

'Big Four' Spar Over Unsettled German Issue

By Daniel Roberts

During the last three months, Washington and Moscow have been sparring with each other in the diplomatic ring. Thus, on Feb. 24, Khrushchev slapped down the West's proposal that the issue of divided Germany be negotiated at a "Big Four" foreign ministers' conference.

WAR DANGER

While jabbing and parrying, both sides seek to give the impression that they are eager to bring about a resolution of the German question. Conflict over divided Germany — and over

Reformatory Is Death Trap for Negro Children

MARCH 5—Southern racists send Negro children to reformatories "for their own good." This morning 21 Negro boys, trapped behind locked doors and barred windows, were burned to death when fire razed the Wrightsville Training School for Negroes outside Little Rock, Ark. No adult had been on watch at night for a week.

Bodies were burned beyond recognition. Other children are missing and may be dead.

Gov. Faubus said he inspected the building last year and found it safe. He said he would recommend building another reformatory that would be "fire resistant."

Calif. 'Friend of Labor' Pays Off His Backers

By Milton Alvin

Less than a month after taking office, the new Democratic governor of California, Edmund G. Brown, has begun to reveal his attitude towards the labor movement which was largely responsible for his election.

In a special message to the legislature, Brown demanded passage of a list of restrictive measures against the unions. Deploring the failure of Congress to pass the Kennedy-Ives bill, Brown stated, "We must lead, not follow," as he opened his campaign to hamstringing the unions in California.

Among the measures proposed by Brown are provisions for regulating the number of union meetings held each year, requirements for quorums at such meetings, regulations for electing and recalling officers and so on. These are presented as protection of the democratic rights of union members but would actually permit a state government department to interfere with the independence of the unions.

Another bill introduced by Democratic Assemblyman Miller, with Brown's blessing, would give the Department of Industrial Relations virtual dictatorial authority over unions in shops where more than one union claimed jurisdiction. To call any strike would be extremely difficult if someone in the plant claimed a jurisdictional issue was present.

Brown's election last fall was due mainly to the desire of the majority of California voters to retire the arch-reactionary Sen William Knowland to private life. Brown benefited from widespread union support. He came out against the so-called Right to Work proposition which Knowland pushed very energetically.

However, once in office, Brown like other Democratic Party politicians began by moving against the unions who support-

divided Berlin within divided Germany — threatens to precipitate war. Both Washington and Moscow urge an easing of cold-war tensions. But each is so deeply involved in Germany that neither side can offer a genuine solution to the problem. The precondition for such a solution is that both powers remove their occupation troops and allow the German people to determine their own fate.

The present German crisis began last November when the Soviet government announced that it would end its participation in Four Power military control of Berlin. Moscow said that it would turn over its military functions in Berlin to the East German regime sometime at the end of May. Thereafter, British, French and U.S. military officials will have to get clearance from East German instead of Soviet authorities to bring food and other supplies to West Berlin from West Germany. (Berlin is 100 miles inside East Germany.)

The Soviet move is designed to win Western diplomatic recognition for East Germany. Following such recognition, the Kremlin proposes that all countries in the war with Nazi Germany sign a peace treaty with both German governments. All foreign troops should then leave Germany, which would remain neutral and disarmed. The two German governments would be free to form a "confederation." Capitalism would be guaranteed in West Germany, while Soviet property forms would be upheld in East Germany. A more complete fusion could be negotiated between the two German authorities. The effect of the Soviet proposal would be to retain the partition of Germany but lessen Western imperialism's military threat against the Soviet Union. (On the side of the NATO (Continued on Page 3)

4 Out of 10 U.S. Families Hurt by Recession Pinch



Archbishop Makarios returns to Cyprus after Britain, Greece, Turkey made island a republic. British exiled him for advocating union with Greece.

List Batista Holdings for Confiscation

A new law authorizing the Cuban Government to confiscate all money and property now in the hands of Batista's collaborators will become effective later this week. Bank accounts of three former officials (\$356,959) in Matanzas have been reported confiscated by Faustino Perez, Minister in charge of recovery of stolen government property.

Under this law the government can confiscate money and property acquired by merchants, industrialists, cane and coffee planters, ranchers and mine owners.

The immediate targets are former dictator Batista and his Vice-President Guas Incan, all cabinet ministers since the Batista coup of March 10, 1952, all senators and representatives of both government and opposition parties who either held or sought office from 1954 to 1958, and all provincial governors and municipal mayors who served under Batista. Their holdings run into hundreds of millions of dollars.

