned. I defy Communists to read the secret report again, fully, carefully, and then to balance against it Trotsky's *Revolution Betrayed*—and having done so, to refute me. As for those who will not read the evidence, their minds are locked and the Party has had its way with them." —*The Naked God*, p. 57.

from silence to the hatchet. A forum on *The Naked God* was announced in the Dec. 19 issue at which Philip Bonosky, novelist; Sidney Finkelstein, critic; and Harold Collins, veteran Marxist educator, will be participants in this collective analysis of the basic issues posed by the appearance of Fast's book.

On the same page, a full column signed by Simon W. Gerson indicates what can be expected in the "collective analysis." *The Naked God*, Gerson tells us, is a "cold war book."

"Howard Fast has joined the dreary I-woke-from-a-nightmare school of literature. . . ." Harry Schwartz, the New York Times high priest of anti-Communism, has placed his unlovely imprimatur on the book and assigned Fast his politico-literary part."

Gerson recognizes the necessity of at least appearing to meet the central issue of the meaning of the Khrushchev report on Stalin's crimes and paranoia. He does this by claiming credit for the fact that "the Khrushchev report WAS deliv-

ered," and that this indicates a "historically irreversible" "democratization process." Moreover, other people have "read the report, agonized over it and reached utterly different conclusions from Fast's."

Gerson grudgingly admits that Fast "made lasting contributions to our culture and understanding of the roots of American history," but . . . "Whatever his disclaimers, Fast has today become an instrument of the cold war."

This is the Stalinist reply to *The Naked God*. As one may gather, it is striking proof of the fact that despite all the pious "self-criticism" over making a cult of Stalin, the CP literary hacks are still imitating the style of the late paranoid dictator.

That such a wretched campaign could succeed in its aim of driving Howard Fast "to the bosom of the worst reactionaries" is difficult to believe. We await with interest the further political evolution of the author of *The Naked God*.

## Bureaucrats No Asset to USSR

In another place the author strongly indicates his pro-socialist, pro-Soviet position: "The Russian people and the Chinese people are on the brink of such growth and fruition as was never dreamed of in the first decades of this century—even as the whole world stands on the very doorstep of an internationally functioning civilization that can once and for all do away with war and want. Only a fool could imagine that the clique of madmen who—by Khrushchev's own testimony—almost lost the war with Germany are a positive asset in the building of Russian civilization. There is nothing conceivable of creation in the Soviet Union that the Soviet people cannot create, the workers and engineers and scientists and teachers and artists. Rid of the parasitic burden of the Communist Party, given a democratic government upon their socially owned base, they could in short order turn their land into a garden of plenty." (p. 170)

Moreover, Fast notifies the witch-hunters that his resignation from the Communist party does not signify any intention on his part to join the renegades and stool pigeons who cooperated with the government in its persecution of the party: "So far as I am concerned, out of a knowledge I paid a price for, there is no Communist conspiracy in the terms paraded by

the sensation-mongers and the professional anti-Communists. A senseless fabrication has been used to cover a truth more terrible and damning than these dream merchants could ever create—the truth of what there is, the Communist party." (p. 159)

Fast's exposure of Stalinism covers two complementary fields—what he experienced directly in the Communist party and what he learned from authoritative Stalinist sources about the reality in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The report is addressed primarily to rank-and-file members of the Communist party, with whom Fast identifies himself, but everyone in the radical movement should find the account both informative and absorbing.

In the American Communist party, Fast testifies, an abyss divides the bureaucrats and the rank and file. The bureaucrats are careerist authoritarians who not only lay down the line, whatever it may be at the moment, but seek to impose their reactionary views on the rank and file in every field from psychiatry to painting. As a writer, Fast got a good intimation of what writers directly under Moscow's rule must undergo. He cites incident after incident to show how the petty bureaucrats of the American CP seek to imitate the totalitarian bureaucrats in the Soviet area.

## A Picture of Sheer Nightmare

What Fast learned about the social and political reality in the Soviet bloc confirms the fearsome picture of Stalinist rule already known from countless other sources—the official ignorance, brutality, anti-Semitism, abuse of power, parasitism, and so on.

For instance, "the trials of Zinoviev, Bukharin and Trotsky were part and parcel of this dehumanization of so-called leaders into a bureaucracy of terror, murder, and fear—an incredible swindle exercised on decent folk the world over. . ." (p. 18)

Again—a Pole "highly placed in government and Party councils" told a visiting Communist from America "that, in the course of this murderous business over the years, some fifteen million people felt the direct effect of the terror in prison and concentration camp—and some five million of them died." (pp. 56-57)

In June 1956, Fast wrote a column in the Daily Worker denouncing the lack of civil rights and liberties in the Soviet Union "Between the appearance of that column and the public announcement of my leaving the Party, a number of diplomats and newspapermen from some of what are referred to here in America as the 'satellite nations' sought me out. Some of them were very highly placed persons in the foreign service of their respective countries; others were less highly placed,

Because I had written as I had, because of my past reputation, and because I, as a part of the Communist movement, had opened myself against the Stalinist forces in the Communist Party of the United States, they felt free to talk to me."

"They talked. They spread before my already tortured eyes such a picture of terror, injustice and sheer nightmare as to make Khrushchev's secret speech appear to be only a moderate outline of a never-to-be-remembered whole. They talked coldly, they talked with passion, they talked with hatred. Some wept as they talked. Some lived over the agony of dear comrades murdered by the Soviet secret police, of men robbed of every sense of their own human quality. Some cried out in strangely the same words, 'We have learned how to wait. My land will not be another Hungary.' Others said, 'We will wait and wait. History has a way of being truthful.'" (pp. 34-35)

Fast gives us a good insight into the reasons for the impact of Khrushchev's secret speech at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union. Despite many misgivings over the years, he, like some of the best representatives of the rank and file, stuck with the CP. They did not want to leave while the party was under attack from the McCarthyites. More important, they still believed in socialism and saw

# Labor-Policy Crisis Seen Behind Cabinet Resignations in Britain

By Peter Fryer

Special London Correspondent

LONDON.—Why did the Chancellor of the Exchequer resign? Was it for the reason stated; that the Chancellor would not countenance an increase of £50 million in British Government spending? Or were there other, deeper, reasons?

