

# North Carolina Children Win Freedom

## World-Wide Protest Compels Racists to Let Boys Go Home

FEB. 14 — Mounting international pressure compelled racist authorities in North Carolina to reverse themselves yesterday and free Hanover Thompson and David Simpson

Franklin Delano Roosevelt High School in Rotterdam forwarded protest petitions to Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt who turned them over to the NAACP.

The sudden release of the two boys came exactly one month after Gov. Luther Hodges demonstrated his determination to keep them behind bars by assigning the state attorney general to personally handle court rejection of a writ of habeas corpus that had been filed for the boys.

The Committee to Combat Racial Injustice, which sparked the fight for release of the boys in cooperation with the NAACP, said it had received numerous copies of letters of protest and news stories and editorials from here and abroad. Protests were registered against the brutal treatment of the two children in Britain, France, Italy, Scandinavia, Belgium, China, Brazil, Canada and Holland.

The biggest protest abroad developed in Holland where a movement describing itself as "Operation Snowball" waged a wide petition campaign. Tens of thousands of school children, teachers, trade unionists and others protested to the U.S. Embassy, the White House and Governor Hodges. Last week several hundred students at the

The CCRI said it has been receiving petitions signed by thousands of people throughout the country. Outstanding in the petition gathering, it said, were youth of high school and college age. One of the most recent petitions to come in was from a high school in Croton, N.Y., signed by more than 200 youngsters. The committee also pointed out that release of the two boys came one week before a scheduled mass picket-line demonstration before the UN General Assembly sponsored by its youth section.

In its statement today, the CCRI hailed release of the two boys as "a joyful occasion for the children and their mothers and a victory over racial injustice." At the same time it stressed that the victory is only partial insofar as the release is a "conditional" one. Still hanging over the children are three counts of "assault on a white female" as a result of their unconstitutional arrest, so-called trial and commitment to reform school.

Announcement of release of the children by the State Commissioner of Corrections contained this open threat: "If . . . the boys do not receive proper care and guidance from their parents, the local welfare department will recommend the appropriate action to be taken in their interest." In the terminology of North Carolina racist authorities that means return to the reformatory.

The CCRI will seek to have the release made unconditional and the assault charge expunged from the record. It will endeavor to do so by presenting the facts to the public and urging letters, petitions and actions to compel North Carolina authorities to grant full restitution to the children. Conrad Lynn, counsel to the CCRI, said today that legal measures would now be explored to achieve these ends.

A fresh indication of the reaction abroad against efforts to whitewash the North Carolina racists came with the announcement by the CCRI that it had won at least partial results from its protest against false information being issued about the case by the U.S. Embassy in Holland and presumably elsewhere.

The committee was notified (Continued on Page 2)

Vol. XXIII — No. 8

222

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1959

Price 10c

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

## AFL-CIO Heads Debate "March on Washington"



## Cuban Workers Begin To Push Own Demands

By Lillian Kiesel

As Fidel Castro took the office of Premier of Cuba last week, in what many interpreted as a transitional step toward the presidency, the working class gave indications of pushing forward its own demands in the revolution that toppled Batista.

In a strike that closed 21 sugar mills, one owner was presented with 90 demands. "He figures it would cost \$4 million immediately to grant what labor is asking," the Wall Street Journal's Ed Cony reported. "Sample: 500 men were laid off some time ago; they all must be reinstated with full back pay. They might as well take the mill," says the owner.

Castro ordered the workers to return but they would not be persuaded until they were promised support for their demands after the sugar season is over.

In Havana an owner decided to close two restaurants and bars. "But the workers refused to quit when ordered off the job. That night to the vast surprise of management, the workers opened up the El Caribe and the Sugar Bar. They also gave the food and beverage manager orders not to set foot in the kitchen. He obeyed."

Castro has acceded to the pressure to open the gambling casinos. This came from American capitalists but also from 10,000 workers engaged in this feature of "tourism."

The Cuban Electric Co., a \$300-million subsidiary of American & Foreign Power, was forced to reinstate with full back pay hundreds of workers fired as long ago as 1952 because of their political ideas. The company also agreed to grant the equivalent of "life insurance" to survivors of employees killed in the revolution.

Walter Amoss, company president, was the butt of an "Amoss Go Home" campaign. A slow-down strike won a fast general pay hike. Said a top company official: "How much all this is going to cost us, I don't know."

American banks in Havana have been compelled to rehire 45 strike leaders they fired in a 1955 strike.

Vehicles belonging to the Cuban Telephone Co., a subsidiary of International Telephone and Telegraph are taken on motorcades by the workers, sides of the trucks chalked with demands for a 20% wage boost.

A strike of 3,100 construction workers has shut down construction of a \$75-million nickel and cobalt plant of Moa Bay Mining Co. since Jan. 31. High

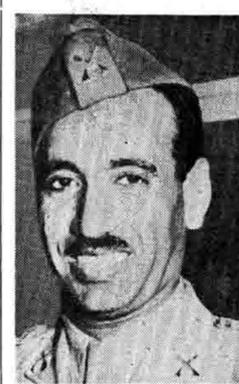
among 25 union demands is a wage increase of 20-40%.

The Wall Street Journal quotes one of its "experts" in Havana as to what is going on in labor's ranks: "You now have Communists and non-Communists competing for power. Each attempts to outbid the other by making greater demands on management. Meantime, at the top, the new labor ministry is confused—a lot of idealists in there with no conception of how to handle labor."

As for Castro, one business man said: "He likes to twist Uncle Sam's beard, and the people love it." However, he doesn't believe Castro is "anti-American." "After all, we've just had a revolution, and Fidel has to sound like a revolutionary."

However, the popular pressure to move ahead is very strong. An unnamed government figure was reported by the Wall Street Journal as saying: "The natural aim of a revolution is to improve the situation of the underdog—the unemployed and the underemployed. Revolutions are not fought to improve the lot of the millionaires."

## Faces Death



Last summer Col. Abdel Salem Aref of the Iraqi army was a participant in the coup d'etat in that country. Now he is on trial on charges of plotting assassination of Premier Kassem. Aref was deputy premier until his rift with Kassem last fall.



Peter Buch, endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party for Board of Education in the Los Angeles election April 7, demands that money for armaments be used for education instead.

## Buch Starts Socialist Campaign

"Schools should teach the truth!" declared Peter Buch, candidate for Los Angeles Board of Education office No. 3 in the April 7 election. "Instead of promoting the militarism of Big Business, tell the truth—that capitalism and its profit-seeking monopolists are the real sources of war. Give the student an education that will prepare him to build a society of freedom, plenty and peace under socialism."

With this fighting program Buch, who is a graduate student of the University of California at Los Angeles, has begun his campaign. He is endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party.

Buch would use his power of office to press for the truthful teaching of the history of the labor and minority movements. He would seek establishment of a "committee of representatives of labor and minorities to advise on the selection of curricula and textbooks to prevent falsification of history and ideas, and to guard against discriminatory practices in the school system."

The socialist candidate asks: "Why billions for war and pennies for education?" He stands for adequate salaries for teachers, free lunches for children wherever needed, adequate schools and academic freedom to allow full and free discussion among teachers and students.

## Jobless Put Heat on Top Bureaucrats

FEB. 17 — With more than five million unemployed and few jobs in sight, pressure is mounting sharply on the top officialdom of the AFL-CIO to do something. This pressure was behind the reported proposal yesterday to the AFL-CIO Executive Council that it organize a mass jobless "March on Washington" to compel Congress and the President to act. The proposal came from Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers and a vice president of the AFL-CIO.

According to reports from San Juan, Puerto Rico, where the union high command is holding its winter meeting, AFL-CIO president George Meany was "cool" to the proposal.

But the very fact that such a proposal could penetrate into a council so remote from the ranks as this conservative body, indicates how bitter the millions of unionists now walking the streets feel about the situation.

Reuther first proposed a march on Washington in a speech at the Michigan AFL-CIO Legislative Council, Feb. 6. His current proposal to the national AFL-CIO Council is backed by the international executive board of the United Auto Workers. At its last meeting it adopted a "UAW Action Program to Get America Back to Work." The program, released Feb. 15, declared:

"The leadership of the AFL-CIO will be called upon to give consideration to organizing a 'March on Washington for Jobs.' All state and county councils and locals of all affiliated international unions would be called upon to cooperate in organizing and financing efforts to mobilize and get to Washington a large number of unemployed workers from all over the country to dramatize the plight of unemployed workers, and their families in order to get prompt and adequate action from the Federal Government in meeting the problem of getting America back to work."

The UAW program also calls for establishment of unemployed committees by the local auto unions.

However, instead of calling for a "spread the work" 30-hour week at 40-hours pay, to go into effect at once, the program advocates only a vaguely determined work week to be (Continued on Page 3)

## Pay Off Is Throw Off

DETROIT — Mayor Louis C. Miriani, elected a little over a year ago with AFL-CIO support, has ordered his welfare department to throw all 2,900 single people on relief off the welfare rolls by April 1. They can live with "working relatives," he said, although they are not put on relief in the first place if they have relatives able to care for them.

The Detroit Common Council, six of whose nine members were elected with AFL-CIO support, has endorsed a proposal to throw all welfare families off relief, a group at a time, and force them to "prove" they need relief before being restored.

It also has expressed endorsement of a proposal to change the state law so that needy people would have to show two years of self-supporting residence before they would qualify for relief, instead of the one year qualification now in effect.