At the same time Castro has begun to institute his land reform program. Under it, 67-acre plots are promised to landless peasants. The government's Agricultural Development Bank bought 25,000 acres of land for \$430,000 to distribute among 346 peasants in Pinar Del Rio province. Associated Press reports that 16,000 acres of this land can be used for grassland and growing tobacco. The rest is wooded or rocky.

Nyasaland Crowds Face British Troops

MARCH 4—The African struggle for freedom from imperialist rule reached a new high last week in Nyasaland when demonstrators faced British planes, guns and tear gas. The crowds shouting for the independence of Nyasaland responded with sticks, stones and whatever else they could lay hands on. Yesterday at least 23 were killed by British forces and scores wounded. Despite British violence, the independence struggle has grown in intensity since the first demonstrations Feb. 19.

The latest killings came as troops fired on crowds gathered at a local jail demanding the release of nationalist leaders. Some 250 nationalists were reported imprisoned.

The British rulers declared a state of emergency yesterday and Dr. Hastings Banda, leader of the Nyasaland African National Congress, was seized by the British and flown to Southern Rhodesia. In that area, under a Feb. 26 emergency decree, 700 Africans have been placed behind barbed wire in a concentration camp.

Nyasaland and Southern and Northern Rhodesia comprise a federation from which Nyasaland is demanding independence. Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia are British protectorates. Southern Rhodesia, which has the largest concentration of whites, is a self-governing colony. The rigged federation set-up gives the reactionary white settlers of Southern Rhodesia political control of all three countries.

The federation is slated for dominion status next year and this has further spurred the Nyasaland independence movement. The Africans fear that with greater autonomy, the white rulers of Southern Rhodesia will become even more oppressive.

The situation in Nyasaland is so explosive that the British Colonial Office in London felt compelled to announce Feb. 26 that a scheduled visit there by the Earl of Perth, Minister for Colonial Affairs, had been postponed due to fear it would touch off "heightened violence."

The British imperialists are worried that the Nyasaland revolt will spread into the Rhodesias. They are especially concerned with their precarious position in Northern Rhodesia, where they have been exploiting rich copper deposits for 58 years.

In Southern Rhodesia the dictatorial power of Prime Minister Sir Edgar Cuthbert Freeman Whitehead was challenged when 6,600 African workers struck the huge Kariba

Discussing Berlin Crisis



British Prime Minister Macmillan (left) holds animated conversation with Soviet Premier Khrushchev during recent discussion over Berlin crisis. In center is an unidentified interpreter. The talks ran warm, cold and warm again. Diplomats now say some kind of summit meeting may result from the Macmillan-Khrushchev negotiations.

Stage Political Strike in Ceylon

MARCH 4 — Trotskyist-led unions in Ceylon yesterday conducted a one-day general strike as a political protest against pending government legislation that would take the country a long way toward police-state rule.

A proposed amendment to the national security act would empower the government to break strikes by declaring any service "essential." An "emergency" decree would permit it to call out the armed forces and muster striking workers back on the job under penalty of jail and fines. The security amendment was rammed through the House of Representatives after police dragged out members of the party belonging to the Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja Party because they protested arbitrary shut-off of debate. The Ceylon Senate is slated to act on the measure at its next session March 10.

no violence. Most workers stayed home as if it were a legal holiday. Much of Colombo was deserted.

It added that while the government had placed the city's transit system on "a war footing," there were "few passengers to protect."

"The strike hurt Colombo's newspapers," the dispatch continued. "The Ceylon Daily News brought out one edition which had been printed before midnight yesterday. None of the afternoon papers were able to publish today."

The Times dispatch confirms the government claim that "some" unions did ignore the strike call. "Ceylon's Communist Party had no part in the general strike, although it, too, has been critical of the amended security act. Members of the Communist-led trade unions reported for work today, behaving in effect as strike-breakers."

Since it won power in 1956, Bandaranaike's regime has moved steadily to the right. Before election he made a campaign pledge to repeal the security act. Now he demands it be made even more sweeping. The attitude of the Communist Party toward the government has been characterized as "ambiguous."

The report said, "There was

Survey Finds Stabilizers Did Not Work

By Alex Harte

Four out of every ten American families have been directly hit by the economic recession. This fact, indicating something of the real impact of the recession, is the chief finding of a national survey made last October but not made public until last week.

The survey, described in an Ann Arbor, Michigan, dispatch to the March 1 N.Y. Times, was directed by three nationally recognized experts in economics and sociology at the University of Michigan.