One suggestion has been rather widely canvassed is that the resignations had something to do with the leakage of information about the rise in Bank rate; that the Treasury Ministers, in other words, were getting out before the tribunal which has been inquiring into this leakage reports, so cushioning the possibly damaging effects of the report on the Tory Government. While this suggestion cannot be

entirely ruled out, there is no evidence available to back it up. There is no need for speculation, however. The issues are clear. Thorneycroft and his colleagues represent that diehard wing of the Conservative Party which want to get really tough with the workers. If he had had his way the Chancellor would have slashed various social benefits, including family allowances, school meals, welfare food and welfare milk.

He would have been prepared to have a head-on clash with the forces of organized Labor. The rest of the British Cabinet were not prepared to go as far as Thorneycroft thought it wise to go.

Does this mean that the Macmillan wing is any less interested in prosecuting the offensive against working-class living

standards? Not in the least. It is a question of tactics. Macmillan does not want a complete break with the right-wing trade union leadership. He believes they can help in holding back wage struggles. In this he is probably right. So he is interested in not making life too difficult for them, in not provoking their members with the sort of drastic cuts that Thorneycroft wished to operate.

Moreover Macmillan wants to win the next general election, which is due in 1960, and if he can now pose (quite hypocritically) as a champion and defender of the social services—well, it may upset some of the middle-class suburban Tories who think the entire remaining structure of the "Welfare State" should be dismantled, but it might prevent a fair number of working-class non-voters from turning out and voting anti-Tory.

UNSTABLE GOVERNMENT

More important than these tactical considerations of Macmillan's, however, are the objective stresses and strains of the British capitalist economy, which drive the ruling class on to a showdown with the workers. This is probably the most unstable peacetime government Britain has had for a generation. There is no doubt whatever that the workers were given a lead they could force through a

general election within a matter of months, if not weeks. The trouble is that the lead is not there.

The Labor Party leaders have shown no sign whatever this week of utilizing the crisis in the interests of the British people. On a whole host of questions—rocket bases, hydrogen-bomb tests and flights, rent increases, wage claims and so on—there is ample feeling against the Government.

In this potentially explosive situation the sudden, dramatic resignations could have had all the effect of a blazing torch. But it needed the intervention of the Labor leaders. They have been content with words. They have acted like men terribly afraid of the forces they might conjure up if they were rash enough to bring the workers on to the streets in demonstrations, or out of the factories in protest strikes.

## Ohio T-H Case Witness

(Continued from page 1)

ative of the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, kicked out of the CIO in 1949 for alleged Communist domination."

Gardner now has a home in Butte, Montana and works for the AFL-CIO Building Laborers Union. "He interrupted a union assignment in Anchorage, Alaska, to testify," according to the Press report.

Union observers of the trial are wondering whether the Ethical Practices Committee of the AFL-CIO will take a stand on the ethics of union officials, paid by the rank and file to serve the interests of labor, acting as informers for the FBI.

"My union sent me to Anchorage (Alaska) to stop Communist infiltration into the union up there," Gardner said in the Press interview. "They figured I did so much infiltrating during my years in the party that I would know how to stop it. I think I've done a pretty good job in Anchorage."

How did he "stop Communist infiltration in the union" in Anchorage?

FINGERED UNION MEMBERS TO FBI

Gardner admitted under cross-examination by defense attorney Henry Kossling that he had given information to the FBI in Anchorage, Alaska, and elsewhere, but said he did not mention those matters in the Cleveland trial because they dealt

with individuals not connected with this case.

While Gardner was so busy combating "Communist infiltration" in the Laborers Union by fingering people to the FBI, and doing a "pretty good job," according to his own opinion, what was the result?

Here's what the Alaska Spotlight, a Negro weekly newspaper published in Anchorage reported on Nov. 9 and the Militant reprinted in its "Negro Struggle" column of Dec. 9, 1957:

"Last summer . . . Negro laborers were finding it almost impossible to get jobs, because, they said, the officials of the local laborers' union were 'practicing race discrimination.' Now these men are threatened with disciplinary action because they did complain about the treatment they were receiving. . . ."

AID AND COMFORT TO TAFT-HARTLEY

What his appearance in the Cleveland Taft-Hartley conspiracy trial as a prosecution witness means is that he has switched from opposition to support of the anti-labor Taft-Hartley law and the non-Communist affidavit requirements. That puts him way to the right even of U.S. Labor Secretary Mitchell who said, in a speech on Dec. 5, that the affidavit provision should be repealed.

The trial resumes Jan. 20 with motions by defense attorneys and presentation of their witnesses.

## Marxism And Art

With the revelations of the suppression of the artist under Stalinism, there has been a growing discussion of the relationship of Marxism and the artist. Such issues as "proletarian culture" and "socialist realism" have come up for renewed interest. These and other related questions receive a searching treatment by Trent Hutter in his review-article of Trotsky's book, "Literature and Revolution," in the Winter Issue of the International Socialist Review.

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### Unemployment in Steel

Over one-fourth of the 1.2 million members of the United Steelworkers of America are now unemployed or working part time. At a conference of local USA officials held in Washington early this month, USA president David J. McDonald made a speech on this problem. He proposed an immediate \$15 billion school building program as "one way" to put people to work. He also called for a greatly increased public works program.