## Cleveland Unions Win Round Against Probers

By Jean Simon

CLEVELAND — The anti-labor drive by federal agencies has not been stopped, but it certainly received a setback when an attempted Justice Department probe of alleged labor racketeering fell flat on its face here recently.

The stage was set for a sensational smear of the local labor movement a month ago with lurid press accounts of an impending federal grand jury investigation. Thirteen labor officials and their union records were subpoenaed. Sources of information and specific charges were not cited. It was stated that the Teamsters Union and the Building Trades Council were the target of the investigation.

But on Jan. 19, the union leaders made it clear they weren't going to take the attack lying down. Motions were filed in federal court asking Judge James C. Connell to quash subpoenas served on the executive secretary of the Cleveland Federation of Labor, a CFL trustee and the business manager of the Building Trades Council.

The subpoenas charged that the subpoenas were "unreasonable and oppressive" and in violation of the constitutional rights of the men and the unions, particularly their rights under the Fourth Amendment which bars unreasonable search and seizure. They pointed out that the subpoenas called on the witnesses to testify in the case of "the United States vs. —" and that "No one can testify against a blank."

The union attorney stated "This is obviously a fishing expedition by the federal authorities. They are fishing for

some incriminating material, the nature of which they do not know."

On Feb. 3, Judge Connell quashed the subpoenas against the unions. In a decision that hit at the growing invasion of labor and civil rights, he said, "It is not easy for an ordinary person to fight an agency of the Government. It is cheaper and easier to acquiesce to their demands. . . . There is a growing intolerance by the public to encroachments of their constitutional rights by government agencies. . . ."

## CALLED ROGUES

"Here, if they refuse to testify against themselves, they are called rogues simply for invoking the constitutional guarantee. We must in this case consider the Fourth Amendment. . . ."

"There is nothing in these subpoenas to indicate what the searchers have in mind. They don't say what crime they have in mind or what books and papers they want. They merely say, 'Bring in everything over a five-year period.'"

"Could they make these demands against the New York Times, Metropolitan Life or U.S. Steel? Or could they do that to the three great newspapers in this city or the four major banks?"

Justice Department Attorney Goldstein commented: "It appears that this will stop the Grand Jury action from continuing."

## Jim Crow Housing Ban Goes to Berkeley Voters

BERKELEY, Feb. 11 — A proposed law to ban discrimination and segregation in private housing will be decided in the municipal election here April 7 as a result of activity by local socialists. Last night the City Council approved placing the proposition on the ballot after the City Clerk reported that an initiative petition authorizing such a referendum contained 2,866 signatures after 499 had been lopped off. Only 1,459 were required. The petition was sponsored by the United Socialist Action group.

After much uncomfortable discussion, the members of the council rejected a proposal made by U.S.A. spokesman Don Mullen that it enact the proposal immediately. One council member proposed public hearings at a later date but another said there was little point to such a hearing after the voters acted on the issue. A councilman claimed that the body had been "trapped" by submission of the petition and the Vice Mayor complained that the council "had been stampeded." Debate at the meeting was given prominent coverage in today's issue of the Berkeley Daily Gazette.

Speaking for the ordinance, Mullen indicated the extent of segregation in Berkeley by showing pictures of this year's graduating classes at a number

of the city's elementary schools. In five of them the students were obviously nearly all white, while in two others they were nearly all Negro.

Council members did not dispute the claim that such a law was needed, but complained that they had not had time to study the proposed measure.

Normally the council takes at least 20 days to think it over but this time the members insisted they had to act immediately on getting ballots printed.

The ordinance drawn up by the socialist group is based on the recently adopted Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs law in New York City. It establishes a commission to hear complaints on discrimination in housing, with authority to take legal action. Refusal to sell or rent any kind of housing because of a person's race, color or nationality would be prohibited. The cost of court actions would be born by the city.

## COST OF MEDICINE

The average of all prices, has gone up 23% since 1950. The cost of medical care has risen by over 40% in the same time.

## "We've Got to Stop Christenberry at All Costs"

By Harry Ring

The following conversation occurred recently between two supporters of the Communist Party who live on the East Side in New York. As a conscientious reporter I am unwilling to divulge my source of information but I can vouch for its authenticity.

"I was cleaning out the closet before you dropped in, Stanley, and look what I found. The Daily Worker for Sept. 5, 1957. Listen to what Bill Weinstone wrote: 'It is necessary to expose the reactionary character of Christenberry.'"

"Dingleberry? Never heard of him."

"No, Christenberry — the stumblebum Republicans put up for mayor when they knew Wagner was a lead-pipe cinch to go in again. Wonder what hole this Christenberry fell into?"

"Of course I remember, Max. He was all for big business and

the real-estate crowd. He had to be stopped at all costs. He wanted to hike the sales tax. I remember the Party said so."

"You mean like Wagner's trying to do now?"

"That's right, Max. This Christenberry was definitely the bigger evil. He intended to stick us with a lot of other taxes too."

"You mean like the new one on cigarettes and cigars that Wagner's pushing for? Or the one on every restaurant meal that costs over a buck? Or the two-cent tax on every check you write to pay your bills. Or maybe the one he wants to slap on gas and the electric?"

"Look, Max, don't be cynical. I'm not defending Wagner; but the four-cent sales tax is only a last resort. What he wants is off-track parlors where a man can put down his \$2 on a horse and the city gets its cut, just like at the track."

"Maybe. But there's a lot of influential people that don't

think much of the deal. Like the ministers and the bookies. Give me eight to five and I say Wagner's putting on a big act and we wind up with the four-cent sales tax."

"I'm not a betting man, and you know it, Max. Besides that's not why we backed Wagner. Labor was 100% for him and we wanted to help labor pile up a big vote so it would have more of a voice in City Hall."

"For like now when Wagner's running scabs into the night schools to break the teachers' strike?"

"Theobald, the Education Commissioner, is doing that, not Wagner."

"So who appointed Theobald?"

"Look, Max, our main concern was to get a big vote for Wagner on the Liberal Party line to break Tammany's grip on City Hall."

"I can see De Sapio weeping behind those colored cheaters."

"Don't think he isn't, Max.

Didn't you read about the movement to throw him out — Mrs. Roosevelt, Lehman and Harriman's choice, Finletter? They're organizing a revolt. They want to erase the image of bossism and keep the image of liberalism. They've just informed Wagner that De Sapio's a big vote loser. He cost Harriman the election."

"Oh? De Sapio got anybody in his corner?"

"Wagner."

"That all?"

"No, Harriman."

"Harriman! How do you figure that? We backed him for Governor instead of McManus because he represented the liberal and labor wing of the party and was having a big battle with De Sapio."

"Don't feel bad, Max. We certainly had Rockefeller's number. Look at that income tax program he's putting through. A withholding tax. They catch everyone that ever forgot to file. I'm not saying that includes

me. They lower the exemption to 600 to make people on \$35 a week pay. And then they jack up the tax rate and add two cents on cigarettes. How do you like that?"

"Stanley, if these taxes go through I'm taking off for California. Except I see this Democrat, Brown, that we backed to stop Knowland at all costs, is putting on a big new tax bite there too — beer, cigarettes, income tax."

"Yes, but life itself has shown how right the Party was in trying to stop Rockefeller. And a lot of people are waking up about him now, too. They say he's been snowed under with 100,000 letters running a hundred to one against the tax increase. That's a real people's mandate. Some of the Republicans are so concerned that they may vote against the increase. If they joined a people's coalition with the Democratic minority there'd be enough votes to kill the increase."

"Oh? But what about that report in the Times this morning where they practically come right out and say Rockefeller has a deal cooking with Wagner where the Democrats will vote for the state increase and Rockefeller will see that the city gets the new taxes it wants?"

"Well, Max, if Wagner does that it would certainly be a betrayal of the people's mandate."

"You mean we'd have to get deeper into the mainstream and hustle more votes for the Democrats so they can feel more pressure from the people?"

"We certainly can't be provoked into isolation, Max. At the same time, the Party is really projecting the issue. Last Sunday the Worker had a stinging editorial against any more taxes on the working man."

"That's great, Stanley. That's a swell example of how to avoid the left sectarian danger while not falling into rightist opportunism."

# "More of Kansas than the Kremlin"

By D. W. Brogan

(This review of James P. Cannon's "Notebook of an Agitator" appeared in the Manchester Guardian Weekly, Dec. 4. Although we disagree with the reviewer's attitude toward socialism and many of his judgments of the book, we believe that our readers will find what he says of interest. It is noteworthy that a writer on the capitalist side of the fence admits admiration, grudging though it may be, for a collection of articles wholly dedicated to the socialist cause. — Editor.)

Hidden away in side streets, or imperfectly visible on newspaper stands, there can be found in America the vehement, entertaining, and often touching publications of the minor sects of American radicalism. They recall a glorious past, they preach a redeeming future. But in the world of Eisenhower and Rockefeller, Reuther and Hoffa, they are little marked. They do not even compete for attention with the dwindling American Communist party and the vast majority of the American workers do not know that these prophets and deliverers exist.

At first sight, then, it would seem to be love's labor lost to reprint over a hundred articles from the pen of Mr. Cannon. For he has fought a number of losing battles over the past thirty years and his occasional victories have been taken over by imposters. He preaches to the converted, with the assurance of a Pentecostal prophet. Marx was right; the contradictions of capitalism are ineluctable. Fascism is a necessary result of capitalist crisis; it can only be defeated by a workers' movement that is doctrinally alerted.

