

# Virginia Racists Yield Ground in Integration Fight

JAN. 28—Virginia authorities are retreating from their stand of "massive resistance" to any form of school integration. But this does not mean they are throwing in the towel. Instead they hope to keep the schools 99 and 44/100% segregated by placing a few Negro students in enough schools to meet the letter of the law. The new strategy to circumvent the 1954 Supreme Court desegregation decision is based on carefully provided loopholes in recent rulings by the high court and the Virginia Supreme Court.

The decision to make the retreat, however, is an indication of the pressures the Negro people have succeeded in mobilizing against the racist-minded Bourbons and their Northern allies. Undoubtedly many anti-segregationists will rejoice over what they feel is a token of more substantial victories to come.

Public schools in three Virginia cities shut down last September by Gov. Almond after a federal court ordered integration of a handful of Negro pupils, will probably reopen Feb. 2, according to reports.

The Virginia Supreme Court and a federal court on Jan. 19 struck down the "massive resistance" laws on which the school shutdown was based. Four days later a federal court

upheld assignment of four Negroes to an all-white Charlottesville school (while rejecting acceptance of 26 others) and yesterday another federal judge blocked a final move to prevent token integration by enjoining the Norfolk City Council from cutting off funds for all school grades above the sixth.

## "PRIVATE" SCHOOLS

Although Governor Almond last week proclaimed continuing resistance to token integration, he is expected to present proposals to the special session of the state legislature opening today that will lay the ground for a system of public schools with minimum integration alongside state-subsidized segregated "private" schools. In ruling out a previous law for operation of "private" schools the state supreme court had declared this could be done if "proper" funds were used.

Meanwhile, Virginia politicians and newspaper editors are reported increasingly inclined toward use of last November's U.S. Supreme Court decision upholding an Alabama "school placement" law designed to bar all but a sprinkling of Negroes from integration for a variety of reasons so long as the real reason—color—is not mentioned. It is now generally recognized this decision was designed to permit flouting the spirit of the 1954 desegregation decision while pretending to abide by it.

A strong new hint to exploit this ruling was made Jan. 23 by U.S. Attorney General William Rogers when he made public his reply to a query on the issue. Declaring that there is no further need for the federal government to intervene in the integration struggle as it did in Little Rock, Rogers said he could see no "constitutional objection" to "placement" laws.

## Buch Wins Place On L.A. Ballot

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 26—Peter Buch, UCLA graduate engineering student, has won a place on the April election ballot for Board of Education.

His supporters put 850 names of registered voters on the line one week after canvassing began. Of these, 750 were accepted as valid. Only 500 were required.

Buch demands that the billions of dollars now wasted in war preparations be used to build schools and pay teachers decent wages. He is endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party.

## N.Y. Socialists Discuss Possibilities for 1960

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Jan. 25—A conference of 150 supporters of the United Independent-Socialist Party voted unanimously yesterday to continue the organization as the United Independent-Socialist Committee. A special sub-committee was set up to explore possibilities for united socialist intervention in the Presidential campaign in 1960 as well as other electoral campaigns. The conference also voted to meet again next September to decide finally about the 1960 race.

Founded last spring as an electoral coalition of socialists and independents, the Independent-Socialist Party challenged the major parties in New York last fall. Corliss Lamont, candidate for U.S. Senator, polled 49,087 votes; John T. McManus, candidate for governor, won 31,586. McManus presided at yesterday's conference. Lamont, who was unable to attend, sent a message expressing gratification over the proposal to continue the organization and pledging his support.

A program of political activity for 1959, outlined by Morris Goldin for the Administrative Committee, was unanimously approved as were a series of organizational proposals. These include maintenance of a state office in New York City with William A. Price as executive secretary; expansion of the county and area committees established during the election campaign; publication of a monthly information and discussion bulletin; organization of socialist educational activities; and a weekly radio program if sufficient funds can be obtained.

Most of the conference discussion centered around the proposal advocated by many members of the Administrative Committee to orient toward a 1960 socialist Presidential ticket provided sufficient forces can be mustered nationally to make it feasible. Five members of the committee expressed political reservations on this. But since there was no proposal for an immediate decision, the recommendation to establish the special committee to study the question was supported unanimously.

In the discussion most of the participants supported the viewpoint favoring a socialist Presidential ticket. The exchange of opinions occurred in a free and fraternal atmosphere with the

feeling generally that much had been achieved in the 1958 effort.

## EXPRESS DIFFERENCES

The Administrative Committee proposal was presented by state chairman Henry Abrams. He then went on to indicate his own belief that it should not be ruled out as a possibility that a major party ticket could be supported as a means of developing sentiment for independent political action by labor and the Negro people.

This viewpoint was expressed in more detail by Babbette Jones, also a member of the Administrative Committee. She contended that the ISP had been limited in 1958 because it emphasized the socialist rather than the independent character of its campaign. While one per cent of the people are ready to consider socialist solutions, she said, socialists should not "divorce themselves from the other 99 per cent by simply holding aloft the pure banner of socialism."

Urging preparation for a socialist campaign in 1960, Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, ISP candidate for Lt. Governor, predicted that the Republicans



JOHN T. McMANUS, 58 N. Y. Independent-Socialist gubernatorial candidate, presided at conference which voted to continue as United Independent-Socialist Committee.

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XXIII—No. 5

222

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1959

Price 10c

# Michigan Unions Demand Full Benefits for Jobless



JOMO KENYATTA, African scholar and founder of the Kenya African Union which sparked Kenya's fight for independence, imprisoned for seven years by the British in 1952 on charges of administering "terrorist" oaths to the Mau Mau. The principal witness against Kenyatta has now sworn that his testimony was fabricated.

## No. Carolina Case Stirs Indignation in Holland

JAN. 28 — The Committee to Combat Racial Injustice has protested misinformation issued by the U.S. Embassy in Holland about the sentencing of James Hanover Thompson, 10, and David Simpson, 8, to indeterminate sentences in a North Carolina reformatory because a 7-year-old white girl had kissed the older boy.

Press services reported that the chief press officer of the Embassy in Holland had told protesters that no racial discrimination was involved and that the boys had been sent up for "thefts."

The CCRI, which is seeking release of the two children, cabled its protest to the U.S. press officer in Holland and wrote to Dulles demanding that the Embassy in Holland be silenced and that an investigation of the issuance of the false information be made. The Committee cited an earlier White House refusal to intervene on behalf of the two children on the ground that it was outside of federal jurisdiction; and inquired why attempted white-washing of the case is considered within federal jurisdiction.

The Embassy became involved in Holland as a result of growing protests over the racist treatment of the two victims. On Jan. 15 school children in the Hague gave the press a copy of a letter to the U.S. Ambassador expressing their indignation. Next, teachers and pupils in Utrecht protested.

On Jan. 21, a 13-year-old school girl presented U.S. officials with a protest petition bearing 520 signatures. This was followed by a delegation of children from eight secondary schools with a petition bearing 1,000 signatures. In addition an adult campaign, known as Operation Snowball, was started by S.F.A. Saris, of the Catholic organization Martinusuis. He quickly received over 300 letters of support and more than 3,000 signatures to petitions.

On Jan. 24 Mr. Saris sent the following cable to Dr. A. E. Perry, Vice President of the Union County NAACP and a member of the Committee to Combat Racial Injustice: "ANP calls case of James and David race discrimination. American Embassy calls them thieves. Please answer telegraphically race discrimination or not and send report by letter."

Dr. Perry replied: "Positively race discrimination. Letter follows."

Saris then cabled: "Thank you. We go on Snow Ball."

Another manifestation of world opinion on the case came when the Committee received a letter from Berlin in the name of the Women's Interna-

tional Federation, an organization which claims sections on all continents and 200 million members. The letter was accompanied by a copy of a cable sent to North Carolina Governor Hodges condemning the "brutal racist injustice" suffered by the young boys.

The CCRI has also reported a new incident indicating the racist atmosphere in Monroe. On Dec. 24 a white man at the Monroe Hotel struck a Negro chambermaid and kicked her down a flight of stairs because he claimed that her calling out to another chambermaid had disturbed his sleep.

The woman, Mrs. Georgia Davis White, 29, was severely injured. Accompanied by Robert F. Williams, President of the Monroe County NAACP and chairman of the CCRI, she later compelled reluctant local police to issue a warrant against her assailant.

After resisting pressure to drop the charges, Mrs. White, on Sunday, Jan. 25, was served with a warrant charging her with having earned \$4 while drawing unemployment compensation almost two years ago and failing to report it.

She would have been hauled from her sick bed to jail if a neighbor had not posted bond. A hearing date against Mrs. White's assailant has been set for Feb. 2 and the hearing against her for Feb. 5.

## Klan Sheets Need Change?

MONROE, N.C. — The local Ku Klux Klan seems to be switching its sheets from the traditional white to black.

Klan activity near the South Carolina line has been reported three times recently. Twice the sheeted Klansmen were seen driving along the road toward Monroe. Once the hooded racists were seen around a bonfire. In each case they were garbed in black sheets.

The significance of this is not known. One guess is that after the 1957 shooting fray when local NAACP members stood off the KKK at the home of Dr. A. E. Perry, the Klan decided that white sheets make too good a target. Another guess is that the robes need laundering.



An American-made 35-ton Sherman tank batters down gate of government meat-packing plant in Buenos Aires last month, making way for Argentine soldiers to shoot, tear-gas and club sit-down strikers during four-day general strike against government moves to slash workers' living standards.