At the same time, the Steelworkers president declared support to the United Auto Workers in what was expected to be a fight for the shorter work week in 1958. (The steel conference was held before UAW president Walter Reuther knifed the shorter work-week demand.)

These statements by McDonald are in the right direction. To meet the present crisis, the labor movement must fight for direct and immediate measures to aid the unemployed and must demand the full utilization of the country's productive capacity to enrich the lives of the people. So far, McDonald has limited action on his proposals to appeals to Congress. But it is clear that nothing will come of that as long as the twin political parties of Big Business control that body.

The failure of the union leadership to mobilize the ranks for action has sharpened the struggle between the workers for the available jobs, with the young pitted against the old and the employed against the unemployed. (See report from Youngstown on page 1.)

Drastic changes within the labor movement will be necessary if an effective program to meet the present crisis is to be put into effect. For that will require a policy of struggle.

In the first place, the unions should be mobilizing the unemployed themselves into councils to fight for immediate local measures and to secure the maximum relief. These councils, together with the unions could organize effective campaigns of mass pressure for such demands as: a moratorium on all foreclosures and repossessions while the workers are unemployed or on part time; free medical care for the needy; free distribution of surplus foods; unemployment compensation at union rates for all unemployed, including young people just out of school and seeking jobs.

Collective bargaining demands must also meet the unemployment problem directly. The shorter work-week demand, 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, is made to order for this crisis.

Above all, it is necessary to solve the problem politically by independent labor political action and the formation of a labor party. Both the Democratic and Republican leaders have declared themselves to be bent on increasing only war expenditures and keeping public works cut to the bone. They believe that the workers will simply have to tighten the belt. Is there any doubt about the treatment McDonald's school building proposal will get from either of the capitalist parties?

(Continued from page 1)

knew Laura from the days in Chicago shortly after she joined the Socialist Workers Party. Later, their collaboration on the Militant was an essential part of the collective process of the paper's staff work.

His moving tribute to his comrade and fellow worker on the Militant staff over the 14 years of her participation, gave an appreciation of Laura Gray that all who knew her wanted to hear expressed at this memorial meeting.

#### FIRST CARTOON

Preis told the story of Laura's first effort as a cartoonist. He said, "Symbolically, her first venture in cartooning was in aid of a group of Chicago auto union militants in a struggle. I had been asked to assist in putting out a paper for a group of Chicago Studebaker unionists. I recalled Laura's artistic skill, including a gift for satire I had seen in several of her works. I asked her if she would try her hand on a cartoon for the union paper. From that first cartoon, I knew Laura and the Militant were made for each other."

Preis concluded his talk on an optimistic note.

"We will never have another Laura," said Art Preis. "But somewhere in this land, right now, there are girls and boys, young women and men, who will come to hear of her and see the work she did. And her work will light a flame in them. They will come forward with their talents and courage to take up the noble work to which our lovely Laura's life was dedicated."

#### PROJECTS BOOK OF HER CARTOONS

The final speaker was Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. Dobbs concluded his talk with the project of a memorial tribute to Laura Gray, the publication of a book of her cartoons. He pointed out that a "spontaneous movement has already developed" to make this project possible.

"A book of that kind," Dobbs said, "if you visualize for a moment the general panorama of Laura's cartoons, would constitute a vivid pictorial history of the years of class struggle since the Second World War. It would provide valuable material for socialist education. It would serve as a textbook in the teaching of young revolutionary artists yet to come. And it would inspire them to carry on in her great tradition."

The memorial meeting for Laura Gray ended with the singing of the anthem of the world socialist movement, the "Internationale."

#### Socialism And Art

"... even a successful solution of the elementary problems of food, clothing, shelter and even of literacy, would in no way signify a complete victory of the new historic principle, that is of Socialism. Only a movement of scientific thought on a national scale and the development of a new art would signify that the historic seed has not only grown into a plant, but has even flowered. In this sense, the development of art is the highest test of the vitality and significance of each epoch."

Leon Trotsky, Literature and Revolution, page 9.

### The Senator from Outer Space

Recently a psychiatrist recounted an unsettling experience that he said he had gone through with a patient. The patient, a scientist, had developed the hallucination that he was making regular trips to planets in outer space and was even drawing detailed maps of his trips. The psychiatrist tried to humor him by studying and discussing these space maps with him. Soon the doctor became convinced by the patient and was himself taking off to stellar regions. Fortunately, the patient snapped himself out of it and then was able to straighten out the doctor.

This story came to mind as we read in the Jan. 18 issue of Business Week that the Senate Democratic majority leader, Lyndon Johnson of Texas, now "sees himself as the 'space conscience' for Congress," and that Johnson "revealed himself as a space statesman" in a speech to his fellow-Democrats. It is further reported that the Senator is viewed by many as having "come under some influence."

Business Week lets us in on the fact that the new influence in Johnson's life is Dr. Edward ("Father of the H-bomb") Teller, a man equally at home in outer space and the lower depths. Teller is the man who assured America that it could not lose a nuclear war because we could all hide out "in deep underground shelters" with a two-year food supply and "in two years we would have had enough time to find out where food can be grown again." (More recently he conjured up a

picture of a hydrogen bomb purer than Ivory soap).

Johnson became sold on Teller, says Business Week, when he heard Teller assert "that Russia could destroy our nation without firing a shot through control of weather." An obviously sympathetic associate of Johnson's remarked, "That's something that is understandable to a Texan—drought, rain, tides..."

The point became the axis of Johnson's "space" speech. He told his awe-struck Senate colleagues how "the masters of infinity would have the power to cause drought and flood—to change the tides and raise the levels of the sea—to divert the Gulf Stream and change temperate climates to frigid. There is something... more important than the ultimate weapon," declared Johnson. "that is the ultimate position—the position of total control over earth that lies somewhere in outer space." In his conclusion Johnson said, "... our national goal... must be to win and hold that position."