They are Prof. Fedele Fauri, Dean of the University School of Social Work and Chairman of the U.S. Dept. of Labor's Federal Advisory Council on Employment Security; Dr. William Haber, Professor of Economics and authority on unemployment insurance; and Professor Wilbur Green.

Their report says that 40% of the American people suffered reductions in incomes, in the period preceding the date of the survey, through layoffs, part-time employment or other financial setbacks.

The government's figures on unemployment, which are fairly well publicized, give only a weak reflection of the conditions produced by the capitalist recession.

At any given time within the year preceding October 1958, there were 4 1/2 to 5 1/2 million unemployed. But in one out of every seven families the chief bread-winner had been unemployed at some period during the twelve months, the report says.

Among persons covered by unemployment compensation, says the report, benefits amounted on the average to only 37% of normal weekly earnings, instead of the 50% which even Eisenhower puts as a bottom requirement.

The findings, says the report, "indicate that the existing built-in stabilizers in our income maintenance programs were not — and still are not — satisfactory to meet another similar recurrence" of economic decline.

"Built-in stabilizers" have been widely touted by capitalist economists as sure-fire preventives for depression.

American capitalism, despite its gigantic war spending, has clearly not solved the problem of mass impoverishment, which Karl Marx singled out as a deep-going tendency in capitalist economy.

As a Child Did You Like "Alice in Wonderland"?

By Joyce Cowley

too well we wonder. Does he take life too lightly?"

Five million employees, from executives to assembly line workers, have taken these tests to date and in 1959 the figure will probably go up another million, as 60% of major corporations are using the tests, not only for hiring but for promoting, too. You may even be fired from a job you have held for years if your tests don't come out right.

"THEY STINK" On many of these tests, the results are computed by IBM machines and then "analyzed" by psychologists who never see the job applicant. The opinion of psychologists not employed by personality-testing outfits is that tests made by these methods are practically worthless. Dr. George Bennett, president of the Psychological Corporation, the largest publisher of personality tests, says: "Frankly, they stink."

Recently a new test has been developed which may become the most popular of all, as it can be given in three minutes and quickly graded by a personnel man. No psychologist is required.

"The AVA test," Gross reports, "consists of a list of 81 adjectives, ranging from 'self-starter,' 'charming' and 'thoughtful' through 'ambitious' and 'kind' to 'cruel' and 'lazy.' The applicant first checks off those words which other people have used in describing him, then those which he feels truthfully apply to his own personality. The AVA-trained personnel man, using stenils and charts, then converts the answers into a little zig-zag picture of the subject's personality. The result — which plots Aggressiveness, Sociability, Dependence and Stability — is then compared with hundreds of typical job pictures in the 'AVA Pattern Universe,' to see how the applicant checks out. Your 'get-up-and-go' or what AVA calls 'life force' is measured simply by counting the number of adjectives you have checked. Zero is equated with 'death'; 162 (81 x 2) with total 'life.'"

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One testing firm, described as "psychologists to management," stays with their victim for his entire life, "probing" him twice a month, at lunch or dinner, in his home or on the golf course. This intensive study is reserved for executives, but none of us — factory workers, truck drivers, office workers or sales clerks — are safe.

Here's an example of what the "brain pickers," as Gross calls them, did to an applicant for a job as milk delivery man. He completed the sentence "Most women are . . ." with the words "very smart." He didn't get hired because this revealed that he was submissive and hen-pecked. A delivery man should be able to make a good impression on housewives, which is evidently achieved only by men who consider them stupid.

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LIFETIME PROBE

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The Gross article gives detailed instructions on how to beat the tests. "Conjure up the image of a happy stable Horatio Alger type who was an

Eagle Scout at 13 and won the Congressional Medal at 20," he says, "and answer as if you were he." You are not tired at the end of a day's work. You rarely see a dentist because your teeth resist decay. If you are a man and don't want any questions raised about it, you love raw meat but you dislike flowers. You never go to museums; the man with cultural inclinations is considered by testers to be as dangerous as a radical.

Radicals are unmasked by questions like this: "Which man do you admire most . . . Washington or Lincoln? Julius Caesar or Aristotle?" It is self-evident that Lincoln, who signed the Emancipation Proclamation, is a bad choice, but you have to be alert to realize that Aristotle is a bad choice, too. Aristotle was a thinker. If a man starts thinking . . .

What the employer wants is a mindless automaton, indifferent to horticulture, philosophy or art, with enough physical energy to do a day's work, but not too much. Not enough, for instance, to go to a union meeting in the evening.