Alas, the workers do not listen. "Labour skates" trick their dupes. The politicians before the issue and the Stalinists falsely claiming to be Communists lie and betray as they have done for a generation past. In the not very long run Mr. Cannon and his fellow-Trotskyists, so they are convinced, will prove to be right; at the moment they are simply ignored.

Nevertheless, it was a good idea to reprint Mr. Cannon's articles. For they remind us, what we easily forget, how old is the tradition of revolutionary violence in America. In this age of "togetherness" it is easy to ignore this part of the not very remote American past, when the new state of Oklahoma was largely Socialist and when the migratory laborers, the miners and the lumber workers, provided the backbone of the I.W.W., "the Wobblies," produced genuine heroes and martyrs like Joe Hill — and less impressive figures like "Big Bill" Haywood.

It is out of this world that Mr. Cannon comes, a very different world from the overwhelmingly immigrant society that gave its numerical strength to communism in New York City. Mr. Cannon is a disciple and devotee of Lenin and Trotsky (did he not see Lenin plain in 1922?), but he was before that a disciple of Vincent St. John, who, if not a model informed Marxist-Leninist teacher, was

a mighty preacher and practiser of the class war. Mr. Cannon is like St. John. There are two classes and he is for his class, the workers. It was natural that this commitment to the cause should have driven Mr. Cannon into the infant Communist party from which the Stalinist triumph expelled him. And it can be said that, once out of the party, he became a better and more winning writer. The pieces reprinted from "The Daily Worker" are not only full of party jargon and verbal belligerence, they revive certain doubts about the utility of the Communist intervention in the Sacco and Vanzetti case. The party cause more than the victims seems to dominate these appeals to a massive class action unthinkable in the America of 1926-7.

Out in the cold and so freed from party discipline, Mr. Cannon seems to have been more at home. True he does not let the Whig dogs get the best of it. The reader of these pages would not gather that the success of the truck strike in Minneapolis in 1934 owed something to the benevolent neutrality of Governor Floyd Olson, or that the appeal to the St. Paul truckers to come out was not listened to. But in Minneapolis the dissident Communists did dig in and were duly made the victims of the Smith Act with the approval and to the delight of the "Stalinians." Mr. Cannon was one of their victims of this rail-roading and it is an indication of his devotion to the revolution that he protested and protests against the application of the Smith Act to his Moscow-duped enemies.

For they were duped, duped into abandoning the really militant policy of fighting for revolution in America in order to devote all their resources to the defence of the Workers' Fatherland. Again and again, militancy was betrayed in America to serve Soviet foreign policy or the whims of Stalin.

## An Attractive World

But all this time Mr. Cannon kept the faith. And that faith in a world of solidarity, of freedom, of equality is made attractive by Mr. Cannon's candour and sincerity. There is more of Kansas than the Kremlin in his faith. He does not ask himself the question of what in the Russian Revolution and in the methods and ethos of the Communist party made perversion so easy. Neither did Trotsky. But he has kept the faith, innocent as it often is.

This book is a most valuable contribution to the history of American radicalism although it is not annotated and will be baffling reading in many places. Well-known figures fit across the pages. Mr. Dwight Macdonald, Mr. Whittaker Chambers. But the real "dramatis personae" are the unintimidated zealots who regard the topless towers of American capitalism with the same contempt and conviction of superiority as the early Christians did imperial Rome.

# Politics and History as Foster Grinds Them

By Murry Weiss

In his article "Work in the Two-Party System," (Political Affairs, January 1959), William Z. Foster said:

"Of the approximately 45 million votes polled by the two old parties [in the 1958 elections], probably in the neighborhood of 20 million or more were cast by workers, with another ten million or more cast by farmers, Negroes, and other Labor Party elements—with the usual huge majority going to the Democrats. On the other hand, of the five independent, Left-wing parties (Communist, Socialist-Labor, Trotskyite, and Independent-Socialist), hardly one hundred thousand votes were cast, combined, all over the United States, which obviously is not the total Socialist strength in this country."

According to Foster, the small Socialist vote in 1958 "indicates that the main electoral mass work of the progressives, as things now stand, lies within the scope of these two mass parties, which control the election vote of the great toiling masses."

We cannot discuss in common terms with Foster the significance of the socialist vote in 1958; we don't have the same standard of measurement. As small as the socialist vote was, it was still too big for Foster's taste. If he had his way there would have been no socialist vote at all.

Foster remarks that one hundred thousand votes "obviously is not the total Socialist strength in this country." Quite true. But where did the missing socialist votes go? Obviously part showed up in the Democratic column because misguided radicals, following the advice of the CP and SP-SDF leaders, pulled the lever for cold-war witch-hunters like Harriman. They were told that this was a clever scheme to put pressure on these capitalist politicians by voting for them.

It takes a lot of gall for a leader of the Communist Party to comment, in the tone of an objective analyst, about the smallness of the socialist vote when the CP has done everything in its power to cut that vote to a minimum. The real achievement of the socialist movement in 1958 was that it refused to succumb to the pressure and sabotage of the CP and SP-SDF and did wage campaigns in a number of states. This means that despite the CP and SP-SDF the movement based on the principle of class-struggle socialism lives and fights and prepares for the future.

## NOT INNATE

The smallness, relatively speaking, of the socialist vote in 1958, is but another expression of the political backwardness of the American labor movement. But this backwardness is not the product of some innate characteristic of the American working class, as Foster would make it appear. Time and again the American workers have demonstrated a profound desire to create a medium of political expression for their own class interests. The responsibility for the political helplessness of the unions in the United States lies in the face of a capitalist anti-labor offensive rests squarely on the labor bureaucracy and on those "so-

## Visitor in Peiping



Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl of the East German Democratic Republic (left) is greeted in Peiping by Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Chinese Communist Party during recent visit to China by East German delegation.

cialists" who collaborate with them.

We attempted to show in a previous article (Militant, Jan. 26) how Foster and the other leaders of the Communist Party, as well as the leaders of the Socialist Party — Social Democratic Federation, studiously avoid any mention, let alone analysis, of the character and role of the American labor bureaucracy. They avoid in particular any mention of the responsibility of the labor bureaucracy for the subservience of the unions to the political machines of the capitalist class.

## CIO AND LABOR PARTY

With the birth of the CIO the main body of American industrial workers entered the arena of organized class struggle. This entry was marked by deep radical moods alongside of unprecedented militancy in strike struggles. The American workers had passed through a terrible depression and their faith in the capitalist system was shaken if not shattered.

In the struggle to organize, the workers were in the best position to rapidly absorb political lessons, to see the capitalist state, its police, courts, and political parties for what they are. The time was ripe for the formation of a mighty political party of labor which would have attracted to its banner all the working people of the country. The big question was one of leadership.

The old labor bureaucracy had been split, the section that took the helm in the CIO was having a tough time riding out the storm of turbulent militancy and radicalism. Left to their own devices it would have been next to impossible for the bureaucracy to have chained the movement to the Democratic Party and the Roosevelt regime. What they desperately needed was a safe left flank and the active assistance of a "radical" wing.

It was exactly at this critical moment that the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, each in its own way, capitulated

wholesale to the labor bureaucracy. Instead of organizing the radical workers for struggle against the bureaucracy and its class-collaboration policies; instead of raising the banner of a labor party and independence from the capitalist parties and government, the CP and SP offered the bureaucracy complete support. The whole radical movement was dragged into the mire of capitalist politics and the precious moment of opportunity for the formation of a labor party was missed.

## FOSTER'S VERSION

In Foster's Political Affairs article we see a strange version of how this happened. He says that until the thirties the socialist movement had never considered working in the two-party system. This is not exactly true. For many decades and in innumerable instances sections of the socialist movement had tried, without any success whatever, to capture the Democratic Party or the Republican Party through the tempting device of primary contests.

In each case the result was invariably catastrophic; if candidates who started as socialists succeeded in gaining the nomination of a capitalist party they quickly turned into capitalist politicians and not socialists. Or else the efforts to win primaries failed and simply frittered away the resources and morale of the socialist movement, ending in demoralization. In any case the best sections of the socialist movement, like the movement led by Debs, became utterly convinced of the fallacy of such opportunist adventures.

The policy of the Debs period is described by Foster in these terms:

"The Left parties generally followed the policy of attempting to build independent mass parties (they originally got this idea from the German Socialist Party over two decades before), instead of working with the masses. . . . The result was a serious split in the ranks of the working class, with almost the entire Left on the sectarian end of the split."

So much for that "sectarian" Debs! Then, according to Foster's version of history, along came the original, independent, bold innovators of the Communist Party leadership and put a stop to this 50 years of sectarian nonsense:

"The Communist Party," he says, "with its Marxist-Leninist spirit and policy, was the first of the several Left parties (except for the scraggly policy of the Socialist Party) to begin to make a break with this long-prevalent policy of having no truck whatever with the two-party system, regardless of the isolationist consequences of their attitude. In the latter 1930's, when the CIO began to develop, the Communists, who were in working alliance with the progressive or middle group [a section of the labor bureaucracy—M.W.] in the CIO unions, began to participate in PAC and in the manifold working-class formations inside the Democratic Party, supporting certain candidates, advancing policies, etc."

This version of the "old" socialist policy and the "new"

Advertisement

## Book-A-Month

"Democracy and Empire in the Caribbean" by Paul Blanshard, the author of "American Freedom and Catholic Power."