Johnson shares the paranoid urge to win "total control over earth" with most other spokesmen of U. S. Big Business in both parties. Unfortunately, unlike the scientist in the story, those who make the American ruling class will not snap out of their far more demented visions. Their goal of world mastery, as Johnson made clear in his speech, is to be pursued through a monstrously stepped-up missile race, with the U. S. working people condemned to slave and suffer for its realization.

### 'Her Humor Was a Source of Delight'

We publish below some of the stories about Laura Gray told by her close friend, Constance Weissman, at the N. Y. memorial meeting.

Although the mildest and quietest of beings, Laura could lash out in fury, especially when her own territory was attacked. I remember once when a misguided friend of hers started giving her a lecture on her sculpture. He knew Laura as a quiet person who listened intently to political discussions and who always treated him with shy respect. Knowing nothing whatsoever about modern sculpture, he gave her a condescending lecture which revealed that

he had no idea of what it was all about. He got the surprise of his life. She lashed out at him with a fury and devastating attack on his philistinism which left him gasping. It was an indication of the capacity for indignation in defense of the truth that smoldered within her.

She had such a wealth of talent, such perfect taste—and always her abilities were at the beck and call, not only of the Party, but of her friends and comrades. When we were first building our camp, doing the best we could with amateur labor, among other things, Laura painted the walls of our recreation room in a most elegant style; did an abstract design on the hot water boiler; painted checkerboards on the home-made tables, upholstered chairs, in fact beautified everything she touched. She was as serious, careful and concerned as though preparing for an art show...

There is no doubt that in making her own living she was often taken advantage of. But at least once she won a battle against an exploiter. This was when her little ceramic cats were plagiarized by the owner of the shop where they had origi-

nally been sold. With the help of a friend she took the case to court and won.

All of us who were close to her knew how she labored over her cartoons. Sometimes, if she was not satisfied, she would do the same one twice, finishing both of them and bringing them into the editor to choose. It always dismayed us that she worked so close to the deadline that she was up all night.

Laura was so shy of officialdom that she even worried about buying a money order in the post office. Yet she stole herself to go through the ordeal of job-hunting. First, she applied for work in a laundromat. But they didn't think she looked strong enough. So then she took a job painting the faces of store-window dummies at 75c a piece. Each face took her about an hour, for it was impossible for Laura to do anything superficially. She put her best effort into this as everything else...

Laura's brand of humor was a never-ending source of delight to her friends. One time, she bought some odds and ends of fur at a rummage sale, made a pair of huge slippers in which she used to glide over the floor

of her apartment to polish it...

Laura loved to dance—her brand of dancing, a gentle, satirical series of steps, with her eyes demurely cast down, as though poking fun at herself. It was a great delight to us all—especially when she said to her partner, "Let me lead..."

Her imagination in decorating her apartment was sheer genius. She made a coffee table out of one of those big wooden spoils that are left on the street by the Consolidated Edison Co. Once she got hold of a real big spool, dragged it upstairs and made that into a sort of chair on which you could roll gently back and forth. She made a beautiful screen out of the mesh bath that is used for building plaster walls.

Comrade Cannon used to say, referring to her cartoons, "When you think of the mighty power in that delicate little person..." But when you shook hands with Laura, you knew that those fragile-seeming fingers were mighty strong.

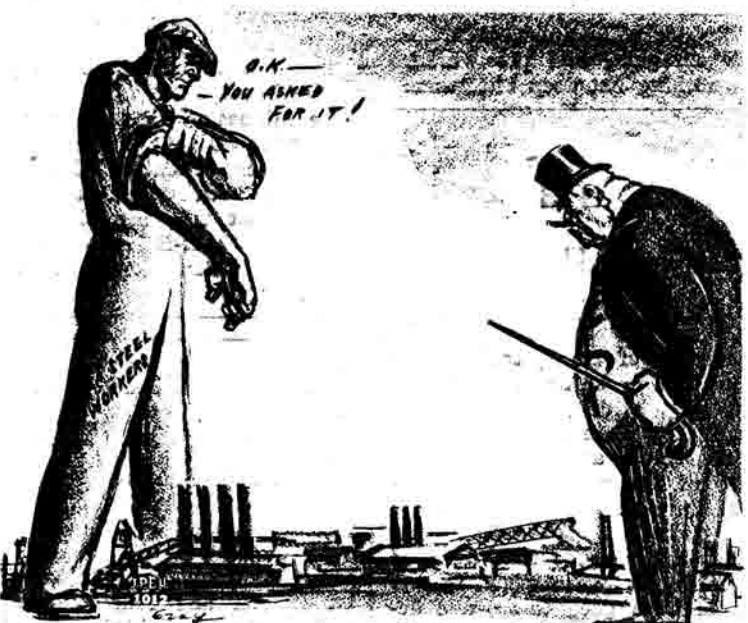
And I think this is what will stay with us about Laura forever—her great strength of character in the conduct of her life.

#### Burnt Offering



Reprinted from the Militant, June 29, 1953

#### A Test of Strength



Reprinted from the Militant, December 24, 1951

We print the four Laura Gray cartoons above and the eight we reprinted last week not as her "best" but as among her best. For her best is a category that would include well over two hun-

#### Look Out Below



Reprinted from the Militant, May 9, 1955

#### Space Statesmen



Reprinted from the Militant, Oct. 28, 1957

dred by the gifted artist, who in our opinion was the greatest political cartoonist of her generation. The project to publish a volume of her cartoons is under way. We hope for its early completion.