The growth of personality testing is particularly dangerous in a period of rising unemployment. Workers who admire Greek culture or attend concerts may become psychologically unemployable, because the boss is afraid they will get ideas and make trouble on the job.

But management has overlooked one thing. Unemployed workers, too, can get ideas. They may conclude that free enterprise, instead of offering the individual opportunity and freedom, winds up demanding an "ideal worker" difficult to distinguish from a robot.

Next Week

Our next issue will feature special articles on the growing problem of unemployment, including proposals by the Socialist Workers Party for effective measures to combat the effects of the recession. Help to give it maximum circulation by ordering extra copies. Bundles of five or more are only six cents a copy.

How to Make a Recession Pay Off

By Harry Ring

"Productivity Drive."
"Industry Aims to Hold; Expand Recession Gains as Production Climbs."
"Firms Hire More Selectively, Add New Machines, Revise Employee Communications."
 Those are the headings the Wall Street Journal used in its lead story Feb. 24.
 Just in case the Wall Street Journal isn't sold outside your unemployment insurance office, here's a summary of its cheerful report on how big business used the recession to get more production and higher profits out of fewer workers.
 "The present surplus of workers in many lines makes it easier for management to push productivity-boosting programs. Most employees will work a little harder when they know a number of their friends have no job at all."
 Regular WSJ readers seemed to know that already. "We're getting more work from fewer men. And we're getting to get even more work from even fewer men." That was the blunt way an industrial relations director of one big appliance manufacturing outfit put it.
 The Kawneer Company, an architectural metal work firm in Niles, Mich., figured a few things out for itself too. "We noticed that every time we had a layoff, our productivity picked up and we had the same production from fewer people."

Skin Them With TV

"Employees' attitudes can slow down or speed up production," said a production pusher for a Chicago chemical company that boosted output eight to ten per cent last year without extra workers or new equipment. "We'll hold our production gains, too. We have convinced our employees of the necessity for doing so."
 These boys have single-track minds on profits; but they're quite flexible when it comes to skinning a production worker. For example, the Anaheim, Calif., plant of the Hallamore Electronics Co. invested \$40,000 in a television system. Three days a week at lunch every worker in the plant enjoys TV, "unless he hides in a closet or eats with his eyes shut."

There aren't any Westerns or sportscasts. The closed-circuit system programs company products, efficiency measures, and company policies. The Journal doesn't say whether or not the program includes shots of the local welfare office, but it notes that "whatever the workers may think of the program" production has gone up.

"Sometimes, however," the Journal notes, "merely pointing out the problem isn't sufficient." It reports an exciting discovery made by Bell & Howell, the big Chicago camera manufacturer. The workers in the lens department were told that the company had decided to buy lenses from other companies whenever the price was lower than their own cost of production. The lens department, fearing layoffs, boosted production by a solid 30 per cent. "Now we are even exporting lenses," chortled a Bell & Howell spokesman.

Put Machines In, Men Out

Automation, improved production methods, consolidation of jobs and standardization of parts are used to step production up and the payroll down.

Bell & Howell has done most of these things, including making interchangeable parts for cameras in various price ranges. The "productivity" drive paid off in a payroll trimmed from 4,071 workers down to 3,736, although sales increased 13 per cent over 1957.

More efficient machinery is used not only to jack up production but to break down union-established job classifications. The Ohio Boxboard Corp., of Rittman, Ohio, recently installed a die-cutting machine for corrugated boxes that requires only 15 per cent of the operator's time for loading. On the old one, loading occupied 85 per cent of his time.

"We insisted that he use the time saved to work with other crew members in removing finished pieces from the machine," reported the industrial relations vice-president. Three workers on the machine are now producing 30 per cent more boxes than previously. None of them, he plausibly adds, works as hard as he did before. Of course, if the market doesn't expand, one of the three may soon be working at finding another job.

Across the country, when sales go up, it's becoming standard practice to put the established job force on overtime rather than add more workers.

Gould-National Batteries of St. Paul prefer overtime at premium pay to hiring new workers. They hold that "it is better to use the trained work force we have and get a higher rate of efficiency than to add more people."

Fieldcrest Mills, a North Carolina textile outfit, had its 500 workers on three and four days a week last year. This year sales took a sharp upswing but not a single new worker was hired. Instead the 500 are on a six-day week. The personnel manager says, "We see no reason for changing this policy."

Unemployment in Detroit is near an official mark of 200,000; but last December those still on the job were putting in an average of 40.9 hours, a 7 1/2 per cent increase over the same month in 1957. "It's only natural," a Michigan Employment Security Commission spokesman explained philosophically. "Management's first move is usually to add overtime hours. Later, if it is necessary, it will add stations to a production line."