This 379-page study originally cost \$5. You get it from Book-A-Month for \$1 plus 15 cents for wrapping and postage.

Please enclose payment with your order.

PIONEER PUBLISHERS  
116 University Place  
New York 3, N. Y.

policy of the CP in the thirties is false and misleading, by what it says, by what it leaves out and by its ambiguities.

## ROLE OF STALIN

The right turn of the Communist Party in the thirties was not an innovation of the American CP; it was part of a worldwide switch in policy imposed on every Communist Party by the Comintern which was firmly in the grip of the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Soviet Union. Foster's version of CP history leaves out of account the role played by this perfidious influence; how Stalinism sapped the revolutionary vitality of the CP's; how it transformed the leadership of these parties from independent-minded revolutionists into spineless functionaries, capable only of transmitting commands; how this in turn laid open the CP to the ravages of opportunist pressure.

From 1928 to 1935, roughly, the American CP followed a policy of insane ultra-left adventurism at the dictate of the Stalinized Comintern. The same policy was applied in Germany with tragic consequences; the theory of "social fascism;" the policy of "united front from below;" the withdrawal of the Communist workers from the reformist-controlled unions, the formation of "red trade unions." And Hitler's victory.

An ultra-left course might appear to be a training school for resistance to opportunism. This is not the case. On the contrary, ultra-leftism merely inverts the formulas of opportunism and serves as a school for opportunism. This was dramatically shown when the Comintern smashed every semblance of independence among the Communist Parties, the American CP included.

By the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern in 1935 the American CP was so completely subservient to the Stalinist machine that it switched without a murmur from the ultra-left "social fascist" policy to the opportunist "peoples front" policy.

Overnight Roosevelt was changed from a "fascist" into a "peoples leader." From "revolutionary" dual unionism, the CP jumped to all-out political collaboration with the labor bureaucracy as part of the New Deal "peoples front." In 1936 the CP ran Browder for president; not as an independent Communist opponent of capitalist politics, but as a stalking-horse for Roosevelt under the slogan of "defeat Alf Landon at all costs."

Before taking Foster's advice today that the "progressives" plunge even deeper into the two-party system, radical workers would do well to look closer at the history and consequences of CP policy. Only by understanding the mistakes of the past can we prepare the rebirth of a powerful revolutionary communist movement in the U.S. that will fuse its Marxist program with the struggles of the new generation of left-wing militants that is bound to emerge from the industrial proletariat of our country.

Advertisement

## By Leon Trotsky

"Germany, the Key to the International Situation." In this 40-page pamphlet, written in 1931, Trotsky forecasts the effect upon the working-class struggle if Hitler should take power. 35 cents.

"The Turn in the Communist International and the German Situation." Written in 1930, Trotsky urges unity between the Communists and the Social Democrats to prevent the victory of Hitler. 20 cents.

Both of these pamphlets, long collectors' items, have just been reprinted in Ceylon. Send 50 cents for the two.

PIONEER PUBLISHERS  
116 University Place  
New York 3, N. Y.

## ... Children Win

(Continued from Page 1)

in a Feb. 9 letter from Washington that the opening paragraph in an apparently standard release being issued abroad would now state that the case "involves more than race relations." Previous statements had asserted that no racial discrimination was involved.

Release of the boys came as a complete surprise to their mothers. The first they knew of it was when the children walked into their new home in Charlottesville accompanied by two

social service workers and the superintendent of the reformatory where they had been held.

The CCRI received a telephone report of the boys' arrival from Mrs. Robert F. Williams, wife of the president of the Monroe NAACP. She visited the two families yesterday afternoon. "The boys are happy, the mothers are happy, everybody there is rejoicing though some eyes are still wet," she said.

"Hanover and Fuzzy were delighted to see my two sons whom they knew from Monroe," she added. "It was from them that they first learned about the letters and petitions that children in Holland have been writing. They were deeply impressed and asked to send their thanks to the children there."

## TOUGH ON MOTOR

The forerunner of Sen Lyndon Johnson's "prudent progressivism" is Franklin D. Roosevelt's formula in 1928 of "progressivism with a brake on."

## Seek Change In Law to Help Sobell

A recommendation was placed before the Senate Subcommittee on American Republics Affairs Feb. 13 for legislation to reverse a Supreme Court ruling of 1886 which has been interpreted to mean that a person can be put on trial even though kidnapped from another country.

The memorandum was filed by Daniel G. Marshall, Los Angeles attorney, in behalf of the National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell. Sobell is seeking to prove his innocence of conspiracy to commit espionage, a charge on which he is now serving the ninth year of a 30-year sentence.

Morton Sobell took court action asking for a new trial. He cited as one of his grounds proof that he was kidnapped from Mexico by the FBI.

Advertisement

Advertisement

## A Special Buy

The General History of Socialism and Social Struggles. M. Beer's five-volume study bound in two. An old classic long out of print. Original price \$12.50. Now available for \$5.50.

PIONEER PUBLISHERS  
116 University Place  
New York 3, N. Y.

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

# Notebook of an Agitator



For those who remember and for those who want to know what it was like. Bartolomeo Vanzetti and Nicola Sacco — America's most famous victims of the witch-hunt in the twenties. Let Jim Cannon tell you about that fight. The love radicals everywhere felt for the two anarchist rebels, the fierce wish to save them from the chair, the agony as the world saw the courts and the capitalist authorities insist on burning the victims, the shock, the hatred, the anger that crystallized into socialist resolution to build a better world. This is the American vanguard of the twenties. Read it for yourself in "Notebook of an Agitator." \$4 clothbound, \$2.50 paper.

Pioneer Publishers

116 University Place

New York 3, N. Y.

## Europe & Recession

Why was the recession in America so slow in reaching Europe? Why did some European industries even chalk up increased sales in America during the slump?

A British economist examines some key aspects of the dialectical interrelationship between these two sectors of world economy during the critical months. In the winter issue of the International Socialist Review. Send 35 cents for a copy.

International Socialist Review

116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

## Introductory Offer

A Six-Month Subscription To The Militant for only \$1

Name .....

Address .....

City .....

Send to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50.

THE MILITANT

Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS

Business Manager: BEATRICE ALLEN

Published weekly by the Militant Publishing Assn., 116 University Pl., N.Y. 3, N.Y. Phone: CH 3-2140.

Vol. XXIII—No. 8

Monday, February 23, 1959

The Powell-Schuman Case

We agree one hundred per cent with the National Guardian which said in its "Report to Readers" Feb. 9: "A strong fight now can prevent the Powell-Schuman Case from becoming a new Rosenberg-Sobell Case."

Certainly it would be folly to take a hopeful, they-can't-possibly-go-through-with-it attitude towards the sudden and ominous turn in the government's charge against the Powells and Schuman from "sedition" to "treason."

In 1956 John W. Powell, his wife Sylvia and a former associate editor, Julian Schuman, all U.S.-born citizens, were indicted on a "sedition" charge for what they had written in China Monthly Review published in Shanghai during the Korean War.

The Powells and Schuman were bitterly opposed to U.S. policy in the Korean war and published the facts as they saw them about U.S. conduct of the war. Since 1956 the three have been hounded and persecuted as the government prepared its case against them.

Immediately it became evident that the government's sedition charge didn't have a legal leg to stand on—after three years of preparation! But Federal Judge Louis E. Goodman, in a strange colloquy

Jan. 29 with government prosecutor Robert Schnacke said that "the evidence so far presented in this case would be prima facie . . . sufficient to sustain a verdict of guilty under the treason statute."

The sensational exploitation of the judge's remark on "treason" by the newspapers led to the granting of a mistrial on Jan. 31. Prosecutor Schnacke quickly agreed to the ruling. Then within an hour he submitted a treason charge against the Powells and Schuman and demanded that the three be held without bail.

The Friends of the Powells and Julian Schuman, P.O. Box 202, Cooper Station, New York 3, N.Y., have made a moving appeal for desperately needed funds to fight the case.

We urge all our readers to take immediate action on these appeals and urge all their friends to do likewise.

Compensation for the Duration

We think that the organized labor movement ought to throw its full weight into the fight for jobless benefits covering the full duration of unemployment. There are at least 1,500,000 unemployed who have exhausted all compensation benefits and who, according to UAW president Walter Reuther, have become so "discouraged" over the prospect of finding work that they have simply stopped looking.

At least another 320,000 will be left totally stranded April 1 when the federal government ends its temporary extension of state unemployment compensation. On Feb. 18, before taking off for Mexico's beautiful Acapulco beach, Eisenhower said that he saw no need for continuing such

aid "when we are in a curve of rising prosperity."

From the capitalist viewpoint Eisenhower is dead right about "prosperity." Profits are definitely on the up curve—and the capitalist adding up his dividends is too occupied to feel much concern over six million workers walking the streets.

Rank and file unionists, who know they may be next to be laid off, should press for action. Big business must be compelled to extend at least the same concern for the upkeep of idle workers that it does for idle machines. When the machines shut down they don't "disappear." They receive basic maintenance. Deductions are allowable on tax forms for their depreciation.

Let's give the jobless at least as good a break as machines by winning adequate compensation for the duration of unemployment.

What to Do About the Krupps

The House of Krupp—the German "cannon king"—is now 148 years old and more powerful than ever. Last year the gross was more than a billion dollars, the biggest since Hitler. Sole owner Alfred Krupp netted at least \$80 million.