### 'She Was a Fighter All the Way'

(Excerpts from speech of Farrell Dobbs at Laura Gray Memorial meeting in New York, Jan. 16.)

When I learned Saturday morning of the passing of Comrade Laura, my mind went back to the time in 1944 when Laura came to those of us who were in Sandstone prison. She came through those prison walls in her cartoons in the Militant, which began to appear in that year and as the comrades remarked at the time, she came with a clatter and she came with a bang.

We were struck immediately by the stark power in Laura's cartoons. After we had seen the first few of them, we were impressed by the skill with which she taught the political essence of the class-struggle issues of the day. As more cartoons appeared we were profoundly gratified that she was growing in stature as a cartoonist, project by project. It became clear that we had here a comrade of great talent, of great promise, with a profound capacity to learn and to grow.

She lifted us up as she did everyone in the Party and we recognized her as a good fighter. In the 14 years since then we have never had occasion to change that evaluation. Just the opposite. She demonstrated over and over again that she was a good fighter and a fighter all the way...

As Comrade Cannon wrote in the article I just read from, (reprinted in last week's Militant) artists are a selection of exceptional people who seek to realize themselves through their art. They need above everything, freedom of self-expression, a freedom that's very hard to find under capitalism. They come to the labor movement because their salvation lies in allying themselves with the workers' power. In time some come to learn that. They join the struggle for an enlightened socialist society and it is wise for the workers to welcome the intellectuals as allies.

Despite all the good intentions on both sides, however, the relations within the alliance are not always harmonious. Problems of an organizational character intrude, problems involving the relation of the one to the

many, which is a matter of vital concern in all organs of struggle.

A worker as an isolated individual tends to feel himself handicapped. His strength, he more or less instinctively senses, derives from numbers and a feeling of organizational discipline. A capacity to respond to the needs of organization reside within a worker. It comes from his social position as a worker under capitalism stemming from fundamental premises of the division of labor and everything that flows from it. A worker tends more readily to adapt himself to the needs of political organization.

For the intellectual the situation is somewhat different. An

intellectual relies more on his personal knowledge and ability. It is hard for him to subordinate his individuality within an organization. And he often feels himself above the discipline of the majority. A contradiction constantly confronts him that is sometimes hard to resolve, a contradiction wherein the urge to individuality as an intellectual tends to clash with the need for selfless personal conduct as a socialist fighter.

It is precisely here that Comrade Laura's life exemplified the solution of this contradiction. Laura's fame as an artist left her unpretentious. No party task was beneath her dignity. She paid her dues conscientiously. She attended meetings. She

participated in distributions, went out on petition work in election campaigns. And in addition to her magnificent work as a cartoonist in the Militant she did a great deal of routine party work in which she did as in all things, her very best...

I felt and I believe this feeling was general, that very often she went a remarkably long way in capturing the universal in the particular presentation in a given cartoon. A basic class issue would be brought forth in sharp light in a cartoon dealing with a concrete event. These were of the essence of the presentation of Laura's. It was this character, this depth in her work, that brought such appreciation from the movement...

### Messages Tell of Sorrow

(The following are excerpts from several of the messages expressing sorrow over Laura Gray's death sent to the New York Memorial meeting by Socialist Workers Party branches throughout the country.)

We deeply mourn the death of Laura Gray and pledge ourselves to continue the struggle to which she dedicated herself.

San Francisco, Calif.

Boston branch extends its deepest sympathy and expresses its great sorrow on the death of such a fine person and artist as Laura Gray.

Boston, Mass.

We express our deep regret over the loss of Laura Gray—a loss not only to the Party but to all workers. In serving to advance the cause of the class struggle she has helped the liberating struggle of workers all over the world.

Youngstown, Ohio

Each week, when we open the Militant, many of us look first for Laura Gray's cartoons as one of its outstanding features. It is hard and sad to realize that her hand will no more hold the crayon that gave such sparkling and incisive comment on the po-

litical events and personalities of our time.

Los Angeles, Calif.

The Seattle branch mourns for that rarest of persons, the artist-revolutionist. She enriched our lives for so many years and her work became so much a part of us that even her tragic death will not deprive us of her indomitable spirit.

Seattle, Wash.

We shall miss Laura Gray's keen and inspiring cartoons, her rare talent for laughing and making others laugh at the sacred cows of capitalism in a single picture. Quiet Laura could express our views better than a thousand words. We are proud that she was our comrade.

Cleveland, Ohio

Some of us knew her personally and mourn the loss of a friend. All of us knew her revolutionary spirit, her matchless ability, her keen intelligence, which made her art the highest expression of the socialist fight against capitalism. Frail in body but indomitable in spirit, her life set an example for all revolutionary socialists to follow.

Twin Cities, Minn.

Those of us who knew Laura Gray personally loved her. Her

sensitivity to human want, her understanding of trouble and frailty, her quiet courage, her simple contempt for all that is false, her creative art which she hammered into a weapon of the revolution—all combined to make her a splendid fighter and a beautiful person. Her art will live to be reprinted many times. It will be seen and understood by many millions as the socialist cause she fought for becomes the cause of the great mass of American workers...

Philadelphia, Penn.

Laura Gray gave herself to the cause of socialism, without stint or reservation. She asked nothing in return. She got much—a high purpose in life, the satisfaction of contributing to its achievement, the respect and love of all who knew and worked with her. There aren't many people today who live lives as good or rewarding.

Laura was an indomitable spirit in a frail body. The body wore out, as all bodies must. But her example survives as part of our collective consciousness, inspiring us to continue the struggle for a socialist society where people with her courage and sweetness can be the rule rather than the exception.

Detroit, Mich.

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# 'We Paid You, Didn't We?'