When production expands to the point where companies are compelled to put on additional workers, they keep the number down as low as possible. Those who get through the personnel screen have been carefully inspected for strong muscles, low militancy, and willingness to cooperate in keeping their pay checks small.

The St. Paul battery company that prefers overtime to new hires, takes an occasional new hand. They put applicants through a dexterity test and accept only the most nimble.

A popular new practice is to take hiring out of the hands of the general foreman who might possibly put on a new man just because he needs him. A production supervisor makes the decision so that a double check is kept on squeezing extra work out of the existing crew.

"Upper Third" Only

Things are getting rougher for college-trained technical workers, too. Scouts for the big companies now concentrate on the "upper third" of college classes, ignoring "the run-of-the-mill" graduate. "The mediocre student may get a job all right," concedes the WSJ, "but . . . he will undoubtedly have to accept less money than the premium prospect."

Bright as the picture is for enterprising capitalists, the Wall Street Journal doesn't tell the full story. For example, in the auto industry, the combination of speedup and improved machinery has built up an army of permanent jobless since well before the 1957-58 recession. A Feb. 28 statement issued jointly by the federal Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Automobile Manufacturers Association reveals that since 1953 one out of every five auto workers has been permanently displaced. In 1957, it took only 630,100 workers to produce 6,113,344 cars. In 1952 it required 767,100 workers to turn out almost the same number of cars, 6,116,948.

Good as that may appear to the giant corporations, it has a different meaning for the recruits to the reserve army of laborers: In Detroit, for example, there are now twice as many people on city welfare as there were a year ago, and two and a half times as many as at the bottom of the 1954 recession. In January every tenth person in the city had to go to a government depot for a hand-out of free federal surplus food.

Let Them Move Away

What lies ahead? According to Samuel C. Stearn, chief market analyst for the Michigan Employment Security Commission, "Detroit has developed a hard core of about 200,000 unemployed who just aren't going back to work in the plants."

What to do about it? "The best that could happen," MESCC's Mr. Stearn believes, "is for workers to move away to better diversified areas."

The thought was echoed in a Wall Street Journal editorial branding labor proposals for federal aid to depressed areas as "an attack on change — on the mobility of capital and labor, the free-wheeling attitude that helped so much to make America prosperous."

A free-wheeling attitude is a great thing. Now all the 200,000 Detroit jobless need is carfare and a place to free-wheel to. Meanwhile the entire labor movement had better get down to fighting for a shorter work week and adequate unemployment compensation for the duration.

Does Backing Democrats Help Socialism?

By Murry Weiss

The great problem confronting the socialist movement in the United States is how the American working class, the most powerful and potentially the most revolutionary industrial working class in the world, is going to tear itself loose from the conservative grip of its present bureaucratic leadership and begin a political struggle for its own class interests.

In view of the fact that the crisis of world capitalism is undermining the economic foundations of capitalist America, the entrance of the American working class into the political arena will inevitably lead to a contest for power between labor and its allies on the one hand and monopoly capitalism and its political parties on the other.

The world trend is inexorably anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist. No one records this fact more vociferously than the spokesmen of American capitalism, who respond to each new impulse of the colonial and socialist revolution with agonized outcries. What is most frightening to the American ruling class is the prospect that the world trend will find its culminating expression right here in the United States. For us, however, this is a thrilling and breathtaking perspective. Because with the establishment of democratic workers rule in this country the definitive victory of socialism in the world is assured.

The victory of socialism over capitalism means the elimination of the nightmarish prospect of a nuclear war; the end of hunger, disease, prejudice and tyranny; the beginning of man's rulership over his own destiny. This is certainly a prospect worth working for, isn't it?

But the way to socialism is through the class struggle which is the central feature of our epoch and all the events of our times. We of the Socialist Workers Party base ourselves on the inevitable sharpening of the class struggle in the U.S. American capitalism cannot be the center of world reaction and counter-revolution without organizing a barracks state, a militarized economy, a handcuffed labor movement and an increasingly pauperized working class. The American working class, however, by its very character and tradition and temperament will not submit to this fate.