In 1917, Americans sent to fight and die to "save the world for democracy," were told that success would end the evil power of Krupp, whose munition plants armed the Kaiser. America won. But somehow the Krupps didn't lose. They even prospered. They helped Hitler to win power and armed his Nazi legions.

Came World War II and again Americans were sent to die to "save the world for democracy" and end the evil power of Krupp. America won. It looked like the Krupps were finished. Alfred Krupp was convicted as a war criminal for use of slave labor. He was sentenced to 12 years in prison.

Three years later American authorit-

ities turned the billionaire loose. They told him that he had to dispose of his industrial empire.

As the sale deadline approached, Krupp said he was sorry; he couldn't find a customer. So the Allied authorities obligingly let him buy a big steel fabricating plant and gave him "another year" to sell out.

A correspondent drawing the historic lesson of all this concluded that there had been an "effort to pressure Mr. Krupp" but that it was "unsuccessful."

Some commentators ask what can be done? Is the alternative to raze the Krupp industrial complex and plant grass there instead? We think not. Taken out of capitalist hands, these vast plants could contribute mightily to building a socialist Germany that would help guarantee a world of enduring peace. The proper step is to nationalize the House of Krupp and turn its holdings over to workers' control and management.

That Plane

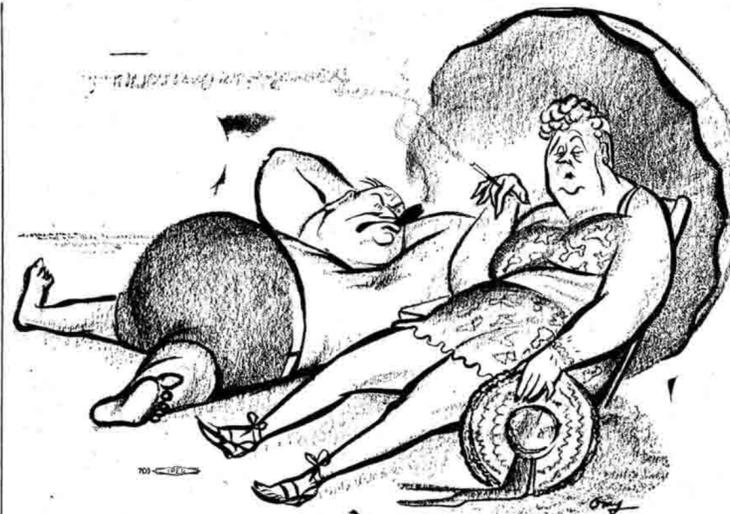
A simple fact emerges from the current propaganda barrage around the United States military plane which crashed or was shot down over Soviet Armenia last Sept. 2. U.S. forces have been flying planes into Soviet territory ever since the end of World War II. They do this in order to gain information about Soviet defenses and to test the alertness of the Soviet armed forces. Usually these planes escape; but occasionally one crashes or is shot down.

The practice of violating Soviet borders in this fashion has not been confined to the U.S. In Great Britain a young man was recently jailed for divulging secret military information after he published a first-hand account of how British forces engaged in their own version of "Russian roulette" by sorties to test Soviet defense reactions.

When planes are lost behind Soviet borders as a result of this dangerous game, the relatives of the men involved have to be notified. With the cat out of the bag, propagandists try to cover their tracks and also convert the loss into a cold-war advantage by claims that the planes were either "lured" behind Soviet territory or wandered there by "error."

The release of a purported tape-recording of Soviet pilots shooting down the American plane is a case in point. Even if the tape is genuine, why was it kept secret for five months if U.S. propaganda hands are as clean as they claim to be?

If American planes violate the borders of other countries as part of the preparations for war they risk being shot down. The way to avoid such risks is as simple as it is obvious. Stop flying American military planes across Soviet borders!



"A rising prosperity curve and those idlers still want relief!"

Jobless "March on Washington" Debated by AFL-CIO Officialdom

(Continued from Page 1) shortened at the discretion of Congress.

[Other aspects of the proposed program will be analyzed in next week's issue of the Militant.]

The urgency felt by jobless unionists throughout the country for effective action is underscored by the report below from Detroit where the unemployment problem has reached crucial proportions. It is this feeling that has managed to make unemployment and what to do about it a topic for consideration among the high-paid, well-fed, top union bureaucrats whose own jobs are only too often guaranteed for life.

DETROIT, Feb. 14 — It took a long time, but Walter Reuther and the UAW international executive board have finally decided unemployment is so serious that they are going to do something about it. Jobless auto workers will say, "It's about time."

With much fanfare, after a meeting of the UAW board in Detroit Feb. 2-5, Reuther announced that it had adopted a program "to get America back to work" and set up an "officers' task force" to carry it out. It consists of himself, secretary-treasurer Emil Mazey and vice-president Leonard Woodcock. They are authorized to create "machinery" to deal with the jobless problem.

The UAW program, Reuther said, takes "a constructive approach" to the shorter work week, and "will include a call upon Congress for legislation providing a shorter work week." Elaborating on this in a speech Feb. 6, he said he wants Congress to study how and when the 40-hour week can be cut.

"You can't count the number of work hours by blind guesswork," he cautioned. "This demands a lot of study tied up with the production requirements of the nation."

This is Reuther's answer to growing demands that the UAW fight for the 30-hour week. Last month Reuther was embarrassed and angered by Sen. Patrick McNamara's public offer to introduce a 30-hour bill in Congress if the UAW leaders would endorse it.

Two weeks after making the offer, McNamara dropped it, saying he had concluded, after discussion with "leaders of organized labor and other interested parties" that it didn't have "sufficient endorsement." Instead, he introduced a 35-hour bill.

The UAW board did not endorse McNamara's 35-hour bill (although AFL-CIO conventions have endorsed the 35-hour week). It is reported that Reuther denounced McNamara at the board meeting for having made the offer of a 30-hour bill without first consulting him.

HEAR COMMITTEE A partial report about the UAW board's discussion appears in the February UAW Tradesman, paper of the Greater Detroit Skilled Trades Council. An article by Joe Shaner, chairman of the UAW Production and Skilled Workers Unemployed Committee, reports that the UAW board permitted a delegation from that committee to appear before it.

"He (Reuther) said as an individual he was for 30 hours but there were many considerations to take into account. All of our speakers . . . stressed the 30-hour week, a ban on overtime and extended unem-

ployed benefits. We had marched into the board room wearing 30-hour buttons.

"Reuther explained that 1955 wasn't a suitable year to introduce 30 hours because there was full employment and that it isn't good now because of the recession. One committee member asked when would it be a good year."

Although he is noted for talking critics deaf, dumb and blind, Reuther apparently had no answer to this question. He prefers a congressional "study" to specific 30- or 35-hour bills.

Another issue dodged by the UAW board was the proposal, advanced by the Michigan AFL-CIO, for a state bill to extend jobless benefits for the duration of unemployment. President Gus Scholle had made this a top demand and some Democratic state legislators had agreed to sponsor it in Lansing.

But Scholle's proposal got thumbs-down from Democratic Gov. Williams and Reuther, who both regard it as inferior to their "more realistic" program — support of a bill in Washington to federalize jobless compensation and extend its benefits to 39 weeks.

The UAW therefore had nothing to say about Scholle's proposal. Neither did Reuther, standing next to Scholle and speaking at a Michigan AFL-CIO legislative conference in Lansing right after the board meeting. Nobody had to spell it out, but everybody understood

when Reuther got done talking that the Scholle proposal was finished. The Democratic legislators promptly backtracked on their promise, and now there is no one in the legislature, Democrat or Republican, willing to introduce it as a bill.

OVERTIME ISSUE

The UAW "task force" promised to tackle the overtime issue—the stubborn insistence of the auto corporations on working some employees overtime while others walk the streets.

Last November and December, this was a big issue in Detroit. So big that Chrysler got an injunction against picketing of its plants against overtime. At that time Solidarity House refused to even supply a lawyer for the unemployed workers named in the injunction.

Now the corporations, having turned out a majority of their 1959 models, are beginning new layoffs. To many, Reuther's present interest in the issue seems like a case of too little and too late.

Unemployed pressure has compelled the Reuther bureaucracy to admit the need for action by the UAW. But the pressure will have to be continued and increased if the UAW's action is to be effective or meaningful. The "machinery" that's needed above all is the organization of the unemployed into an active, fighting force, and their participation in the selection of a program to meet their needs, not the needs of the Reuther-Meany coalition with the Democratic Party.

The American Way of Life

Never Say Die

As everybody knows, Americans like to look at the cheerful side of things. No matter how dark the cloud it's always possible, given the right attitude, to find a silver lining. This was illustrated to perfection by Herman Kahn of the Physics Division of the RAND Corporation in an article "How Many Can Be Saved?" which was published in the January Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists.

"The general belief persists today," Kahn begins, "that an all-out thermonuclear war would inevitably result in mutual annihilation, and that nothing can be done to make it otherwise. Even those who do not believe in total annihilation often do believe that the shock effect of the casualties, the immediate destruction of wealth, and the long-term deleterious effects of fallout would inevitably jeopardize the survival of civilization."

Fortunately the author and a number of his colleagues at RAND decided to make a study of the question and they came up with some surprising and encouraging results. "While a thermonuclear war would be a catastrophe—in some ways an unprecedented catastrophe—it would still be"—and here it is where the cheerful attitude shows its worth—"a limited catastrophe."