## Cuban Resentment High Over U. S. Criticisms

By Lillian Kiesel

Resentment over American intervention in Cuban affairs was high in Havana last week. The Castro government voiced the popular feeling by sharply criticizing the U.S. government.

The hysterical outcry in Congress and the press that the Cuban revolution is a "blood bath" merely reflects the opinion of Big Business that their interests are in jeopardy. In answer, Castro told the press in Havana that American officials are not concerned with human life: "They are afraid of the effect that a free Cuba will have upon the rest of Latin America which has suffered so many indignities for so long."

Castro is consciously resisting the tendency of the revolution to continue in a socialist direction. But his colleagues are concerned that due to inexperience he will not be able to control the Cuban people. Thus Latin American statesmen like President-elect Betancourt of Venezuela "are prepared to take Fidel Castro 'under their arm' and teach him some of the arts needed to preserve the reforms of the independent movement." (Christian Science Monitor, Jan. 26.)

Carleton Beals, an expert on

Latin-American affairs, warns in the Nation (Jan. 31) that the United States is responsible for the pressure the Castro government is under: "If the Cuban people are aroused much further against the United States, then the Government will be pushed willy-nilly to the extreme of confiscating the billion dollars worth of American property in Cuba. For all the large industries and most of the best arable land of the country are owned by American Corporations."

Documents have been uncovered in the office of Batista agent, Edmund Chester, Beals relates, which prove that when the Cuban Telephone Co. (American owned) raised its rates last year Batista received a pay-off of \$3 million.

Popular indignation over this pay-off did not prevent Dulles from naming Philip Bonsal as U.S. Ambassador to Cuba. In Beals' opinion this was a "blunder." "For much of his life, he (Bonsal) was an officer of the same Cuban Telephone Company, which is currently under grave attack, the latest scandal being the theft from the national archives of all documents relating to the company's relations with Batista."

## Ask Checks For Total Time Lost

DETROIT, Jan. 25 — A big step forward in the fight for the unemployed has been taken by the Michigan AFL-CIO through its decision to sponsor a bill in the state legislature to extend jobless compensation benefits for the full period of unemployment.

It is the first state labor body to raise this demand. In the background are the continuing unemployment of 332,000 workers at the peak of auto production; the exhaustion of all benefits for 100,000 Michigan workers in 1958; and the beginnings of organization and activity among the jobless through the UAW Production and Skilled Workers Unemployed Committee.

Gus Scholle, president of the state AFL-CIO, gave the first public explanation and defense of the new proposal last Tuesday before several hundred cheering workers at a meeting held by the UAW committee in the Labor Temple here. (See story page four.)

## LABOR'S RESPONSIBILITY

He said that "the only place that the unemployed can look for help is to organized labor" and that the state AFL-CIO will meet its responsibilities to them.

"What we are asking, in effect," he said, "is that workers who have exhausted their unemployment benefits be given a check every week until they get a job."

Regarding the 30 hour fight, Scholle said he favors "a 39½ hour week, or a 10 hour week, or any other kind of week required to get you back to work."

He also proposed that five per cent of the national arms budget be used for a school building program to provide schools for kids and jobs for the unemployed. (In Washington the Democrats are complaining that the present arms budget isn't big enough.)

The daily press immediately began to heap ridicule and denunciations on the AFL-CIO proposal. So did the Republican legislators.

But the AFL-CIO announced in Lansing that a group of Democratic legislators have agreed to introduce the bill. One of these, House Democratic floor leader Joseph J. Kowalski (a UAW member), said he favored it because "it costs more to keep a family on welfare

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# Khrushchev Makes Bid for Workers' Support

By Daniel Roberts

Khrushchev's seven-hour speech to the 21st Congress of the Soviet Communist Party on Jan. 27 was addressed primarily to the Soviet working class. He sought to sell himself as head of a CP regime completely overhauled since Stalin's day.

What Khrushchev sought to demonstrate to the working people was that he had supplanted the USSR with energetic and competent leadership working in their interests. This leadership now promises to take the country in a "giant leap" to peace and abundance. The seven-year economic plan — the main business before the 21st Congress — assures the leap.

Khrushchev outlined the possibility of the Soviet Union outstripping British, French and German per capita production by 1965 and American per capita production by 1970. Thereby he said the Soviet Union will also surpass American living standards by 1970 and achieve the world's highest living standard.

Sputniks attest to the USSR's industrial prowess. Interconti-

mental ballistic missiles, now in mass production, according to Khrushchev, vouch for its capacity for self-defense. The world military balance has already shifted to the Soviet Union, Khrushchev claimed, and the economic balance will soon shift that way too. Soviet military strength bars imperialist attacks on the USSR and permits victory in "peaceful competition" with capitalism.

The Soviet "peace offensive," capped by Mikoyan's tour of the U.S., proves that the regime is doing its utmost to end the threat of war.

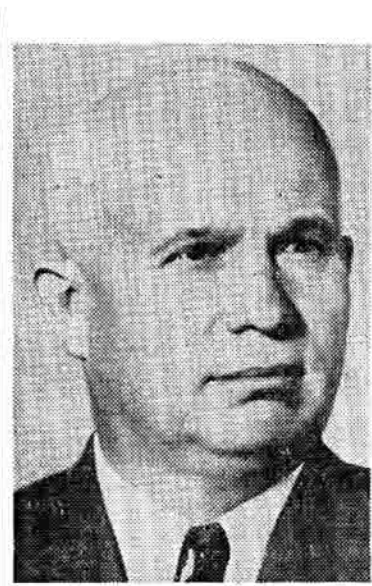
The industrial decentralization plan, initiated and carried out by Khrushchev a year and a half ago, is supposed to show that the man who ended the Stalin cult knows how to cut through the bureaucratic red tape choking Soviet industry. He is the genius able to solve the most thorny of all Soviet economic problems — namely, how to significantly increase total agricultural output while releasing farm manpower for industry.

Khrushchev's speech included specific promises to the work-

ing people. These included "the gradual turning over of more functions to 'people's organizations.'" He announced that police and state security forces had already been sharply reduced.

According to these presented by Khrushchev to the Congress and published in the Soviet press in advance of the parley, the seven-year plan promises reduction of the work week to 40 hours by 1962. (It was reduced from 48 to 46 hours last year in line with cuts promised at the 20th Congress three years ago.) Khrushchev pledges that the work-week will be cut to 35 hours by 1968. The plan projects a 40% average increase in real income of factory and office workers. Wages of low-paid workers are to increase from 270-350 rubles a month at present to 500-600 rubles. Raising wages in the low-paid categories by the biggest amount will, it is promised, reduce wage inequalities.

The plan declares that housing construction is "one of the most important tasks" in the next seven years. Between 1959 and 1965, 15 million units are



KHRUSHCHEV

to be built in towns, state farms and lumber camps, "which is 2.3 times more than was built in the previous seven years." These are to be separate flats for families. In addition, collective farms are to provide seven million new units.

Under the plan, a series of

measures of special benefit to women workers — on whom the USSR depends for about half of its labor power — are to be expanded. The number of nurseries, factory canteens, restaurants and laundries are to be multiplied. Price decreases are promised in restaurants.

In the field of health, the number of hospital beds is to be doubled.

Finally, like every good politician wooing the public, Khrushchev promised a cut in taxes. In fact, "within a few years," he told the Congress, there would be no taxation at all.

Khrushchev's seven-hour speech said nothing about the purge against inner-party opponents he has conducted, or about Bulganin's recent "confession" (which Khrushchev followers in the Central Committee declared did not go far enough). He said nothing about Soviet troops crushing the Hungarian revolution, about hounding Pasternak, or about rupturing relations with Yugoslavia. He passed over his record of repressions in silence, al-

though it stands in glaring contradiction to his declarations in the theses about the need for socialist democracy.

## POPULAR PRESSURES

The Khrushchev speech and these testify that the popular pressures which gave rise to the revelations and reforms at the 20th Congress continue to operate. Victory over the Nazis in World War II, rapid successes in rebuilding Soviet industry, and expansion of the Soviet system to Eastern Europe and China thus ending Soviet isolation—these have totally altered the Soviet workers' relationship to the ruling caste of privilege-seeking bureaucrats. In the postwar years the workers acquired a new sense of militancy and self-confidence. Their hatred for Stalin's murderous despotism burned more fiercely. It threatened him and his heirs with revolution. This prompted Stalin's successors to grant concessions.

The gains the Soviet masses thus won encouraged them to press for more. The bureaucratic regime was in crisis un-

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# Marxism and the Spirit of 1776

By Raymond Fletcher

The following review of Cannon's "Notebook of an Agitator" appeared in the Nov. 14 issue of Tribune, a British socialist weekly that features the views of the left wing of the Labour Party headed by Aneurin Bevan:

The Left has an incurable passion for labeling its adherents with odd names that look as though they came from an explosives catalogue. Few of them really fit the people they are stuck on.

Take me, for example, I am an old-fashioned Socialist. I believe that William Morris has more to say to the twentieth-century than those who have embalmed him as a mere "pioneer" realize. I have a deep distaste for the "sophists, calculators and economists" (to borrow Burke's phrase) who seem intent on extinguishing the glory of Socialism for ever.

## Graveyard

What label, therefore, should be pasted on my hide? Morrisite? Old Leftist? Both have a graveyard odour; and my brand of Socialism is not ready for the undertaker yet, thank you.