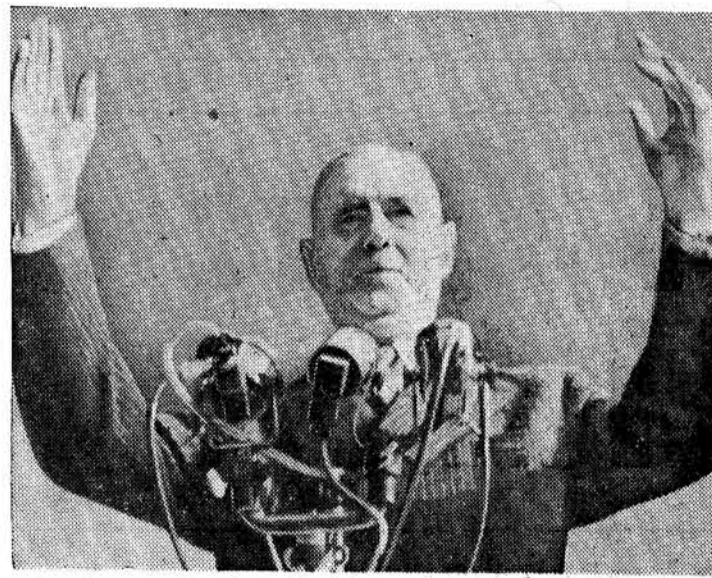
Herein lies the paradox of the American labor movement: Objectively it is thrust into the sharpest antagonism to the capitalist system, yet in the form of the bureaucracy of labor, the movement is tied at its summit to the destiny of the capitalist class, its war drive, its witch hunt, its unyielding determination to maintain the system of exploitation at all costs. The bureaucracy of labor has a stake in the capitalist system!

In proportion to its separation from the daily life and interests of the working masses, it has developed common economic interests as well as ideological and political ties with capitalism. In proportion to its strangulation of union democracy it has come under the domination of the capitalist government, its State Department, its FBI and its two-party system.

POLITICAL STRUGGLES

Everyday we get fresh proof that the American working

Hard Sell for a Hard Life



French Bonapartist Gen. Charles de Gaulle in a Feb. 24 speech at town hall square in Perpignan sternly tells people of sacrifices they will have to make in their living standards to restore "grandeur" of France. His program to put the burden of the crisis of French capitalism on backs of the workers is creating growing dissatisfaction.

class cannot fight for its most immediate and urgent needs without coming into collision with the labor bureaucracy. The fight for a shorter work-week at no reduction in pay, which is a fight against the general lowering of living standards through the creation of a permanent army of unemployed; the fight for civil rights, which is the fight to forge an alliance between the labor movement and the Negro people; the fight against intolerable speed-up of the production lines, which becomes even more intolerable as the number of layoffs increase—all these are political fights under the conditions of modern capitalist America. They require a political program of struggle; they demand the political organization of labor and its allies; they require the complete independence of labor from the capitalist government and parties. And, yes, they require above all the freeing of the unbowed energy and initiative of the working class which can be brought about only through a democratic reconstruction of the unions.

All these struggles, therefore, are in the first place struggles against the policy and power of the bureaucracy. And this is exactly the issue on which we have basic disagreement with American Stalinism and Social Democratic reformism represented respectively by the Communist Party and the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation.

We see the road to a socialist America as a road of class struggle. This means that the labor movement must go through an anti-bureaucratic internal revolution in order to defeat the policy and misleadership of the class-collaborationist bureaucracy. We see as the basic strategy for American socialists the building of a new left wing in the unions that will create a new leadership selected and tested in the class battles that lie ahead and spearheading the formation of a labor party.

The CP and the SP-SDF, on the other hand, are deeply committed to the policy of conciliation and would-be partnership with the labor bureaucracy. This draws a sharp line of demarcation within the radical movement which finds its concentrated expression in differences over electoral policy.

The electoral policy of the Socialist Workers Party is directly counterposed to the electoral policy of the labor bureaucracy. Our policy calls for a break with capitalist politics and the formation of an independent labor party. We say the labor movement should stop supporting the political representatives of the labor-exploiting capitalist class and put up its own candidates on a program that is democratically

decided by the labor movement and its closest allies.

That, in our opinion, is the policy socialists should work for every day in the year and particularly during election periods.

But what is all this talk we hear from the leaders of the SP-SDF and the CP about "work in the two-party system"? It is simply a proposal that the socialist movement have no independent policy of its own; that the socialist movement says to the labor bureaucrats, "Please include us in your policy;" under this policy the socialist movement abdicates its duty to fight the ruinous political policy of the labor officials every inch of the way.

The labor movement has been "working" in the two-party system long enough. The problem before us is how to free the movement from this bureaucratically imposed formula. Clever schemes for changing the policy of the labor officials by adopting their policy as our own can only result in a chain reaction of betrayal.