By a Ford Worker

Seven weeks ago, we the members of United Auto Workers Local 425, employed at the Ford Motor Co. automobile assembly plant in Buffalo, were not very concerned over the fact that a loaf of bread cost a little more than it did a year ago. Nor did the rise of a man-made satellite by the Soviet Union faze us too much.

Militancy in the plant wasn't as high as it could've been. And after all, many of us thought, why should we concern ourselves much about these things? We were working 57 hours a week—which was rough—but incomes were higher than we had ever known.

Then, among some of those whose families were grown, or where a wife was working too, it was possible to put a down payment on that small home out in the suburbs that the family admired so much, and there was the down payment on the new car (not too high-priced if paid out in three years). And, oh, of course, the payment on the TV and the automatic washer. True, all these things would yet have to be paid for, but 1958 was going to be a good year for industry and there would be full employment—at least so all the newspapers and leaders of this country said. So why shouldn't we buy a little more of the things that make life pleasant.

## THE LAY-OFFS CAME

Then, one day, overtime began to fall off. "Well, so what? We don't make any overtime for a while, but things will pick up in a few weeks." So went the cheery comments of the workers in the plant. But things didn't pick up—and then came the lay-offs. Four million reported unemployment throughout the country, we heard, and more every day. But still the bitter reality didn't sink in. Around the plant could be heard... "So, if I get laid off for maybe a month, with SUB and unemployment insurance, I'll get by for a little while, and things will pick up soon."

Then suddenly, what had been a long, far away rumor, became a reality. It has been announced that the Buffalo assembly plant is to close down permanently and completely on Feb. 14. This plant, in operation since 1926, has been

declared obsolete. Ford is replacing it with a new, highly automated assembly plant in Lorain, Ohio.

Actually, the company must have decided a long time ago to close this plant, but workers, young and old, most of them with dependent families, were treated with callous disregard by Ford after a lifetime of service. They were given a few bare weeks notice that their jobs were ended.

Panic showed its face in the plant this week. Some workers talked of leaving Buffalo to try to get a job with Ford in Lorain, Ohio, but all around the plant today you could hear remarks such as these: "I've worked 26 years here. I am 56 years old now, and cannot go to Lorain. Who will give me a job at my age? What is to become of my family?" Or: "I am 32, and have a wife and two kids. I guess we'll have to leave everyone we know and go to Lorain. But where will I get the money to move?" Or: "I just put a down payment on a house. How can I move?" Or: "Will I lose the house and everything I put into it?" Everywhere workers are afraid they will lose the new appliances as yet unpaid for.

This is the pathetic picture of the workers in our plant today. However, the company has the answer to all the questions put forth by the workers. They say: "So you've worked 26 years for us. Well, we've paid you for every day you've worked. We owe you nothing."

## FORD'S ANSWER

The Ford Company takes the huge profits they have made out of our sweat and moves on. It leaves 1,500 workers jobless or faced with the necessity of uprooting themselves and families from everything they hold dear and moving to wherever Ford can make greater profits. And then, how long will they have jobs there?

The union leadership thought they could make Ford stay in Buffalo by cringing before him and putting ads in the paper begging the Ford Company not to shut down. But militant workers know that cringing only makes such heartless corporations more arrogant, and the workers here are left with nothing but deep bitterness.

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## Heikkinen Deportation Reversed

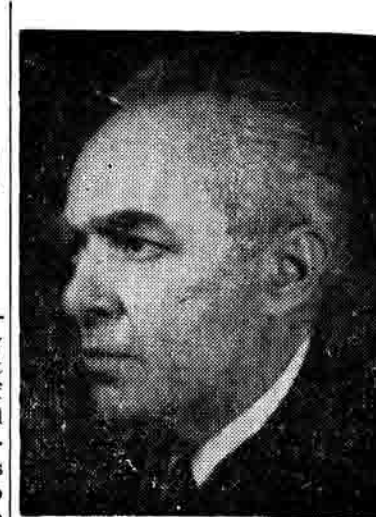
Minneapolis — The Supreme Court, Jan. 6 unanimously reversed the conviction of Knut Einar Heikkinen on charges of wilfully failing to obtain travel documents and disobeying a deportation order. The high court's opinion stated that since no country had agreed to receive him, he could not be convicted for failure to leave.

Heikkinen, who was associate editor of a Finnish-language newspaper in Superior, Wis., when the deportation order was issued in 1952, had been sentenced to five years.

Persecuted and harassed ever since, his freedom was restricted to the area immediately around Superior. At the time of his conviction, the judge openly stated that he intended to make an example of him in order to discourage others.

A native of Finland, Heikkinen has made his home in the United States for 41 years. Like Charles Rowoldt, who was recently freed by the Supreme Court, his deportation order was based on past Communist Party membership.

The Minnesota Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, which conducted the defense for both cases, has announced that they are planning a joint Rowoldt-Heikkinen Victory celebration sometime in March.



DR. OTTO NATHAN will discuss the problems of War and Peace at the Militant Labor Forum in New York on Saturday, Feb. 1, at 8:30 P.M.

## N.Y. Forum Will Hear Dr. Nathan

Dr. Otto Nathan, noted economist and executor of the Einstein estate, will speak on the question, "War and Peace in the Atomic Age," at the Militant Labor Forum on Sat., Feb. 1, at 8:30 P.M. The meeting will be held at 116 University Place, New York City.

Dr. Nathan's close association over the years with Dr. Albert Einstein, who provided the theoretical foundations for the development of atomic energy, lends special interest to his speech on this particular question, particularly in relation to his discussion of the qualitative changes in the weapons of war.

A life-long independent socialist, Dr. Nathan has been an outspoken proponent of Marxism throughout his teaching career. He has been a target of the witch hunt for his advocacy of socialism and his vigorous defense of civil liberties. Recently he won reversal of a contempt-of-Congress conviction arising out of unsuccessful State Department efforts to deny him a passport.