James P. Cannon, leader of the American Socialist Worker's Party, is not so touchy about labels. He is a Trotskyist and has been one since the late twenties. If he were over here he would be giving Morgan Phillips and Sir Vincent Tewson sleepless nights and lambasting us pale pinks who write for Tribune.

## Radical

Yet many of the pieces collected together in his book, Notebook of an Agitator, reveal a rather different Cannon from the flame-throwing ultra-Leftist his label suggests. This disciple of Lenin and pupil of Trotsky is, in fact, a genuine, one-hun-

dred-per-cent Yankee radical, as American as Old Glory itself.

"I'm a Fourth of July man from way back," he writes—and goes on to extol the tradition injected into American life by the argumentative colonials who stuck it out at Valley Forge.

He admires Abe Lincoln. He honours the men who fought in the Union armies. He quotes liberally from Thoreau and Emerson. He is engagingly frank about his own weaknesses ("blarney is not falsehood; it is the truth exaggerated and embellished to make it sound better").

No doubt Cannon is as skilled at infighting as any of the people against whom his more vitriolic pieces are directed. "When you go into revolutionary politics," he says, "you should put on an old pair of pants."

## Scab-herder

He is most readable, however, and most American, when he forgets labels. As, for instance, in his attack on a group of clergymen who said the closed shop was un-Christian. He won't have that. Nobody is going to describe "the lowly Nazarene as a scab-herder" while Cannon is around.

There is some useful material on American labour history in the book, though most of it ought to have explanatory notes. And there are a few articles on Stalinism which are necessary reminders that not everyone had to wait for the Khrushchev speech to see what was happening in Russia.

But what really makes the book worth reading is the self-portrait it gives of an Irish-American rebel whose Marxism is well-laced with the potent spirit of 1776.

# Is Social Democratic Policy Independent?

## Contends It Is Best to Stick With 'Progressive' Democrats

Editor:

Your comment on my letter in the January 5 Militant is proof that literary quantity does not necessarily equal intellectual quality. After taking 1200 words to "answer" my 400 word letter your position is weaker than ever.

You were unable to find a single statement from any official source in the Socialist Party to justify your flat statement in the December 15 Militant that "And like the Communist Party, the Social Democrats advised the radical workers to vote for the candidates of the ruling class..." The best you could do in the way of proof was quote a paragraph from the Call which was critical of the Liberal Party and trade union leadership. You then took this paragraph, applied "straight English" to it, and concluded that we were supporting Harriman! I think under these circumstances you are in no position to complain, as you did editorially in the January 12 issue, that Arnold Johnson is using Stalinist methods and is slinging mud because he invented certain statements for SWP members who attended the Cleveland conference. It is clear that Arnold Johnson was only using his own brand of "straight English."

You imply that my own campaign for Congress was somehow in violation of the Socialist Party's position on "flexibility" regarding electoral action. You note with dismay that the Call did not once support my campaign even "by a single sentence." First, the Call is a monthly magazine and does not try to support every local candidate of the Party. Second, our campaign here in the 19th Congressional District in Manhattan was undertaken at the request of the New York City Committee which designated me as the candidate. I had the direct and full support of both our National Secretary and of Norman Thomas. The Reading Labor Advocate, which is a weekly, gave full coverage to our campaign here as well as to the campaigns of Fritjof Thygeson and Darlington Hoopes and others across the country running for office on the Socialist Party ticket.

FOR "FLEXIBLE" APPROACH Let me say that at our recent convention I spoke for, voted for, and fully support the policy of a "flexibility of electoral approach." The fact that I then ran for Congress at the request

of the Socialist Party and with full support from others who had favored the "flexible" approach to electoral action, and the fact that my opponent was a "labor-liberal" candidate—all of this should be clear proof that a flexible approach does not mean we will not run candidates or that we are afraid to run candidates, if necessary, against "labor endorsed" candidates.

What is interesting to me is the failure of the Militant to support any of the candidates of the Socialist Party, even though you expect us to support your candidates. Perhaps you would explain to me and, if you print this, to your readers, just why we have a moral obligation to support your candidates and are guilty of "a terrible breach of elementary socialist and working class solidarity" if we fail to do so, but you are quite silent during elections about our candidates? Certainly we do not seek your support, but I am curious why, in the last election, even the National Guardian supported my campaign for Congress but the Militant failed to do so.

To return for a moment to the question of a flexible approach to electoral action—this simply means that we seek to work with progressive elements within the Democratic Party because we recognize a conflict of interests between working class sections of the Democratic Party and the business interests which presently dominate that Party.

When the S.W.P. talks about a "Labor Party" what you really seem to mean is that labor should all join the S.W.P. Actually it is difficult to predict the form a Labor Party will take but for socialists to consciously cut themselves off from liberal and progressive sections of the labor movement—sections that can move toward socialism—is the real betrayal of the working class. And this is just what the present policy of the S.W.P. amounts to.

### CP POSITION SIMILAR

A recent pamphlet "A New Left," by Michael Harrington, sets forth some solid reasons why we reject the I.S.P. approach to the electoral action and just what our approach is. The pamphlet can be obtained from the Communist Party. I am in no way alarmed if the position of the Communist Party is similar to my own position on this question. Even Communists can be right on some questions.

## The Editor's View —

Murry Weiss contended that "like the Communist Party, the Social Democrats advised the radical workers to vote for the candidates of the ruling class rather than the only socialist ticket on the ballot" in the New York State 1958 elections. Weiss called this a "terrible breach of elementary socialist and working class solidarity."

We fail to understand why McReynolds complains that the SP-SDF policy has been misrepresented by Weiss. Is it because Weiss didn't help the CP and SP-SDF disguise its policy with the usual double talk and euphemisms?

For many years the CP and the Social Democrats have been trying to sell Democratic Party candidates to the radical workers with all kinds of trick formulas like: "defeat the Republicans at all costs," and, "the main danger" is on the Republican side. After an election, when the labor-endorsed Democrats again knife the workers, these cute formulas are supposed to provide the basis for precisely McReynolds' type of dummyping up with: "Why, we didn't advise anyone to vote for the Democrats."

The fact that the SP ran McReynolds for State Senator from the 19th District doesn't refute our contention that SP-SDF policy is to mobilize working-class support for capitalist candidates in the major offices. The CP also ran Benjamin Davis for State Senate from the 21st District. In both cases the candidates deliberately filed for these minor offices to evade a socialist contest with the major candidates of the Democratic Party and to "disassociate" their parties from the Independent-Socialist Ticket. The fact that McReynolds and Davis opposed labor-endorsed candidates in these minor offices was only incidental to their campaign.

We note also that Cynthia Speare's version of the SP-SDF motivation for running McReynolds does not coincide with McReynolds' version. It does, however, correspond to the facts.

McReynolds confirms Weiss' contention, it appears to us, when he says, "This is one case where Communists and Socialists are in general agreement and where the Trotskyist movement is pursuing its own sectarian path of continued isolation from the main stream of American political life."

The euphemism, "isolation from the main stream of American political life" is consistently employed by the CP and SP-SDF to describe the policy of socialist class-struggle opposition to the capitalist parties. Non-isolation, for these people, means working with the labor bureaucracy and supporting "labor-endorsed" capitalist candidates. For us, this kind of non-isolation is not improved when it employs deceptive double talk or stalking-horse candidates.

This is one case where Communists and Socialists are in general agreement and where the Trotskyist movement is pursuing its own sectarian path of continued isolation from the main stream of American political life.

I want to close by returning to the basic problem. It is difficult enough for radicals to communicate with one another. That difficulty is made infinitely more difficult when the Militant assigns positions to the Socialist Party which we do not hold. You have every right

to disagree with our "flexible policy" toward electoral action. But that policy—even in "straight English"—does not mean the same thing as urging the radical workers to vote for the ruling class. I hope that in the future the Militant will try to attack us only for those positions we actually hold, and only for statements we actually make, rather than to attack us for positions and statements which exist only in the minds of your staff.

Sincerely,  
David McReynolds

# ... Khrushchev Bid to Workers

(Continued from Page 1)

der this relentless pressure, and the crisis was aggravated by the fact that no single person or group had undisputed command within the ruling stratum. At the 20th Congress, a series of new, more extensive reforms were launched in the course of the jockeying of rival leaders. The biggest concession was Khrushchev's junking of the Stalin cult.

### RECONSOLIDATION

Since 1956, however, the bureaucratic dictatorship has managed to reconsolidate its power to some extent. First, the Kremlin was able to crush attempts by the masses to carry "de-Stalinization" far beyond the limits set by the bureaucracy—the overthrow of the bureaucratic regime itself and its replacement by a regime of workers' democracy.

Then the die-hard faction in the bureaucracy, which sought to reverse "de-Stalinization" out of fear that concessions would open the flood-gates of revolution again, was driven from power. To achieve victory over this group, Khrushchev won the Communist Party Central Committee over to his side and made a pact with army chief Zhukov. He followed up the victory with appeals to the workers at factory meetings to back his regime. To win their support, he reaffirmed "de-Stalinization" and the economic and legal reforms that had been granted.

In November 1957, Khrushchev downed Zhukov. His position now was similar to that of Stalin's. However, Stalin based his power on the secret police. Khrushchev bases himself primarily on the top party apparatus. That is his machine. The party, though far from popular, claims to be the spokesman of

the working people. It is therefore more subject than the political police to the workers' pressures.