The labor officials themselves started out with this logic. They were going to outwit the capitalist liberals. They were going to show how cleverly they could capture the Democratic Party for labor; and they ended up being captured themselves. Then as willing captives of the capitalist Democratic Party machine they worked to provide support and a popular base for it.

They argue the necessity of the policy of captivity by the fact that the workers—deprived of any other choice at the polls than two sets of capitalist politicians—vote for capitalist politicians. Then they say, "It is not our wish but the wish of the working people who vote Democratic. We cannot isolate ourselves from the great majority of the rank and file of labor."

Along come the CP and SP-SDF leaders, echoing this argument. "It is an unfortunate fact of life," they say, "but we must face reality. The American workers vote for capitalist politicians. We cannot isolate ourselves from this reality. We must work in the two-party system."

HOLD SAME VIEW

For all their differences on other questions the SP-SDF and the CP hold the same view on this crucial problem. This is recognized by my opponent in this debate, David McReynolds, who said in a letter to the Militant:

"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. 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 think McReynolds oversimplifies his problem. The division in the radical movement over the question of class struggle versus class collaboration policies in politics, does not place all "Communists and Socialists"—including many affiliated to the CP and SP-SDF—on the class collaboration side. On the contrary, there is the deepest dissatisfaction in the ranks of the CP and SP over the policy of aping and tailing the labor bureaucracy on the political field. That's the reason why the leadership of the CP and SP-SDF are so busy trying to disguise their policy and cover it with tricky and euphemistic formulas.

The CP, which has long had the problem of putting over its policy on the main body of radical workers in the U.S., has developed a whole system of

double-talk to say: Oppose capitalist politics by voting for capitalist politicians. The SP-SDF has its own brand of "flexible" policy.

Early in 1957, at the SP and SDF merger convention, the late Louis P. Goldberg said as party secretary: "We are organizing a new political party which is pledged by our unity agreement not to rush rashly into the electoral field." And who was Goldberg assuring with this quite unnecessary promise that the SP-SDF wouldn't "rush rashly"? He explained:

"The expression of fear in some corners [I wonder where? MW.] that a new socialist party would interfere with labor's political action is unfounded. Carrying out our document on political action, we will not nominate for public office candidates in opposition to those endorsed by the legitimate labor movement."

This took care of the key problem of SP-SDF political action policy; namely, that it should be clearly understood that there is no intention of opposing or even inadvertently hampering the political policy of the labor officials.

But McReynolds now claims that his own SP-SDF-supported candidacy for Congress in the 19th District in 1958, waged against a labor-endorsed Democrat, Farstein, demonstrates that the SP-SDF has somehow overcome the policy outlined by Goldberg and is not bound by any commitment to non-interference with the political course of the labor bureaucracy.

I'm sorry. But this isn't true. And the argument of McReynolds is simply too flimsy to bear serious examination. The real contest in the New York State elections was on the level of state-wide offices. Any party that wanted to express its political position in the contest was bound to define its attitude towards this basic line up: the two capitalist cold-war politicians, Harriman and Rockefeller on the one side and the Independent-Socialist candidate, McManus, on the other.

Whom did the SP-SDF support for governor? Certainly not the socialist candidate. Against the ISP the SP-SDF threatened legal action that could have invalidated its ballot rights. Nor is it a question of the incapacity of the SP-SDF to qualify for the state ballot. No one would complain about that. But the fact is that McReynolds or some other candidate of the SP-SDF could have waged a write-in campaign for governor just as easily as for Congress—and with a lot more radio and TV time. If the consideration was, as McReynolds says, to wage a socialist educational campaign, then certainly this was the logical step. But to run against Harriman would have brought the SP-SDF into a conflict with the policy of the labor officials and this they simply would not do.

NO POLICY?

To say that the SP-SDF simply had "no policy on the gubernatorial contest is an evasion which leaves room for the slick game of one hand not knowing what the other is doing. This "flexible" policy is explained by one of the recent additions to the camp of the social democracy from Shachtman's former Independent Socialist League. Michael Harrington, in a pamphlet called "The New Left," says:

"Certainly, a politically conscious unionist who believes in socialism and working for a labor party through labor political action in the Democratic Party belongs in the socialist movement. And so does the worker, or student or intellectual, who feels that the best way to act is through cooperation on immediate issues, but who refuses the conception of actual entry into the Democratic Party."

In the manner of an elderly sage, Harrington can see virtue in both positions: "The democratic socialist community is broad and flexible enough to contain both points of view."

And in the long run, each way of acting probably makes its contribution to the development of independent politics in the United States."