Meanwhile, it was reported, Jan. 22, that Dr. Nathan was made the subject of a blacklisting decision from an entirely different quarter. A spokesman for the Militant Labor Forum said that the Worker had refused to accept a paid advertisement for Dr. Nathan's meeting. Simon Gerson, executive editor of the Worker, refused to explain why the ad was turned down. In recent months similar ads by the Militant Labor Forum had been accepted by both the Daily Worker and the Worker.

## Socialist Candidate in Seattle Answers Questions of Press

By Jack Wright

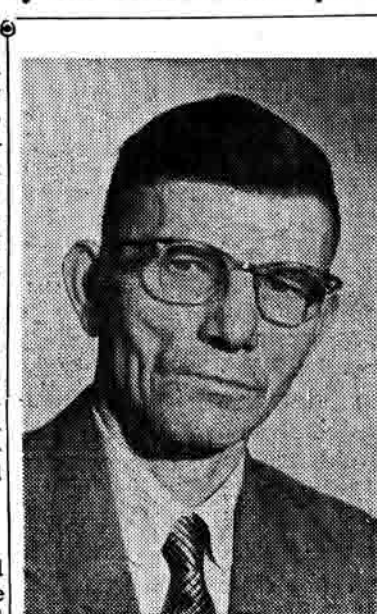
SEATTLE — On Jan. 9 I accepted an invitation by the Seattle Municipal League to attend a press conference along with other candidates in the city election. The candidates were called in one by one before a battery of about 25 or 30 newspaper reporters and editorial writers to state their program and answer questions. We were given a piece of paper with six or eight questions as a guide to those we were supposed to answer. These questions began with how we stood the "Metropolitan Plan", a plan to centralize the administration of sewers, garbage disposal, water, etc.

When I was called in and was seated in front of the reporters, I answered the first question in the affirmative that I was in favor of the "Metropolitan Plan", provided it was administered by a commission elected by the people.

I then took exception to all the remaining questions on the ground that they were trivial and secondary matters. I said, "I am surprised that with all the burning issues that confront working people of Seattle—issues such as discrimination, unemployment, over-taxation of small home-owners and a transit system that is woefully inefficient with low wages for employees and high fares for working people (20¢) and the largest beneficiary, Boeing Aircraft, paying no tax into the City Treasury—the Municipal League should have raised minor issues that cannot be satisfactorily solved in a war economy instead of the fundamental issues."

I was thereupon told by the moderator that I could be questioned on these matters if I so desired, which the reporters, interested in my approach, proceeded to do with gusto.

I pointed out that there were close to 30,000 Negro people in Seattle. Yet there was not one Negro on the Seattle Fire Department; that last spring when the transit workers asked for a pitifully few cents an hour raise, they were confronted with a court injunction when they went on strike; that Boeing Aircraft, which is just outside the city limits, does not pay one cent of taxes to the city, and yet is the biggest beneficiary of the transit system. I recom-



JACK WRIGHT

mented that a special levy be placed on Boeing so that it would pay its fair share of operating the buses, and that the Transit Workers Union administer the system.

TAX RICH, NOT POOR

On taxation I stated that my program was for a graduated income tax with a \$7,500 floor and 100% tax on all incomes over \$25,000 a year. I favored a direct tax on mortgage companies and banks for their equities in mortgages on homes, thus exempting the small homeowner from taxes for that portion of his home that was not as yet paid for.

In the questions that followed, some of the reporters kept trying to get me to discuss petty issues such as pin-ball machines. I steadfastly refused to discuss these issues, stating, "Any City Council worth its salt could decide these issues in a few minutes without extended debate. If I were elected to the Council I could be relied upon to decide any issue on the side of the best interests of the working class."

I was then asked by one reporter if I was a member of the Socialist Workers Party, to which I promptly answered that I was. He looked surprised, then asked me to briefly explain the differences among radical parties. I explained that their differences, fundamentally, hinged on their positions on the Soviet Union; that the Socialist Labor Party, which ignores the workers' daily struggles and the Socialist Party which promises gradual reforms are both anti-Soviet. The Communist Party supports the Kremlin bureaucracy and the SWP supports the Soviet Union as a workers' state with progressive property forms but opposes the degenerate bureaucratic caste and calls for a political revolution.

INVOKES FIFTH

Another reporter asked me if I knew any Communists. I said I did. He asked me to name them. I said, "I'll have to take the Fifth Amendment on that one. I am not an informer and I am opposed to witch-hunts." This got a big chuckle out of the rest of the reporters and the one who asked the question appeared considerably embarrassed—as well he should have been.

## Wright's Program for Democracy

### (1) FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY.

Let the industries, needed by all of society and built by social labor, be operated democratically by the workers for the good of society. End industrial tyranny where a tiny minority of rich hire and fire at will.

### (2) FOR DEMOCRACY IN GOVERNMENT.

Let the people decide all issues that affect their lives in war and peace. End discrimination beginning with Seattle's Fire Department. Tax the real homeowners—the banks, mortgage and finance companies. Levy a tax on Boeing Airplane Co., the primary beneficiary of the transit system, for the financing of the buses.

### (3) FOR UNION DEMOCRACY.

Defeat all anti-labor legislation. The workers alone can clean their unions of bureaucrats and of corruption.

Only through more democracy, not less, can the working people of Seattle and the nation find the solution to the problems that plague us. Freedom alone will open the door to the socialist future of man.

## Mich. SWP Ballot Drive Yields Big Score Quick

By Sarah Lovell

DETROIT, Jan. 20.—If a single word has to be used to describe the Socialist Workers Party's campaign to put a socialist ticket on the ballot in 1958, then the word would be "astonishing." If two words are allowed, they could be "astonishingly good."