There is a further difference between Stalin and Khrushchev. Stalin came to power by inflicting a defeat on the workers. He crushed their organs of rule—the Soviets—and converted their revolutionary party—the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky's days—into an instrument of the bureaucracy. Khrushchev is dealing with a resurgent working class. Though made wary by the experience of Hungary, the workers seek to assert themselves every time they have the chance.

Thus, when in 1957 the Soviet government created "permanent production conferences" of workers, management representatives and union representatives in every establishment, the workers used the conferences to press demands they could not have raised through the bureaucratized union structure. Trud, trade-union newspaper, has warned the conferences not to infringe upon either the functions of the factory manager or those of the union bodies. But the workers will not be easily made to back down. It is noteworthy that the Khrushchev theses call for continuation of the permanent production conferences to provide for "mass participation in the management of production."

Again, in a five-week discussion of Khrushchev's latest education proposals in the Soviet press, many letters criticized other letters in support of the scheme. (The proposal would abolish the system of universal 10-year schooling adopted at the 20th Congress and replace it with only eight years of universal schooling. Except for the most "gifted," youths would then go to work at the age of 14 or 15 and continue

their education at night school or by correspondence course if they desired.)

Summarizing the discussion on education, Jacques Michel writes in the Dec. 31 France Observateur (an independent socialist weekly) that "numerous rank-and-file Soviet citizens had the chance for the first time to express before the entire country the conception they have of its future and the future of man." There is strong suspicion among workers that Khrushchev's education scheme will be administered to the benefit of children whose parents are economically privileged. "The discussion... revealed the strength of the egalitarian currents," says Michel.

Khrushchev set the keynote for the 21st Congress. This is to make much of the great and genuine achievements due to the planned economy, the high rate of productive growth, and the big possibilities for the future.

But credit for these achievements, which belongs to the Soviet workers operating with the most modern type of economic structure, is preempted by the bureaucracy. As in Stalin's time the aim is to put a high shine on the very social layers who have held back the Soviet Union from making the swift-est possible progress, who have undermined its defenses and pinned totalitarian rule on the country.

And Khrushchev has an immediate objective—to achieve unanimous approval of his liquidation of Molotov, Malenkov, et al. If he succeeds, the 21st Congress will mark the end of the transition from the "collective" rule of the group to the personal rule of the new Stalin.

# ... N.Y. Socialists Discuss 1960

(Continued from Page 1)

would nominate a Rockefeller or a Nixon and the Democrats would nominate equivalents.

Stressing the need to aid the development of a labor party, Dr. Rubenstein said, "But we are told that what we can do to build a labor party is to get lost in the Democratic party supporting liberals like Humphrey and Gruening."

Recalling Lenin's stand that socialist "support the workers' interests but never their illusions," she told the conference, "... it's immoral to pretend that a Humphrey, who supported Lebanon invasion, can aid peace."

While she believes there are "exceptional" circumstances where a major party candidate might be supported, such exceptions only point up the general rule. "We must speak out as loudly and clearly as we can until 1960 so that we can provide a socialist alternative."

Morris Goldin told the conference he was not ready to commit himself to support of a socialist Presidential candidate for 1960. But, he said, "I don't hold with the view that the term 'socialist' is detrimental. In a year when a Robert Rich can be buried by a known socialist, Dalton Trumbo, it would be fatal to succumb to red-baiting."

Another Administrative Committee member, Dr. Albert Blumberg, who is under Smith Act indictment as former legislative director of the Communist Party, also expressed reservations on a socialist Presidential ticket.

Urging that the groundwork be laid for a Presidential campaign, Murry Weiss maintained that the ISP state campaign demonstrated that socialist campaigns do not mean isolation. "The ISP did more to reach the workers," he said, "than those who said, 'Work with the labor bureaucracy and the Democratic party.'"

Commenting on the experiences of the 1958 campaign,

Weiss said that fruitful lessons could be drawn from two controversial issues. The first was the failure of the committee to reach agreement on including a plank on democracy in the platform, particularly as it relates to the struggle for workers' democracy in the Soviet bloc. He added that this issue had not become an acute one because in the course of the campaign the candidates had indicated, each from his own point of view, agreement on the need for socialist democracy everywhere.

Secondly, he considered it a mistake of some magnitude that the Socialist Workers Party had not been represented on the state ticket. "A serious coalition of socialists," he said, "should make a principle of non-exclusion on all levels."

Joseph Hansen, editor of the International Socialist Review, stressed the view that a clear-cut stand on defense of democratic rights everywhere is indispensable to rebuilding the socialist movement. He pointed out that the crimes of Stalinism, falsely associated with socialism, had inhibited many in the radical movement from advocating socialism in the Debs

tradition.

Referring to this point, Irving Beinin, a member of the Administrative Committee, argued that a broad movement can be built only by "support to peaceful coexistence and the socialist regimes." "If we are to take advantage of the great developments in the socialist world," he said, "we must associate ourselves with these developments."

Tom Kerry, National Organization Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, said he would favor socialists withdrawing in 1960 if an independent labor party appeared; but barring this unlikely possibility, socialists should make the 1960 campaign a must. He recognized the great practical difficulties in the way of a socialist Presidential campaign, "but ways of overcoming them must be explored."

The program of activity approved for 1959 includes support to the demand for a 30-hour week and opposition to Jim Crow in schools, jobs and housing. It advocates repeal of state and federal legislation limiting civil liberties. It urges participation in the developing movement to save state rent controls. It seeks the support

of broad labor-liberal forces in efforts to reform undemocratic ballot laws.

Contributions and regular monthly pledges were made at the conference to help advance this program. The address of the United Independent-Socialist Committee is 799 Broadway, Room 238, New York 3, N.Y.

### VERY CONSIDERATE

The New York Building Department has refused to make public names of subpena-dodging slum landlords.

### Made in Mexico

A rare chance to see Sergei Eisenstein's "Time in the Sun," a film on the Mexican revolution. Two showings Fri., Feb. 6; 8 p.m. and 10 p.m. Three showings each day Sat., Feb. 7 and Sun., Feb. 8; 2 p.m., 8 p.m. and 10 p.m.

Plus—an eyewitness report of last summer's civil struggles in Mexico City by Earl Owens, an American student.

Militant Labor Forum hall, 116 University Place, New York. Auspices Young Socialist Alliance. Contribution \$1.

## Challenges McReynolds' Position

Editor:

David McReynolds' letter in the January 5 Militant tries to create the impression that his candidacy for Congress in the 19th District is proof that the SP-SDF officially rejects all capitalist politicians, as opposed to tacit support of liberal Democrats.

As I recall, Comrade McReynolds' own arguments for having his organization name a candidate in the 19th CD (at the

### New York Debate

Murry Weiss, national committee member of the Socialist Workers Party, and David McReynolds, 1958 Congressional candidate of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, will debate socialist electoral policy Friday evening, Feb. 27 at the Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, New York City.

Lower Manhattan Branch meeting that decided this move), they were: (1) Because a "United Independent-Socialist Party" might appear on the ballot and the SP must publicly disassociate itself from the "United" label, and (2) Because incumbent Congressman Farberstein (Demo-Lib) had so poor a record, liberals would not denounce the SP for alienating votes in that district.

These erroneous contentions, however, do not detract from the precedent-making support provoked from the New York Society for a Sane Nuclear Policy and the Village ADA Club for a candidate running under a socialist label. I also want to point out that many individual SPers lamented their Party's non-indorsement of ISP candidates, and that a chieftain of the McReynolds' Campaign Committee distributed ISP nominating petitions to canvassing volunteers along with SP ones. Moreover, there were a number of SP members and associates, like myself, who supported McReynolds because we felt that a socialist congressional candidate could raise important issues concerning foreign policy and the U.S. military budget, and also expose the electorate to socialist viewpoints.

As a socialist-unity advocate, I think it unfortunate that a fine commentary-paper like the Militant did not ignore McReynolds' obviously distorted letter, rather than adding fuel to a long-raging fire. And, incidentally, while I regret the SP-SDF formal non-participation in the ISP, I also find incomprehensible the SWP's position of full support to a unity group while continuing to maintain itself as a self-perpetuating, functioning political party.

Fraternally,  
Cynthia Speare

### Chicago

Would you like to join a class studying Leon Trotsky's "History of the Russian Revolution?"

Come down to the Militant Labor Forum Hall, 777 West Adams, Sunday morning at 10:30 a.m.

We'll look for you, but if you'd like to register by telephone, call DE 2-9736.

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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.  
Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's policies. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. XXIII — No. 5 Monday, February 2, 1959

## The FBI Is Persecuted

Evidence is mounting that the FBI is being persecuted. This may sound odd to the thousands of Americans who have been hounded from their jobs after FBI "investigation" of their political views and associations. But friends of the FBI have been rallying to the defense with loud clamor that the liberals and subversives, believe it or not, are doing a hatchet job on the institution and its chief. For instance, Preston J. Moore, national commander of the American Legion, charged last October 27 that the liberal New York Post is plotting a "character assassination job of Mr. Hoover," head of the FBI. Participating with the Post in the "deliberate smear campaign," according to Moore, are the Nation and Rights magazine.



Counterattack reported additional evidence November 14: "... the attack continues. Elinor Ferry ... is addressing a meeting at the Trotskyite Militant Labor Forum ... The title of her address is 'The FBI Permanent Political Police.'"

December 14 Walter Winchell, America's outstanding connoisseur of keyholes, put this flash on the air: "The Socialist Workers Party, declared subversive by the U.S. Attorney General, has joined the smear

attack against J. Edgar Hoover." On January 15, in a speech in Congress, Scherer (R-Ohio) of the House Un-

Congress for more of the folding stuff from the U.S. Treasury. Then our attention was called to the latest portrait of Mr. FBI himself — a candid camera shot taken in his office January 12.