For example, with the right precautions, "if a war should occur the majority of our population would not only survive the war but would be able to restore some semblance of pre-war society quite rapidly."

The precautions "should protect about half the population with high confidence, an additional one-fourth with medium confidence, and a final one-fourth with low confidence." Thus the entire population can have confidence in the future.

The economy could be restored "to about half the prewar levels in the first year" and, in fact, on a per capita basis, "would in all probability not drop below 1930-1940 levels, except perhaps in the first post-war year."

As for long-lived radioactivity problems, they could be alleviated "to the extent that, in comparison with the direct effects of the war, they would have a relatively minor impact on the economy or personal life of the population."

The same would be true of genetic effects, subject, of course, to "uncertainties." Even though these may last for a thousand years, the burden on any single generation should only be a fractional increase over the current normal burden of congenital defects.

One of the problems the RAND group ran into in its studies is the difficulty of imagining such a war starting. Once this hurdle is surmounted, however, "it should not take a further act of imagination to believe that such a war would end."

"If one or both sides were improperly prepared, such a war might end in a few hours by the almost total destruction of the military forces of one side by the other. If, however, both sides had made even moderate (but realistic) preparations to fight a 'long' war—a war of at least a few days duration—then appreciable military forces should be left on both sides after the initial onslaught. And this in turn means that there are advantages to both sides in ending the war by negotiation."

Thus the RAND experts, imaginatively looking for the good side in all things, even see the possibility of negotiating with the enemy—provided the timing is right.

Most discussions of strategic systems, Kahn points out, "appear overly concerned with wars that last less than one day."

The RAND group took a more optimistic view. "If we are seriously interested in alleviating the consequences of a war, then we are interested in having military capabilities—both offensive and defensive—on the second and third days of the war. In fact, sensible military planning would provide for wars lasting from 2-30 days, though the first day—or even hours—of the war is still likely to be of the utmost significance."

Cheerful as Kahn is about what can be done to make World War III a limited catastrophe, his attitude is the exact opposite on the possibilities of avoiding war. Here he is a rank pessimist: "As much as one would like to have it otherwise, it seems implausible to imagine that war has been abolished by the invention of fission and fusion weapons. Wars can start not only by deterrence failing; they can start as a result of accident, miscalculation, illogic, irresponsibility, or because events get out of control."

For some reason Kahn forgot to add that such precipitants of war could be eliminated by the simple precaution of stopping RAND and the other giant corporations from running the country. But he would have to be a socialist optimist to see that.

—Paul Abbott

Headlines in Other Lands

Independence Drive Gains in Chad

The government administration of Chad, a French possession in Africa, was ousted Feb. 10 by a 30 to 17 vote in the Legislative Assembly. Lisette, the head of the government, had accepted De Gaulle's offer to make the Chad a republic "within the French community."

Rebellion Flares in Honduras

Rebellion against Pres. Morales of Honduras broke out Feb. 7 when unidentified rebel forces, including many in government uniforms, seized and held an airfield in the southern region of the country for three days.

Congolese Revolt Spreads to Angola

Reports have filtered through the censorship that the Congolese independence struggle has affected neighboring Angola, an area inhabited by the same people as the Congo but ruled by the Portuguese.

Freedom Fight Vowed in Kenya

Tom Mboya, leader of the national independence movement in Kenya pledged Feb. 15 that the day would come when "we'll ask you to bring in your identity cards and we'll burn them."

Pasternak Seeks Union Reinstatement

Boris Pasternak announced Feb. 15 that he would seek reinstatement in the Soviet Writers' Union. He was expelled from the organization when his novel "Doctor Zhivago" won the Nobel prize.

Rhee's Threats Fail To Halt Japanese

Foreign Minister Fujiyama reaffirmed Feb. 10 that the Japanese government intends to go ahead with plans to repatriate some 100,000 Koreans to North Korea despite threats by South Korean dictator Rhee to break relations with Japan and to intercept ships carrying the repatriates.

British Lose Sumatra Estates

Four British rubber plantations in North Sumatra were taken over Feb. 4 on order of the Indonesian government. Three others are scheduled for nationalization. Dutch holdings were taken over December 1957. This is the first move against the British imperialists.

Batista's Downfall Alarms Somoza

Louis A. Somoza, president of Nicaragua, who took power in 1956 after his notorious dictator father was assassinated, has expressed concern over the encouragement that overthrow of Batista in Cuba has given to opposition to his regime.

Better Keep It Up, Chiang Tells Brass

A U.S. military mission in Taiwan "studying" the possibility of reducing the size of dictator Chiang Kai-shek's army was told Feb. 11. The Generalissimo said he wants his U.S.-subsidized military machine kept at its present level of 600,000 troops.

Rhee's Threats Fail To Halt Japanese

He explained to the Pentagon delegation that his forces should not be limited to "merely defensive capabilities."

Auriol Resigns From Socialist Party

Vincent Auriol, former President of France, made public on Feb. 12 his resignation from the Socialist Party to which he had belonged since 1905. The statement, dated Dec. 15, condemned the "desiccating opportunism" of SP leader Guy Mollet who played a key role in De Gaulle's rise to power.

Purges Haunt Stalin's Heirs

In the Feb. 19 Reporter, Isaac Deutscher, well-informed commentator on Soviet affairs, tells about a debate in the central committee of the Soviet Communist Party when Molotov and Kaganovitch reportedly sought Khrushchev's ouster.

Batista's Downfall Alarms Somoza

According to Deutscher, "each side dragged skeletons from the family closet. At one point . . . Khrushchev dwelt on his 'deservaries' responsibility for the great purges of the 1930's—the topic invariably recurring in all secret debates since Stalin's death—he pointed at Molotov and Kaganovitch and exclaimed:

Better Keep It Up, Chiang Tells Brass

"Your hands are stained with the blood of our party leaders and of innumerable innocent Bolsheviks!"

Rhee's Threats Fail To Halt Japanese

"So are yours!" Molotov and Kaganovitch shouted back at him.

Batista's Downfall Alarms Somoza

"Yes, so are mine," Khrushchev replied. "I admit this. But during the purges I was merely carrying out your orders. I was not then a member of the delegation that his forces should not be limited to "merely defensive capabilities."

British Lose Sumatra Estates

There may be other reasons behind Auriol's resignation, however, since he played a key role himself in the conspiracy that brought the Bonapartist general to power.

Purges Haunt Stalin's Heirs

According to Deutscher, "each side dragged skeletons from the family closet. At one point . . . Khrushchev dwelt on his 'deservaries' responsibility for the great purges of the 1930's—the topic invariably recurring in all secret debates since Stalin's death—he pointed at Molotov and Kaganovitch and exclaimed:

Batista's Downfall Alarms Somoza

"Your hands are stained with the blood of our party leaders and of innumerable innocent Bolsheviks!"

Better Keep It Up, Chiang Tells Brass

"So are yours!" Molotov and Kaganovitch shouted back at him.

Rhee's Threats Fail To Halt Japanese

"Yes, so are mine," Khrushchev replied. "I admit this. But during the purges I was merely carrying out your orders. I was not then a member of the delegation that his forces should not be limited to "merely defensive capabilities."

Batista's Downfall Alarms Somoza

"So are yours!" Molotov and Kaganovitch shouted back at him.

The Appeal for Help In Thompson Case

Editor: I read in the Worker of Feb. 15 a story "The Urgent Case of Bob Thompson" appealing to send letters to the President and Attorney General for freeing Thompson from further persecution.

It goes without saying that this appeal should find a favorable response with all socialists and progressives. Unfortunately, in the same article there is a throw-in remark which illustrates that even in their direst need the editors of the Worker can't get rid of their old Stalinist past of slanders against their opponents in the working-class movement.

They assert, namely, that Thompson during his stay in the House of Detention in 1953 was slugged by a Yugoslav Trotskyite.

All of us read at that time the shocking story of the cowardly attack by a reactionary Yugoslav immigrant (a "freedom fighter") against Thompson in prison. This is the first time we hear that the criminal involved was a "Trotskyite."

Has the Worker some proof of it or is it just an ordinary slander from the "good old times" before "de-Stalinization"?

A.B. New York

Defends Teamsters By Opposing Hoffa

Editor: I can sympathize with Paul Dennis, who defended Hoffa in a letter to the editor in the Feb. 9 Militant. Down in Texas—and a lot of other places in the country—you've got to defend the Teamsters Union from the government snoopers and labor baiters and race haters.

But what's good about Hoffa? I don't see that he's much better or much different than Beck. If we want the government snoopers to keep their hands off Hoffa, it's only so the dues-paying truckdriver can easier get his hands on him.

What we need is some honest-to-god democracy in the unions and the only way we're going to get it is to clean out the money grubbers who think the unions were organized to help put them on Easy Street. Naturally the ranks have to do that, not the government snoopers.

With stronger unions we won't have any trouble handling senators like McClellan,

tough as they may stack up alongside today's breed of union bureaucrats.

O. T. Road New York

Circulation Dept. Please Note

Editor: I get two copies of your intelligent, progressive paper each time the mailman comes. Please send me only one to read and thus extend my time. I always pass each copy along to friends and therefore don't destroy the same. Yours for success.

A.A.U. Bellingham, Wash.