It was announced last week that the SWP and its friends were trying to collect 30,000 signatures to a nominating petition, and to do it inside of a three-month period.

This goal is around twice the number of 15,315 legally required to qualify for a place on the state ballot this year. But after the 1956 experience, when all the socialist parties were ruled off the ballot on the ground that some of the signatures filed were not good, we decided to take no chances this year, and to turn in so many that no pretexts could be used to keep us off.

## HUGE TASK

I don't mind admitting that I, for one, hesitated at the magnitude of the job we were tackling. If you've ever stood on the street in freezing temperatures for more than an hour at a time—just standing there, let alone talking to people—you'll know what I mean.

Moreover, the petition work involves a large part of the state, not just Detroit. For some people, this means traveling several hours before they even get to their destination, because the signatures must be

collected from at least ten counties, with no more than 35% from any single county.

Well, here is the result as of last Saturday:

In 16 days (that is, days when at least one person was out on the streets, weather permitting) the friends and members of the Socialist Workers Party collected 16,830 signatures to our petition!

These came from 14 counties, including all the big cities in the state—Detroit, Flint, Pontiac, Grand Rapids, Saginaw, Battle Creek, etc.

I don't think anything like this has been done by any radical group or party in Michigan, at least not in the last 20 years.

What's the explanation? Part of it, of course, is due to the hard work of devoted socialists and friends of socialism, who are willing to back up their words with deeds.

## UNEMPLOYMENT ISSUE

But that alone couldn't account for the change from the response we got petitioning in previous years, when the numbers signing were fewer and the rate slower.

Another part of the explanation, and probably the main one, is the impact of unemployment on the minds and sentiments of Michigan workers.

Around a quarter million people in the state are unemployed right now. Millions more, still working full time or part time, are worried, badly worried, about the economic prospects.

They feel, as we were told

thousands of times, that "something has to be done." They are listening, with greater interest than they have shown in many years, to our argument that neither of the two capitalist parties has a program that can lead to economic security and peace. They either agree that we need a labor party, or they feel it would be a good thing, and democratic, to have on the ballot a party advocating a labor party and socialism.

I would estimate that in collecting those 16,830 signatures we must have talked to a minimum of 65,000 people (that's not counting people we tried to stop and talk to, but who wouldn't stop).

## JOBLESS SIGN

We must have spent at least half our time in front of unemployment compensation offices. The proportion of signers there was very high—on most days more than one out of every two people spoken to. The response on downtown street corners was much lower, but still encouraging.

There was little or no red-baiting. Only one petitioner was asked why he didn't go back to Russia. (Quite a difference from 1954, which was also a "recession" year.) Of course, there were many who balked at talk of socialism, but fewer proportionally than in past years.

In general—and I think this is a very important political fact for all socialist and progressive-minded tendencies—the mood was radical, or, to put it more cautiously, receptive to a radical program, especially among the unemployed.

In other words, we were acting more wisely than we realized when we decided that 1958 could be a good year for the spread of socialist ideas, and that a campaign to put a socialist ticket on the ballot was politically indicated, whatever the difficulties might be.

We're already in the second half of our petition campaign. We've proved that it can be done, and simultaneously have also demonstrated, I think, that it should be done.

We still need help, however, and we appeal especially to radicals. Petitions may be obtained from SWP Campaign Headquarters, 3737 Woodward, Detroit. Do it now, so that you won't be faced in November with having to make an embarrassing choice between the two parties of capitalism.

## Twin Cities LABOR FORUM

"The Meaning of the Recent Supreme Court Decisions on Civil Liberties"

Speakers: Art Sternberg—Civil Liberties Lawyer Art Hopkins—Veteran Trade Unionist George Hedlund—Labor Attorney

Fri. Jan. 31—8 P.M. Andrews Hotel, Room M3 Minneapolis

## Calendar of Events

### New York

MILITANT LABOR FORUM CLASSES. Sundays, 5:30 P.M. through Feb. 16, "The Road to Socialism," Instructor, Daniel Roberts. Sundays, 7:15 P.M., "The Negro Struggle for Equality," Instructor, George Lavan. Mondays, 7 P.M. through Feb. 17, "The Soviet Union," Instructor, Murry Weiss. Mondays, 8:45 P.M., "Historical Materialism."

### The Soviet Union WHAT IT IS WHERE IT IS GOING

A guide to the study of Leon Trotsky's "The Revolution Betrayed."

By Theodore Edwards

(Bulletin of Marxist Studies No. 2)

88 mimeographed pages \$1.00

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

Instructor, Vincent Copeland. All classes at 116 University Place.

### Bronx, New York

Symposium and discussion on the "Future of Socialism in the United States" sponsored by the Bronx Socialist Forum, affiliated to the American Forum for Socialist Education. Speakers: Rev. A. J. Muste, Dr. Albert Blumberg, Farrell Dobbs and Joseph Clark. Sunday, Feb. 2 at 8 P.M. at Hunts Point Palace, Southern Boulevard and 163 St., Bronx, N.Y. Donation: 75¢.

### Detroit

A Report on UAW Convention. Friday, Jan. 31, 8 P.M. at 3737 Woodward. Aup.: Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### Chicago

"Nightmare," an original play by Sol and Carol Blackman, followed by food, refreshments and dancing. Saturday, Feb. 8, 8:15 P.M. at 777 W. Adams. Contribution: \$1.00. Students: 25¢. Aup.: Militant Labor Forum.

### Philadelphia

"The Fight for Peace in the Sputnik Age." Speaker: Murry Weiss. Friday, Feb. 7, 8:30 P.M. at 1303 W. Girard Ave. Aup.: Militant Labor Forum.