This piece of evidence convinced us. We made up our minds right then and there to stop arguing. Moore, Winchell, Scherer and Counterattack are right. The distinguished head of the Department of government snoopers, stool pigeons and political police really is being persecuted. He really is.

That's why Division 160 of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, we must suppose, took him in as an honorary member. The cap and kerchief are to help disguise him as he goes underground to escape persecution.

We are the champions of witch-hunt victims, whoever they may be, and so, inspired by the example of the BL of E, we are willing to make a contribution of our own to the defense. If Mr. FBI will send an agent around to pick it up, we'll donate a copy of the Militant folded into a three-cornered hat. Disguised as Napoleon, America's most persecuted official might be admitted to a quiet ward where it's impossible for the reds to get him.

## Situation Normal

The generation of American workers that entered the labor market since the end of World War II has until recently been accustomed to full employment. It's true that five million workers suffered joblessness in the 1949-50 and 1953-54 recessions. But in the return to full production after these slumps, most laid-off workers were called back or obtained new employment. After the last recession, however, capitalism reverted to its normal mode of operation—it now keeps a permanent stand-by army of jobless in a period of high production.

A national survey by A. H. Raskin, labor editor of the New York Times (Jan. 25) shows the following picture: In Detroit, production of the 1959 models is near its scheduled peak, but 12% of the auto workers are still waiting to be called back. There is no prospect in sight that they will return to the job or find other work. In Pittsburgh, coal and steel production is on the upgrade, but there are twice as many out of work now as at the bottom of the recession in January 1957. Although national production is close to the pre-recession peak, more than four

million workers are officially classified as jobless. Their number is 700,000 greater than during the recession month of December 1957.

Raskin cites two basic reasons for widespread unemployment in a period of near-prosperity production. These are the increased use of automated factories and the steady speed-up of those workers still on the job.

Summarizing the situation, he writes: "Some of the country's major mass production centers are haunted by the prospect of permanent pools of jobless workers as a carry-over from the recession."

Political economists loyal to capitalism have long tried to refute Karl Marx. Yet events continue to confirm his prognoses. Over 90 years ago, when capitalism was in its prime, Marx said this in his book, *Capital*: "The laboring population therefore produces ... the means by which itself is made relatively superfluous ... It forms a disposable industrial reserve army that belongs to capital quite as absolutely as if the latter had bred it at its own cost."

## Africa Startles Them

Following the Second World War, all of Eastern Europe and the vast area and population of China tore loose from imperialism and joined the Soviet Union to become the anti-capitalist one-third of the world moving towards socialism.

Eastern Europe and China were not the last; they were only the beginning. During the past few years the center of the anti-imperialist movement was in the Middle East. Now it has shifted to Africa. And the speed and sweep of the movement is evoking bewildered and panicky reactions among the most astute capitalist observers.

These observers are aware of the long background of revolutionary struggle in Africa during the last decade or more; what strikes them now most forcefully is what Milton Bracker, Rome correspondent of the New York Times, calls "the ever-accelerating trend" and "the rate at which nationalism is transforming the heart of the continent." According to Bracker Western diplomatic sources in Africa "are startled, confused and uneasy" over this trend. "It is the pace that has taken them aback," he adds.

In London the Colonial office is making a study "on the nationalist agitation that is sweeping Africa ... The acceleration of nationalist ferment in the past month was one of the aspects studied." (Times, Jan. 27)

"A contributing factor to the stepped

up pace of African demands for self-rule was the All-African People's Conference in Accra, Ghana, last month," the same dispatch says.

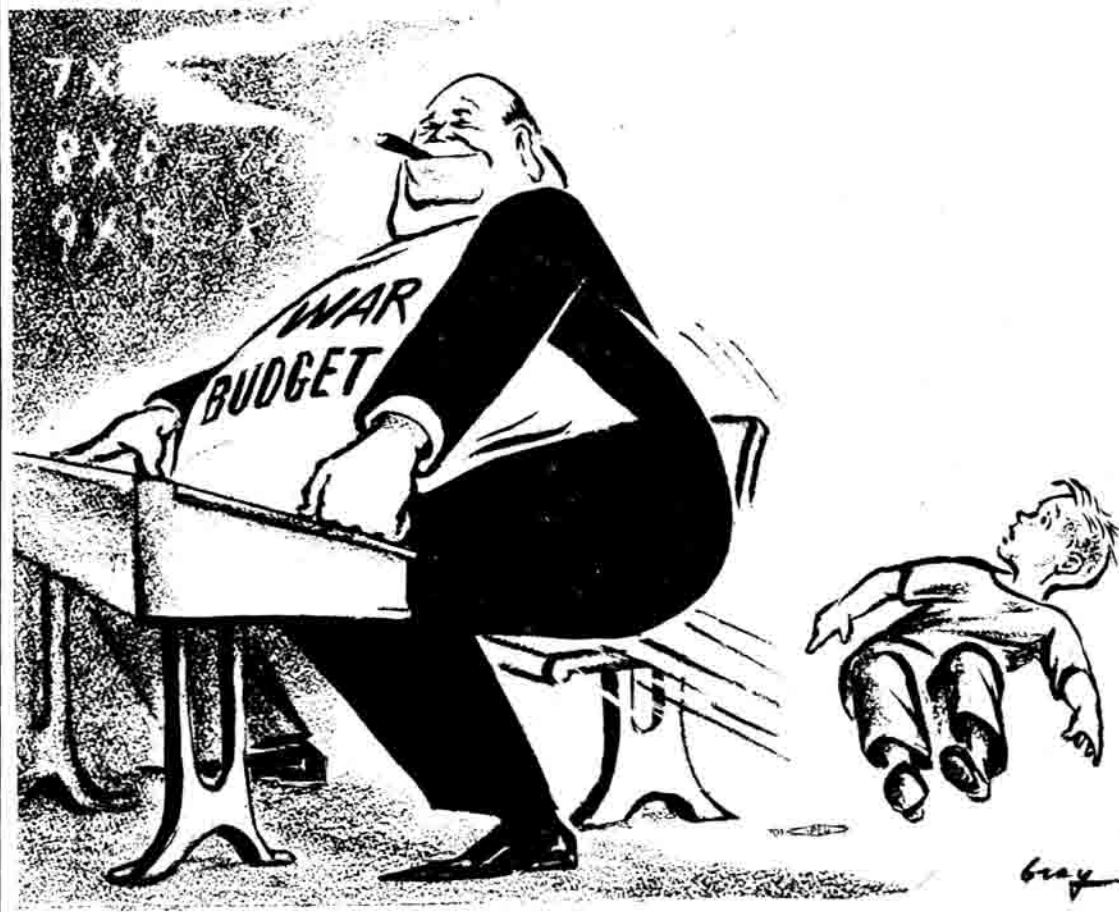
The N.Y. Times comments editorially Jan. 27, "The startling feature is not the steady growth of the insistence on independence, but the speed with which that demand has been gaining momentum."

The Times editors sermonize: "Ideally, progress should be controlled and measured." But they admit that "as the disturbances in the Belgian Congo prove, the movement for independence is becoming like a tidal wave." And "One has the impression that nothing will stop it."

The Times tries to advise the newly independent African states and those aspiring towards independence not to "cut their links to their former master completely" since, as is well known, "native peoples are not yet capable of organizing a democratic, efficient, economically viable state."

This is worthless advice, motivated by the hope that what imperialism loses with one hand can be snatched back with the other through guile and trickery. The African revolution in its deep and swift development cannot and will not stop at half-measures any more than the Chinese revolution or the Russian revolution before it could stop until the basic problem of overthrowing imperialism and capitalism had been solved.

## The Overcrowded Schoolroom



This cartoon by Laura Gray first appeared in the Militant Dec. 19, 1955. It's just as fitting for the current proposed federal budget.

## Supermarkets in Los Angeles Keep Doors Locked on Clerks

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 25—Since New Year's Day a food market lockout here has kept 16,000 clerks from their jobs and has affected an estimated 50,000 other workers. The supermarkets that padlocked their doors normally handle 80% of food sales in the area.

The lockout was imposed by the Food Employers Council after Local 770 of the Retail Clerks, in a conflict with employers over wages and conditions, placed a picket line at the Hollywood Ranch market. After one shift, the union withdrew the pickets, but the FEC kept everything shut.

The aggressiveness of the employers in the pattern set recently by the West Coast truck owners, the New York newspapers, the airlines, and in the political field, the campaign for "right to work" laws.

The lockout has a secondary target; to increase the financial pressure on smaller competitors who have been forced by the super outfits to join the lockout.

The Buena Park local of the Retail Clerks told its members, "If the large operators maintain a shut down for as long as possible, medium-sized or marginal merchants who also closed will soon be at the mercy of those industry giants and will have to either be absorbed or merged, if not go out of business."

The process of concentration of capital, analyzed by Karl Marx, has gone far in auto, steel and oil. In food distribution, the doom of the small guy has been pronounced but not yet entirely carried out.

### MAYFAIR SETTLES

Joseph DeSilva of the Retail Clerks revealed today that during the week the union had reached a favorable agreement with Mayfair Markets. But the Food Employers Council spurned a similar settlement.

Mayfair sales in 1957 were above \$100 million; yet in this age of colossal combinations it rates only twentieth on the national list—far below A&P and Safeway.