Appalling Review Of Pasternak Novel

Editor: All Marxists will applaud the editorial in the Militant of Nov. 10, 1958, defending freedom of expression for the artist, in this case Boris Pasternak. No Marxist can be but appalled at the lack of socialist insight in the review of his book "Doctor Zhivago" by David Miller in the same issue.

The reviewer, considering that the theme of the novel is Christian brotherhood, concludes that it has a "revolutionary impact." It has nothing of the sort, but is reactionary through and through.

The hero spends hours and hours and pages and pages searching for his soul, while revolution and counter-revolution rage about him. In at least one passage, he recognizes his closer class kinship with the cultured White Guards and his distaste for what Miller calls "the most primitively barbarous among the Bolsheviks."

Pasternak clearly considers the revolution a terrible catastrophe, bringing more pain and degradation than it cleared away. The reviewer takes no issue with him on this, in fact recognizes that "the revolution succeeded only in outraging his sensibilities," that this is the heart of the drama, and that "the revolutionary impact of the tragedy is too evident" (for publication in Russia).

Neither the author nor the reviewer draw any distinction between the Bolsheviks and any other tendencies in the revolution. In fact, the theme of the novel might better be expressed as the old hoary canard that Leninism is the natural father of degeneration; i.e., Stalinism. The only impact of the book

could be to encourage religious obscurantism and political abstentionism, and even antipathy to revolution. Can anyone who liked Trotsky's "History of the Russian Revolution" possibly recommend "Doctor Zhivago" to the youth? They deal with the same periods of history, but are diametrically opposite in their attitudes toward the revolution.

The political revolution in Russia will not want nor will it get any help from the Dr. Zhivagos.

I. London Los Angeles

Need the Right Kind Of "Right to Work"

Editor: We need a right-to-work law and that's for sure. This law should really mean what the title says instead of being a cover for union-busting. America's workers have a right to work when they need work.

A job hunter today is left with the feeling that he is asking for a supreme favor, that he is on sale dirt cheap and there are no buyers.

I started a week ago, running through the gamut of non-agency ads in the paper, hoping to save the fee. One word of increased unemployment on the morning newscast and last month's \$70 jobs become \$60 jobs. Every interview for a non-agency job means sitting with eight or ten other people, sometimes for three or four hours, and leaving with the day gone and vague promises of calls "when a decision is reached."

The next stop is the agencies. The office-work agencies have a new gimmick. They list the same routine clerical jobs at two desks. At the "college" desk the job pays \$5 more and the fee is two week's salary.

At the "high school" desk the fee is one week. The long wait takes place in the agencies too. They stall on telling you whether they have listings for you or not, and in that way they have people on hand just "in case" something comes in.

One week of this and any job seeker is half convinced that he's a big nothing, and that any boss is really doing him a favor by hiring him. That's where the employers get the material for their really low-down underpaid jobs—from the army of job hunters who have reached the point in finances and morale where they'll grab anything.

H.M. New York

Clevelanders Pack Hall to Hear Williams

CLEVELAND, Feb. 16 — An audience that packed the meeting hall at the AFL-CIO Butchers' Building here on Lincoln's Birthday listened intently as Robert F. Williams, chairman of the Committee to Combat Racial Injustice, told why Northern communities like Cleveland should support the civil-rights fight in Union County, N.C., where the Chamber of Commerce openly boasts, "There are no unions in Union County!"

"The Negro struggle against discrimination and labor's struggle to organize and to maintain union conditions go hand-in-hand," he said.

He pointed out that Union County officials have been conducting a campaign to attract run-away shops from the North, providing inducements like free land, no taxes, cheap labor and no unions. Plants that employ Negroes in the North have moved to the South, where they conform to the discriminatory pattern and employ Negroes only as janitors, if at all.

Thus the Northern workers are left unemployed, the Southern white workers are exploited at substandard wages and the Negro workers benefit not at all.

At the same time Negroes attempting to win their civil rights, as in the case of the two children, Hanover Thompson and David Simpson in Monroe, the defense of Dr. Perry against reprisals for his activities as an official of the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and others—these people are told by local authorities that they are doing the community

Bringing "Democracy" to Congo



Belgian troops drag a Congolese through street during recent attack on independence demonstrations in Leopoldville. It is estimated that more than a hundred Negroes were killed and several hundred wounded. But the independence movement is growing and extending into neighboring areas.

a disservice. "We are told," he said, "that Northern industrialists are not going to be willing to exchange labor conflicts for racial conflicts, that we are hurting Union County's chances of attracting industry by raising our demands."

The appreciative audience, composed largely of members of half a dozen local unions, gave both financial and moral support to the CCRI, with a promise of more to come in the question of one local labor leader present, who asked: "Mr. Williams, can you give us a list of the names of some of the companies that have moved to Union County? We'll take it from there."

Three More Tenements Cleaned Out By Wagner

By Beatrice Allen NEW YORK — Thirty-nine more families, including 102 children, were forced to leave their slum apartments without previous notice when the city ordered electricity and gas cut off in the crumbling and unheated buildings at 108, 114, and 128 W.134th St.

For over two years tenants in these buildings had unsuccessfully appealed to the courts, the Housing Authority, other city departments, had written to Mayor Wagner, but like tenants in other slum buildings the past few weeks, the only quick and successful action they got from the Democrats in City Hall was the one forcing them into the streets.

In the latest buildings to be emptied, court records disclose that only \$70 in fines have been paid over a two-year period despite the fact that at least 190 violations are still pending.

CITY FLOPHOUSES

Five families which the Welfare Department had "placed" returned saying that their new quarters were worse than the ones they had left. A fire chief assigned to special fire watch at the building told a New York Post reporter: "These people returned here rather than go back to those flophouses they were sent to last night."

Alan and Mary Rock and their nine children felt that their slum home was superior to the hotel to which they were sent by the Welfare Dept.

"They had no heat and no covering for the bed," Alan Rock said. "There was no place for us to cook or eat. The place was filled with men drinking wine. It was not a fit place for children. There was no latch on the door and a man came in during the night."

"We came back home to eat and we plan to stay. I told the Welfare Dept. that I wouldn't stay in such a place."

The Rock family is not on welfare, and has tried to get into a housing project. "They say they just don't have apartments big enough for us," Mrs. Rock said. "Right now we don't want money from the Welfare people. All we want is a place to stay."

Mrs. Willie Know, the mother of two small children said, "They have found me an apartment. One room, community kitchen and one bed for the three of us. As far as they are concerned, they have relocated me. It's permanent. The rent is \$18.50 a week."

George Tindley, his wife and six children were also given a hotel room by the Welfare Dept. "They gave me one room," he said. "It was hardly big enough for my wife and I and certainly couldn't accommodate all the kids. It was a real flophouse."

Score New Witch-Hunt Black List

The House Un-American Activities Committee on Feb. 15 made public a "black list" of 39 lawyers from various parts of the country. The Committee claimed that these attorneys were "Communists." They charged them with "misbehavior before Congressional Committees, circumvention of the law, espionage, subversion in Government and propaganda for Communist causes."

Leonard B. Boudin, General Counsel of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, scored the action as an attempt "to discourage the protection of minorities and to interfere with the independence of the bar."

"This is another example of committee misbehavior which deserves the censure of the organized bar. It continues the Committee's technique of official defamation in place of legislative investigation. . . ."

"The lawyers 'identified' are, to my personal knowledge, among the finest members of the legal profession," Boudin said.

"The Committee's conduct has been long recognized as a national scandal. The validity of its actions has been questioned by the courts and is even awaiting a critical decision in the Supreme Court. . . . In any event, this latest release is shameful and deserves full public condemnation."

MYSTERY OWNER

City officials claim that they have been unable to determine the true ownership of the buildings, and the Department of Investigation, which has power to subpoena witnesses, has been asked to join in the search.

Police Commissioner Stephen P. Kennedy has agreed to assign several of his men to try

to track down the landlord. Banton L. Wyckoff could possibly provide some interesting clues. As "manager" of the buildings he has been sought for failure to answer several hundred violations placed against the property and 11 warrants are out for his arrest.

A vacant slum tenement brings a higher sale price because it is freed from rent control. In similar instances the New York Post points out that "emptied buildings, remodeled and removed from rent control have increased in value as much as \$100,000. Using these figures, the landlord's failure to repair his buildings may result in a \$500,000 profit on this one slum block."

FRENCH STUDENTS

Sixty professors and 5,000 science students at the University of Paris recently staged a walkout in protest against overcrowded conditions. They called for more classrooms, laboratories and instructors.

Schools Close — "No Scabs"

FEB. 17 — The Board of Education was forced to close all schools today after a vain attempt to recruit scab teachers.

Negotiations remain deadlocked over demands of the teachers to bring their pay up to the level of other cities. Mayor Wagner has thus far refused to meet with representatives of the High School Teachers' Association.

"The attempt of the Board of Education to keep the evening High Schools open has been a complete failure. They're kidding themselves if they think they can continue another day."

This is what Emil Tron, president of the Association, said after only 32 of 77 "recruited" teachers showed up last Wednesday night. He proved right. Tron said that the recruits were mainly supervisors "pressured" into night work and "incompetents with virtually no teaching experience."

Supt. of Schools Theobald appealed to the recruits over the radio to remain on the job. But last Monday when 45 of them appeared at four schools, 400 picketing teachers greeted them with shouts of "scab."

Apparently this had more effect than Theobald's radio appeal.