Supermarkets originated in Los Angeles. That was when the only industry of some consequence here was rubber. Vacant lots were tarred, posts and

### ... Ask Checks

(Continued from Page 1)  
than to pay unemployment benefits."

Not all Democrats take this stand, however. A notable exception was the top Democrat himself, Gov. G. Mennen Williams. Asked his position, he ducked and dodged for all he was worth: "The plan was not submitted to me, and I have not seen it ... There's a lot of difference between a perpetual thing and 99 weeks or a year. I will reserve my opinion on unlimited duration of benefits until I have studied the matter," etc.

The Detroit News, putting pressure on Williams to "sharply and unequivocally withhold his endorsement," entitled its editorial, "Plan Puts Soapy on Spot." And so it does. One of the most radical proposals the AFL-CIO has ever raised, it goes beyond anything the Democratic Party is willing to endorse, even just for the record.

a roof put up, and in this relatively primitive provision for the rainy season food was re-tailed at prices that drove even the big A&P from the area.

### WELL ORGANIZED

These supermarkets cut into the big chains with their competition. At the same time the clerks, concentrated as nowhere else in the industry, were able to organize and win some of the best conditions in the country. This was in an area long noted for its open shops and labor-hating employers.

A union market clerk gets about \$92 for 40 hours, a non-union department store clerk gets about \$60 for 48 hours.

The current food market conflict is one of the biggest ever conducted in the country, certainly bigger than the San Francisco struggle of 1955 which involved 850 clerks. Local 770's previous big battle occurred several years ago when a four-day stop-work meeting was held. This won a health and welfare plan that inspired other unions here to struggle for similar gains.

With no picketing, not even picketing at City Hall for publicity purposes such as is conducted by the employers, with too little communication between leaders and workers, and with no big meetings and few bulletins, the union membership is given little chance to throw its full weight in the current struggle. Local 770, like the FEC, has put its emphasis on television, radio and advertising to win support.

A committee of seven Los Angeles County mayors has called for arbitration and the FEC bought a full-page ad reprinting the Los Angeles City Council resolution calling for arbitration. The Hearst press made the same demand in an editorial, "An American Way."

Local 770 has bitter memories of this "American Way." In the Alpha Beta case the union was awarded double time for Sunday work. The employers refused to accept the decision. The union had to carry the case to the U.S. Supreme Court in an 18-months battle before winning. Around \$15 million had to be paid in back wages. This busted the smaller stores.

### STOCKING THE SHELVES

A night-shift clerk, now 45, who must travel an hour to get to his job because he doesn't dare endanger his seniority by shifting to a store closer to his home, gave some idea of what "moonlight stocking" is like. In a 26-hour stretch he worked 16 hours, without overtime. Going to work at 7 a.m. he worked until 4 p.m. and then went back at midnight.

Many men take jobs in supermarkets to get extra work. School teachers, accountants, auto and rubber workers, even the principle of a grammar school — they need the extra pay.

Ruptures from lifting cases too hurriedly because of the speed-up are common. "My grandfather and my father had grocery stores," the clerk interviewed above said, "and my position is symbolic of the consolidation of industry, eliminating the small businesses." This clerk is a former union official.

Age discrimination and equal rights for women are big issues from the union point of view.

"The bosses attempt to deny it; but you can see in the transfers and market mergers that the owners, discriminated against women over 35 and men over 40. It's the older people who are more union-conscious. There were no women in the industry before the war but now about 30% of the union membership is women. It's interesting that about half the union meetings are women. Most of the women are used as checkers and on the East Coast the bosses discriminate by having a lower rate for checkers.

"A checker must greet the customer, even if the customer ignores you, call out all prices, and yet get the customer out fast. By the end of the day your throat is sore, your legs ache, and you're tense from worrying about the Willmark Service spies the company plants among the customers."

The four locals of the market clerks are confronted with a tough battle but they have already won unemployment compensation for all but Local 770 and have a strike fund which they say, will take care of union hardship cases for six weeks.

# The American Way of Life

## On a Balmly Island in the Pacific

Most Americans like to think that the USA is the best place in the world to live. Still, they occasionally dream of escaping to some distant place where the nervous tension is not quite so high—say a balmly island in the Pacific where you can spend an enchanted evening ...

Quite a few Americans have made the grade, going expenses paid to some of those far-away points on the map that Wall Street needs for military bases in preparation for World War III. And what has happened?

Barton M. Biggs, a Marine Corps veteran who left there about a year ago, tells about one case—Okinawa, the tiny island south of Japan and north of the Philippines.

The outstanding fact he notes, in an article in the December issue of Harper's magazine, is that prostitution has increased enormously since the Americans moved in. Between 60,000 and 80,000 women are involved. It is "the most blatant and obvious kind of prostitution with girls soliciting openly and loudly in the streets." And, as could be expected, venereal disease is "rampant."

### THRIVING OPERATION

"In the central area of Okinawa," says Biggs, "where the big Army and Air Force and Marine bases are located one passes through towns and villages where every building is a combination of bar and brothel with families sleeping in back. I saw one such establishment in the town near where I was stationed which was a thriving family operation.

"The father presided at the bar, the mother and three daughters were the hostesses and prostitutes, and the two younger children solicited business on the streets. Our servicemen tend to consider every woman they see a prostitute and treat them accordingly, and in some areas they are right. But in other parts of the island they only succeed in insulting women and making lasting enmities."

"The white slave traffic," says Biggs, "has become an accepted fact of life." One girl told him, "My father had bad year in rice and we very poor. Many GI's now on Okinawa, so need more girls. Man that own bar offer my father much money for me, and my father sell me. It make him very sad but we have to eat."

"The girl was perhaps fifteen years old and her story unfortunately is typical." Asked

about her politics, the girl responded: "Now my father is a Communist."

The American payroll and jobs connected with the base have brought some prosperity. But, as Biggs points out, the prosperity is spread thin, is artificial and would collapse if the Americans left.

RUTHLESS SEIZURE

Next to the debauchment of their womenfolk, the Okinawans are incensed at the ruthless seizure of their ancestral lands to build bases and runways for the U.S. military establishments.

One farmer explained, "Instead of a single lump-sum payment for their property, many landowners would much prefer to have a yearly rental. The reason is that most Okinawans are Shintoists and believe that the obligation to hold onto the land of one's ancestors is sacred; to lose title to it forever is deeply disturbing to some and might cause hideous complications in the hereafter. This farmer was exceptionally bitter because his land was being used as a golf course. A dispossessed Okinawan peasant, whose main problem is feeding his family does not easily understand golf courses, large lawns, spacious flower gardens.

"Nor, it must be added, does the employment of thousands of Okinawan women as housemaids by the Army and Air Force wives seem to improve relations between the garrison and the natives. The local women, of course, welcome the money they receive, but they often complain that their employers are patronizing and overbearing. And, understandably enough, the striking contrasts in living standards cause jealousy."

A taxi-driver, questioned by Biggs as to whether he was happier now driving a cab than working 15 hours a day in the rice paddy before the Americans came, made a revealing reply. He said that although he now worked an eight-hour day, had a radio, more money, a tin roof on his house, and a bright red taxicab, he was not sure "it was profitable if his wife and daughters were prostitutes, his sons' procurers, and his home village the scene of a drunken brawl every night."

## Headlines in Other Lands

### Brother Criticizes

### Argentine President

While troops, using arms supplied by the U.S., were breaking the general strike in Argentina last week, Pres. Arturo Frondizi was in Washington seeking to assure capitalist interests that the political and economic climate in his country is favorable to foreign investment.

In Buenos Aires the English-language Herald sought to reinforce these efforts by publishing a letter from a 23-year-old Swede who had lived in Argentina for two years. "Cognizant of all the anti-Yankee talk going on everywhere," he wrote, "I think it's time something was done about it. The other day I went to a bank ... and I heard at least five different parties speaking against North America because of the 'air base' at Ezeiza, the oil companies and the high cost of living."

The campaign to shush anti-American talk, however, did not get off the ground. The day after the Swede's letter was published, Silvio Frondizi, head of a party called Movement of the Revolutionary Left, said that his brother, the President, "is handing over Argentina to Yankee imperialism, destroying incipient Argentine industry and throwing the brutal weight of the economic crisis on the Argentine masses."

### Civil Strife Flares

### In Nyasaland

When Africans marched on a police station in Zomba, Nyasaland, Jan. 20 to demand the release of 36 women held for staging a banned protest march, police attacked the demonstrators.

They used tear gas. But before they succeeded in breaking up the demonstration, shops, several cars, a bank and government offices had been stoned. Six policemen and a number

### Dictatorial Trend

Formation of a more reactionary government in Laos was announced by Premier Phou Sananikone Jan. 24. His cabinet includes army officers for the first time.

### "War of Nerves"

In what was described as a "war of nerves," Washington recalled its Ambassador to the Philippines, Charles E. Bohlen, for "consultation." The Philippine Republic retaliated by calling home its Ambassador Brig. Gen. Carlos P. Romulo.

Washington complains that Manila has imposed monetary controls and slapped import taxes on U.S. goods. Manila, however, points to a bill for \$972,000,000 in government claims presented to the U.S. four years ago which is still unpaid.

### Need More Dollars

### To Bolster Franco

"Twenty years of Franco fascism have driven Spain to the edge of total financial and economic bankruptcy. Its only visible means of support today is the U.S. Treasury, which in the past five years has shelled out \$1,000,000,000.

"It is doubtful that the \$200,000,000 scheduled for Spain this year as part of our foreign aid program can stave off disaster much longer."

These are the conclusions drawn by Arnold Beichman in the Jan. 19 New York Post after reading a confidential report "prepared by highly placed economic experts with known access to Spain's financial secrets."

But this does not mean that Franco's entourage face bankruptcy. Recently a "scandal" was made public involving 1,200 Spaniards with clandestine foreign currency accounts in Switzerland. These are said to total between \$125,000,000 and \$280,000,000.

### Another Soviet

### Conquest in Science

Soviet nuclear scientists announced Jan. 23 that they had put the world's largest atom smasher into capacity operation at Dubna near Moscow.

The giant, doughnut-shaped synchrotron, capable of accelerating protons to an energy of 10,000,000,000 electron-volts, will be used to explore the structure of the atomic nucleus.

The world's second largest atom smasher, at Berkeley, Calif., has a capacity of 6,300,000,000 electron-volts.

### Jobless Stage

### Sitdown in Italy

When 980 workers received layoff slips in a factory at Florence, Italy, 400 of them decided to stage a sitdown strike. They marched to the factory and barred its entrance. They pointed out that the Italian Constitution "recognizes the right of all citizens to work ..."

For three weeks thousands of workers have taken up collections in the streets and brought the strikers food and money. Demonstrations in favor of the strikers led to scuffles with the police during which shop windows were smashed.



1,500 Jobless Hold Rally in Buffalo

Constant Companion

Editor: Due to a recent move on my part I find it necessary to inform you of my new address.

G.M. Vancouver

Bureaucrats Bad; Plutocracy Worse

Editor: Please accept enclosed \$5 for your general use.

You are largely right in criticizing the Communist bureaucracy; but I'm sure it is not presently nearly so dangerous, wasteful, immoral or hate-filled as our ever-lying, self-righteous plutocracy in the USA.

J.K. Greensburg, Pa.

Now You Know?

Editor: Cancel my subscription. I thought I was subscribing to a real nice socialist paper.

nounce the leaders of the Soviet Union.

John Foster Dulles, big business, and capitalist publications also denounce the Soviet Union. What smiles and comfort they must have and the nice favor you did them by joining them in their denouncing the Soviet Union with their lies, hypocrisy, gutter filth, slime and smear.

Now I know why Trotsky had to leave his own country. A.S. Roy, Wash.

Thanks!

Editor: Enclosed is a \$5 bill for your splendid, poor man's paper.

A.U. Bellingham, Wash.

Friendly Response From CP Members

Editor: While selling subs to the Militant I have been meeting many of my CP and ex-CP friends. None have raised the old shouts of "Trotskyite goon squads" or "Trotskyite fascist agents" and generally speaking I have been welcomed in a comradely fashion.

Now they say that we are well-intentioned, hard-working people, who unfortunately waste our energies by entering the arena of direct socialist politics. They refuse to participate in

electoral socialist activity, yet feel the phonyness of participating in the Democratic Party. They try to justify their abstinence in the 1958 election by saying that the whole Independent-Socialist affair was a Trotskyist show anyway.

I can only hope that these friends will put on their walking shoes next time and outnumber us in the task of getting signatures and votes. Once they have come to the conclusion that we aren't monsters, then the next step is to realize that even the most politically backward person knows the difference between a pretender and the real thing.

H.M. New York

No News in "News"

Editor: Please send the Militant for six months for \$1 to an unemployed man who marched Jan. 12 at Detroit City Hall. I couldn't find any news about it in our News.

I've been off since December 1957 and can't even find work at all.

R.C. Detroit

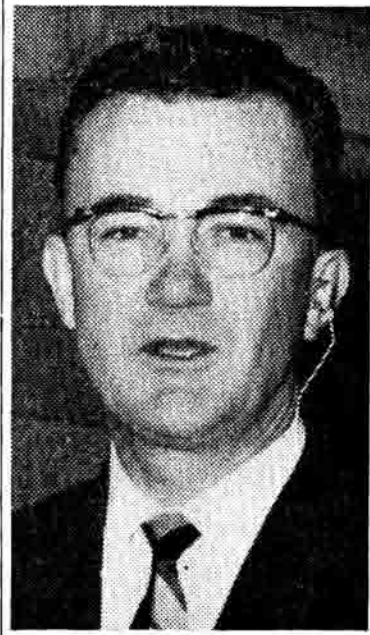
Press for 30-Hours In Detroit

DETROIT, Jan. 25 — Unemployed union members here are continuing their campaigns for the 30-hour week, jobless compensation benefits for the full period of unemployment and other measures to ease the plight of the unemployed.

A well-attended meeting of the UAW Production and Skilled Workers Unemployed Committee in Labor Temple last Tuesday voted to:

- (1) Start a petition campaign urging the top UAW officers to "immediately indicate their support to Senator McNamara" of the 30-hour bill he has promised to introduce in Congress if the UAW leadership would endorse it.

Witch-Hunt Victims



FRANK WILKINSON



CARL BRADEN

Held 'Guilty' for Refusal To Answer Committee

ATLANTA, GA. — Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson were found guilty of contempt of the House Un-American Committee on Jan. 21 and here. Both were freed under bond pending appeal of their sentences to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Braden, an active integrationist, and Wilkinson, a civil liberties leader, had refused to answer questions of the committee on the ground that it violates fundamental rights of privacy guaranteed by the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Braden had also accused the committee of using its position to harass people working for integration in the South. Two of the three members of the committee that quizzed Braden and Wilkinson last July are Southern Democrats.

For Braden, the present conviction is the latest in a long series of attacks by the Southern racists and witch hunters. In December 1954 he was sentenced to 15 years in prison in Kentucky on a "sedition" charge after he and his wife Anne had helped a Negro couple buy a house in a Louisville suburb where no Negro had lived before. The house was bombed and the Bradens, along with

AFL-CIO Sponsors Meeting at Auditorium

BUFFALO, Jan. 23 — The first mass rally of jobless workers to be held here in decades met yesterday to protest the severe unemployment crisis on the Niagara Frontier. Initiated by the AFL-CIO, the rally at Embassy Auditorium brought out 1,500 people despite a bad storm.

With over 65,000 workers walking the streets and exhausting their unemployment benefits at the rate of 600 a week, the principal pressure for calling the rally came from workers of such plants as Bell Aircraft, where thousands have been laid off, and the American Car and Foundry Corp. where an announced shutdown will idle 600.

The principal speaker at the rally was Roy Reuther, an International official of the United Auto Workers. The militant temper of the meeting was apparent in the cheers and applause that punctuated his speech as he talked about the dignity of labor and hit at those who view the jobless as "surplus labor."

Declaring that "unemployment is not the problem of the unemployed; it's everyone's responsibility," the UAW spokesman urged support to the program on unemployment put before Eisenhower and Congress by the AFL-CIO. His only reference, however, to the urgent need for the shorter work week without a reduction in pay was that it would be achieved "in the not too distant future."

A sour item at the rally was the speeches by local employers

and politicians who had been invited to participate by the AFL-CIO officialdom. The Mayor's Committee on Full Employment presented a plan to attract more "defense contracts" to the area as a means of resolving the unemployment crisis.

Governor Rockefeller's newly appointed Industrial Commissioner Martin C. Herwood agreed the jobless problem was serious but said that labor will have to sacrifice if defense contracts are to be procured.

Ralph Peo, member of the Mayor's committee and president of Houdaille Industries, an outfit noted for its brutal speed-up, layoffs and "incentive" system, asserted that industry wasn't getting enough production for its dollar and that there was too much labor strife in the area. There was unrest in the audience at this point and a few workers left in disgust.

A leaflet distributed at the rally by the Buffalo local of the Socialist Workers Party outlined a program for combating unemployment by fighting for the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay; a debt moratorium for the jobless; unemployment compensation for the total period out of work; and other related demands. The leaflet was well received and many favorable comments were made on it.

The NAM Protests

The National Association of Manufacturers saw a diabolical plot in Edward R. Murrow's TV exposure of Wall Street's sex life. Murrow's hour-long documentary described how big business includes prostitution as a regular part of its free entertainment for buyers.

The chief beneficiary of this exposure, the NAM charged, would be the "labor unions."

According to the NAM, the unions "desperately need something to divert the public spotlight from their own wrongdoings to the sins of business, even if, as in this case, the 'sins' turn out in the end to be mostly a hoax."

Some of the NAM members wanted "equal time" to answer Murrow. The majority preferred to sit tight, hoping that the furor would die down.

Hearst's Journal American in New

York, which has been crusading for years against the "immorality" of communism, considered Murrow's broadcast "an unsupported smear against American enterprise, the prestige of New York City... the reputation of its police force... [and] an outrageous insult to the great institutions that form the backbone of America's economic strength."

But the public relations departments of the big corporations continued to offer to prospective buyers entertainment of the kind many of them have become accustomed to expect.

Dorothy Kilgallen reported in the Jan. 27 Journal American that Murrow's vice broadcast "didn't deter the chaps who ran a convention at one of New York's most famous midtown hotels last week. They engaged the usual ladies-for-pay to entertain the visiting tired business men, despite 'the heat.'"

GUEST SPEAKERS

Guest speakers at the rally were AFL-CIO state president Gus Scholle (see story page one); Wayne County AFL-CIO president Al Barbour; and Councilman William T. Patrick, who told the audience the Common Council would soon invite their representatives to discuss their proposals that the Council endorse the McNamara bill and urge the auto corporations to discontinue overtime work while so many are jobless.