Harvester Workers Find New Contract Difficult to Swallow

CHICAGO — Everyone is back on the job at the International Harvester chain but many workers are dissatisfied because a lot of the issues in their nine-week strike are still not settled. Official accord between the company and the United Auto Workers was reached Jan. 19 and 32,000 unionists returned to work. Another 5,000 stayed out for several more days at the Harvester plants in Louisville, Ky., and Rock Island, Ill.

The Louisville workers remained out in support of a strike by members of the International Association of Machinists. Unsettled local grievances were at stake in Rock Island. The workers at both plants were forced back by the top officers of the UAW who branded their action a "wildcat" strike and cut the ground under them by removing their strike benefits. Extent of workers' discontent was indicated when the back-to-work vote at Rock Island carried by the slim margin of 587 to 571 despite the heavy pressure by the union bosses.

Meanwhile, it's still an uproar at the Chicago Tractor Works. Shortly after the settlement, 85 forge shop workers walked off the job again. The forge shop has been in the forefront of the grievance battle for a long time. One union bulletin described the situation this way:

"Visualize a man with sweat from brow to toe, handling red-hot ingots weighing 135 pounds each at the end of a tong and some time-study punk saying the man is not working fast enough."

The men decided it was too much and marched off to the union hall. The settlement of this grievance was typical of the way the entire strike was settled. The same union bulletin assured that the hammer-shop men had won a victory in this time the settlement was in writing and while they still don't know "the exact language" of the settlement, they were confident it represented progress.

The question in the minds of many workers is, "How do we know?" The entire chain returned to work almost a month ago but there has been no contract available to let the men know the exact and full terms of the settlement.

After the old Farm Equipment Workers (now in the UAW) lost a 13-week strike in 1952, the company cut piece-work rates and classifications. As of this writing the workers don't know what agreement has now been arrived at in regard to these cuts and re-classifications. The new contract consists of agreements arrived at in meetings and correspondence between the company representative and Duane "Pat" Great-house, international vice presi-

District 65 Fights N.Y. Sales Tax

NEW YORK, Feb. 18 — A pledge to wage a vigorous campaign against Mayor Wagner's plan to boost the city sales tax to four per cent was made today by leaders of District 65, Retail Wholesale & Department Store Union, AFL-CIO.

The union, which includes thousands of retail clerks in the city, pointed out that an increase in the sales tax is equivalent to a wage cut for workers. It also said that it will mean a loss of retail sales in the city with a consequent drop in store employment.

A spokesman for the union said that the city AFL-CIO council also intends to join the fight against the tax increase.

candidates in charge of the UAW agricultural equipment division. When a worker wants an interpretation of the new agreement he has to consult either Greathouse or the company representative. The old policy of providing local union representatives with a copy of the agreement seems to be gone.

Union officials are making a big hullabaloo about the four-week vacation clause won for men with 25 years seniority. While this is certainly good for the 7,000 men affected, it was gained at the expense of freezing the present 10% night-shift differential so that it does not go up with the wage increase. This means the vacation clause won't cost the company a dime.

Dissatisfaction with the settlement also springs from the fact that the International union failed to keep its pledge not to sign an agreement until the thousands of unresolved grievances were taken care of.

Another serious weakness of the agreement is that it again permits contract termination to fall in October. This is the slowest time of the year for the company, which uses the period for taking inventory. Nine weeks of production at this time of the year is the same as one at the spring production peak. The company can usually afford a strike in October. For the workers, failure of negotiations in October means hitting the bricks with freezing weather ahead.

Calendar of Events

CLEVELAND

Rev. Joseph P. King, President of the Washington Park Forum of Chicago and independent candidate for Congress in 1958, speaking on "The Forgotten Man of History." This annual observance of Negro History is scheduled for 8 p.m., Sat., Feb. 28 at the Militant Forum, 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301.

DETROIT

Campaign rally and dinner. Rousing speeches and a relaxing dinner. Meet the socialist

NEW YORK

candidates running in the 1959 spring elections. Sat., Feb. 28, 6 p.m., at the Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Auspices Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

Debate! "Socialist Electoral Policy — Two Views." Murry Weiss, staff writer of the Militant, and David McReynolds, 1958 congressional candidate of the Socialist Party. Fri., Feb. 27, 8:30 p.m. Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. Refreshments to follow. Contribution 50 cents.

Local Directory

BOSTON

Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200. Every Sunday night, round table discussion, 8 P.M., Room 200.

CHICAGO

Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736.

CLEVELAND

Socialist Workers Party 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Friday nights 7 to 9.

DETROIT

Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. TEmple 1-6135.

LOS ANGELES

Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or AN 3-1533. Book Shop open Mon. 7-9 P.M.; Wed. 8-10 P.M.; Sat. 12-5 P.M.

NEWARK

Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N.J.

NEW YORK CITY

Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY

P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif.

PHILADELPHIA

Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 p.m., followed by open house. Call SA 7-2166.

SAN FRANCISCO

The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Rm. 4. Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone FR 6-7295; if no answer, VA 4-2321.

SEATTLE

1412-18th Avenue, EA 2-5554. Library, bookstore.

ST. LOUIS

For information phone MO 4-7194.

Notes in the News

GREATEST DISAPPEARING ACT — The following explanation appeared in the Feb. 14 Business Week: "About 1.2 million jobs disappeared between December and January; yet the ranks of the unemployed were swelled by only half that amount. To understand that, you have to remember the definition of unemployment—looking for work but without a job. Half the people laid off after Christmas simply didn't go out looking for other work; they cancelled themselves out of the labor force. This happens every year. Very often the number of casual workers 'disappearing' after the holidays is well above 600,000."

DUBOIS IN CHINA—Dr. William E. B. DuBois, famed Negro historian, is traveling in China despite lack of authorization from the State Department. He went to China after visiting the Soviet Union. Meanwhile Waldo Frank is seeking to compel the State Department to give him a passport so that he can accept an invitation to lecture on American literature at the University of Peiping. The court decided Feb. 13 to hold up further proceedings pending decision of the Court of Appeals in the case of William Worthly, Jr., a Baltimore news reporter whose passport was seized after he went to the forbidden country.

CHILDREN'S COURTS NEED HELP—At a hearing of the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, John Warren Hill, Presiding Justice of New York City's Domestic Relations Court, pleaded Feb. 13 for more understanding of the handicaps facing the courts: "We are authorized to employ fourteen psychiatrists, but have only ten. Twelve psychologists are authorized, but only eight are on the staff. In both cases, we can't get qualified people because the pay is too low. Of our eight psychiatric social workers, only one is left on the payroll. . . . We have no place for psychotic and seriously retarded children, or for pregnant girls. The state training schools for boys are so overcrowded there is a wait of seven months before we can commit a boy."

ARMED "SERVICES"—Thousands of enlisted men are used as "houseboys, maids and chauffeurs" for officers, Congressman Frank Kowalski (D-Conn.) charged Feb. 8. He said that a division of these men could be released from such chores for active duty, perhaps permitting an end to the draft.

LOMAN MYSTERY DEEPENS—The New York State Committee of the Communist Party has announced its approval of the action of the state board in suspending Charles Loman from all state posts. The same announcement also said that the Committee had decided to lift the suspension. No public explanation was offered for the disciplinary action in January or its approval and reversal a month later. The Worker, weekly newspaper of the Communist Party, said that Loman had "agreed to support the decisions of the State Committee." It had been rumored that Loman,

a leader of the Foster faction, had gone on a trip abroad without permission and that funds were missing. However, the State Committee said that the "suspension of Comrade Charles Loman . . . has nothing whatsoever to do with finances."

CAT GET HIS TONGUE?—Pope John disclosed Feb. 9 that Pius XI died the day before he planned to make a major address in 1939 denouncing the Nazis and Fascists. Vatican circles knew about the planned attack, said Pope John, but believed that the text of the address had been destroyed after the pontiff's death. The question now is what prevented Pius XII from mentioning his predecessor's intentions when he was elected?

AIN'T IT THE TRUTH?—The National Education Association offers teachers the following clues for spotting potential delinquents: Those whose parents don't belong to parent-teacher groups, women's clubs or lodges like the Elks and Lions. Those who have difficulty in school, miss classes, or lack respect for private property. Those more concerned with "being" than "becoming." Those who dress sharply and sport "offbeat haircuts." Those with tattooed male relatives. Those who say things like "ain't" and "we don't hardly." Pupils displaying such flaws, the Association said, should be placed in "a primary reference group."

FLORIDA "PLACEMENT" LAW—A federal district judge upheld Florida's school "placement" law Feb. 13. The law is designed to help racist officials evade school desegregation by putting Negro applicants for transfer to all-white schools through a rigged "placement" test and then rejecting the application without mentioning race. The federal court decision was based on U.S. Supreme Court approval last November of a similar Alabama law.

DYED ORANGES—The Senate sent a bill to the House to permit growers to use Citrus Red No. 2 for the next two years on oranges. While admittedly poisonous, the coal-tar dye is held to be less toxic than F. D. & C. Red No. 32 which has been used up to now by Florida and Texas citrus interests. In reporting the bill, the Labor and Public Welfare Committee said, "Such coloring is necessary because fully mature fruit from those areas in many instances may be greenish and non-uniform in color."

NEW YORK LABOR MERGER — The long negotiated unification of the New York City councils of the AFL and CIO was announced Feb. 4. Representing a million unionists, the merged body will be known as the New York Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO. AFL leader Harry Van Arsdale was named president of the new body and Morris Iushevitz of the CIO will be secretary.