Their attendance indicated growing interest in the activities of the unemployed. The Detroit Labor News gave the meeting its front page banner headline: "ASK 30-HOUR WORK WEEK."

The meeting also elected Art Fox (Local 600), Manatee Smith (Local 3) and Charles Weinstein (Local 7) to serve as co-chairmen of the committee with Joe Shaner (UAW Skilled Trades Council).

Manatee Smith cited the latest statistics to show that Michigan workers are still suffering from the worst recession since the war and that increasing productivity makes it imperative to mobilize support for McNamara's 30-hour bill. "LIVING ANSWERS"

Art Fox took up various arguments raised against the 30-for-40 program, answering them one by one. He said, "You (the audience) are the living answers to arguments against the 30-hour week." He was particularly scathing about the "morality" argument (if the work week is shortened, it is claimed, then workers will spend their time hanging around bars) in the light of the previous night's revelations over the radio about the widespread use by big business of prostitutes to clinch contracts and sales.

He concluded by predicting that if the present Democratic-controlled Congress doesn't act to meet the needs of the unemployed, then Ford Local 600's proposal for a farmer-labor party will meet with growing support.

Edith Van Horn, a steering committee member, reviewed the work of the committee in its few short months of existence and pointed to a series of achievements to justify the self-organization of the unemployed. She also advocated reopening the UAW contracts to negotiate a shorter week.

Local Directory

- BOSTON: Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200. Every Sunday night, round table discussion, 8 P.M. Room 200.
BUFFALO: Militant Forum, 831 Main St.
CHICAGO: Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736.
CLEVELAND: Socialist Workers Party 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1815. Open Friday nights 7 to 9.
DETROIT: Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward.
LOS ANGELES: Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4053 or AN 3-1533. Book Shop open Mon. 7-9 P.M.; Wed. 8-10 P.M.; Sat. 12-5 P.M.
MILWAUKEE: 150 East Janneau Ave.
MINNEAPOLIS: Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon to 6 P.M. daily except Sundays.
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 7-2186.
SAN FRANCISCO: The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Rm. 4. Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone PR 6-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321.
SEATTLE: 655 Main St., MU 2-7135. Library, bookstore. Classes every Friday evening at 8 P.M. Open House following at 10:30 P.M.
ST. LOUIS: For information phone MO 4-7194.

Penna. Suffers Sharp Rise in Unemployment

The number of unemployed workers in Pennsylvania rose sharply during January to a peak of over one-half million according to reports in the Pittsburgh Press.

In the week ending Jan. 2, the Bureau of Employment Security reported continued claims for unemployment compensation had reached 275,603 from 219,133 and claims by newly unemployed rose from 52,121 to 57,412.

Continued claims for jobless pay in the week ended Jan. 9 rose from 339,463 to 403,799 and new claims for compensation were up 22% to 69,953; claims under the federal emergency program for workers whose eligibility for state benefits has been exhausted went from 5,879 to 6,262. The reported total has thus reached 480,014. Under the statistical procedures now used many tens of thousands of jobless remain unreported.

William L. Batt, Jr., Pennsylvania secretary of Labor and Industry, said "unemployment swept across the construction, apparel, textile, trade, service, stone, clay, glass, non-electrical machinery and transportation industries." (Pittsburgh Press, Jan. 17.)

What is happening to the living standards of the jobless is graphically illustrated by a report of Donald C. Reidel, supervisor of the Pittsburgh Surplus Food Program, who said that last May 16,000 families were receiving surplus supplies while by Jan. 8, 1959, the number totaled 30,000 families or close to 70,000 persons.

In the absence of a trade-union program of struggle for the 30-hour week with no reduction in pay, workers are forced to choose between two evils: Various share-the-work schemes, or total layoff for one group of workers with those remaining on the job working long hours under speed-up conditions.

Even the share-the-work schemes do not prevent total unemployment in many instances. At the East Pittsburgh Westinghouse Plant, for example, 6,500 men have been working three or four days a week on a share-the-work "furlough" system. Yet 2,300 workers are completely laid off.

At a meeting of the plant's Local 601, International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) 3,500 members voted unanimously Jan. 11 to request the company to continue its share-the-work plan. Plant management had notified the union Jan. 9 that it wanted to end the furlough system because some workers have been complaining that they are being cut out of work.

Calendar Of Events

DETROIT: Friday Night Socialist Forum invites you to meet and hear Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, who will speak on "Perspectives for Independent-Socialist Political Action Today." Fri., Feb. 6, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward.

CHICAGO: Sergi Eisenstein's "Ten Days That Shook the World." Also Don Bas coal miners in the Russian Ballet and Folk Dances." Social affair following 8:30 p.m., Sat., Feb. 14. Donation 90c. Militant Labor Forum, 777 W. Adams.

New York

The Laura Gray Memorial Committee announces a recital by a distinguished violin and piano duo. Works by Vivaldi, Bach, Mozart and Debussy. Sunday, Feb. 15; 3:30 p.m. 46 West 21st St. Contribution \$1.

Dobbs vs. Browder

Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, will debate Earl Browder, former General Secretary of the Communist Party, on the issue of Marxism in America. The debate will be held Friday, Feb. 20, 8 P.M. at Central Plaza, Second Avenue and Sixth Street, New York City.

Notes in the News

PAY OFF — After heading a Harlem revolt in 1958 against the "plantation" rule of Tammany in the Democratic Party, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell made a deal. If he stuck with the Democrats, his seniority in Congress would be respected and he would get chairmanship of a committee. On Jan. 28 his bid for a subcommittee chairmanship in the House Education and Labor committee was defeated 21 to 7. All but one of the new Northern liberal Democrats joined the gangup. Powell spluttered: "I do not want to serve on any subcommittee after this shameful act of Northern so-called liberal Democrats."

STRETCH-OUT — Responding to strong demands by New York teachers for a pay hike, School Superintendent John Theobald has offered junior and senior high-school teachers extra money if they work another 45 minutes a day. All of the teachers' organizations except one have condemned the proposal, declaring, "It isn't a raise — it's a stretch-out." The Junior High School Principals Association said it will support the stretch-out because there is a shortage of teachers.

DENOUNCE "LOYALTY" OATHS — The presidents of Yale, Harvard and Princeton universities have protested loyalty-oath provisions in the National Defense Educational Act passed by Congress last year. A. W. Griswold, president of Yale, scored the "anti-subversive" measure as "at best odious and a potential threat to our profession." The Association of University Professors, with 40,000 members, is sending letters to congressmen urging repeal of the "humiliating" provision.

RETROACTIVE RENT HIKES — Tenants in a midtown New York studio building have taken court action to reverse a state supreme court ruling granting their landlord rent increases retroactive to the date of application in May 1957. In addition to the monthly jump, tenants in the building have been billed for back increases running from \$5,000 to \$10,000. The judge who agreed to review the case ordered them to put the money in escrow pending his decision.

SPREADING POISON — Mass distribution of hate literature reached a postwar peak last year, according to the American Jewish Committee. Most of it is said to originate in Northern and Western states although a major audience is racists in the south.

ONE IN SIX — A record 11 million people are now employed by federal, state and local governments. This is about one sixth of the total work force of the country.

NO PLACE TO HIDE — An Atomic Energy Commission official says it's meaningless to think of evacuating cities to avoid danger

of fallout after an atomic blast. He said a change in wind could doom the fugitives while leaving their city untouched.

GOUGE SCHOOL CHILDREN — The New York Transit Authority, which pays over a quarter of a billion dollars annually in interest to bankers, has proposed that school children pay the regular 15-cent transit fare instead of the present reduced fare of about five cents.

A COP'S BULLET — A 16-year-old New Jersey boy will be paralyzed for life because a cop put a bullet in his spine. The police explained they mistakenly thought he was making a get-away from a holdup. The boy's father said: "I don't want sentiment or sympathy. But I do want justice. I want to know why my boy was shot down."

NEGRO UNIONIST BEATEN — Asbury Howard, an international vice president of the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, and his son were beaten by a white mob at the Bessemer, Ala., city hall after Howard had been fined \$600 and sentenced to six months in jail for putting up posters depicting a Negro in chains and urging Negroes to vote. Rev. Martin Luther King of Montgomery and Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth of Birmingham on Jan. 25 demanded a federal investigation, particularly "for lack of protection" by local cops who stood by during the mob attack.

WELLMAN REGAINS PENSION — After a four-year fight, the Veterans Administration agreed Jan. 23 to restore the disability pension of Saul Wellman, Detroit Communist Party leader. Severely wounded in World War II, his pension was cut off in 1954 after he had been convicted under the Smith "Gag" Act. Wellman's attorney, Osmond K. Fraenkel, said the decision did not make clear whether the benefits would be retroactive.

WHO SHOULD GET THE ROD? — The New York State Legislature is considering a bill that would give teachers the right to inflict physical punishment on pupils. New York City Council President Abe Stark said that the bill "authorizes greater physical force in a classroom than is permissible in our city jails." How about a law authorizing voters to use the rod on legislators who refuse to learn any lessons about progress?

WHOSE FAULT? — Adlai Stevenson said in San Francisco Jan. 26 that it's nobody's fault but the people's that our educational system is in bad shape. "They will buy TVs, autos, washing machines, even travel, on time and credit, but not education for their children." He didn't say anything about the government's fault in taking billions of dollars that should go into the school system and wasting them in war preparations.