How fortunate! It is merely a problem of division of labor. Some people follow a policy of capitalist politics; others a policy of working-class politics, and the socialist movement can accommodate both policies—until the class struggle intrudes.

This article is a condensation of Murry Weiss's presentation in a debate Feb. 27 with David McReynolds of the Socialist Party — Social Democratic Federation.

Actually it is not a question of a patient attitude towards some worker who mistakenly thinks a labor party can come out of following the policy of the labor bureaucrats. It is a question of accommodating the SP-SDF to the needs of the labor bureaucracy and hoping thereby to win entry into the "community of labor."

USED IN 1936

Harrington's prescription was known long ago to the right-wing Social Democrats and Stalinists. In 1936 it was used as a device to liquidate the mass socialist vote in New York State and help the union bureaucrats deliver the vote of the socialist-minded workers to the Democratic Party.

William Z. Foster remarks on this in his January Political Affairs article:

"In the Labor Party work, inside the old parties and independently, a major effort should be concerned with dovetailing the work in both spheres. This was one of the strong points of the earliest years of the New York ALP. The workers in the ALP could work in complete harmony with their brothers and sisters who had not yet taken similar steps by breaking with the old organizations and setting up independent organizations." And just incidentally, the leaders of the CP and SP could work with their brothers and sisters in the labor bureaucracy in putting over this mockery of political independence on the radical workers.

The policy of the SP-SDF is, of course, soft and flexible in only one direction—towards the labor officials. Towards the worker who wants to support a socialist candidate as against a capitalist, the policy is rigid and harsh.

And this is written into SP-SDF law as follows:

Flexible: "It shall be the privilege of individual state and local organizations to allow their individual members to support candidates for public office who have been endorsed by liberal and labor groups." (Section 7, SP-SDF Memorandum of Understanding, adopted late 1956.)

Rigid: "In no event may state or local organizations or individual members support or endorse nominees of the Communist, Trotskyite or other totalitarian parties." (Adopted at the May 30, 1958, Detroit convention of SP-SDF.)

That sums up the position of the Social Democrats with respect to electoral policy. At the same time the slanderous charge of "totalitarianism" raises the extremely important question of the relation between socialism and democracy.

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

Vol. XXIII—No. 10

Monday, March 9, 1959

Hoffa's "Argument"

Sitting in a penthouse of the luxurious Eden Roc Hotel in Miami Beach, James R. Hoffa, president of the Teamsters Union tossed off an "argument" against the demand for a shorter work-week at no reduction in pay.

Hoffa took issue, in his press interview, with AFL-CIO President George Meany, who said last week, "If our efficiency and technological improvements are making possible the production of more goods with fewer people, then we've got to have a shorter work week."

Meany's statement, backed by a demand of the AFL-CIO Executive Board for an "immediate" 35-hour week at 40-hours pay, was prompted by the pressure of militant unionists and the unemployed.

Hoffa's argument against shortening the work-week ran as follows: Say that the average factory wage is now \$79 a week. Say that hours were reduced by gradual steps over a three-year period from 40 to 32 without reducing pay. That would be "all that most employers could absorb," since it would be "equivalent" to a pay increase of close to \$16 a week. Therefore, Hoffa reasons, most employers couldn't afford to raise wages. Therefore take-home pay would stay the same. Therefore living standards would not be any higher at the end of the three-year period.

That's where Hoffa got militant in his Miami penthouse: "I don't think any group of workers is going to be willing to stand still at \$79 for three years. Definitely the Teamsters aren't."

The Robert Thompson Case

Communist Party leader Robert Thompson is in danger of being returned to prison to complete a four-year contempt-of-court term meted out to him for jumping bail after his conviction under the Smith "Gag" Act. Upon serving part of the contempt sentence, he was released on bail in 1956, pending Supreme Court rulings on other similarly excessive sentences for contempt of court. The Justice Department is now seeking to have Thompson's bail rescinded.

The Communist Party is "correctly" calling for wide protest against this new move in violation of Thompson's civil liberties. But at the same time Communist Party leaders seem incapable of refraining from slandering supporters of the Thompson case even if it risks injuring his defense.

Writing on the case in the Feb. 15 Worker, Arnold Johnson recalled that in 1953 a prisoner in the New York House of Detention by the name of Pavlovich fractured Thompson's skull with a lead pipe. Johnson blandly stated that the assailant was "a Yugoslav Trotskyite." Two weeks later, an unsigned news story in the March 1 Worker repeated that Pavlovich was a "Trotskyite."

The CP leaders did not dare print such a slander of the followers of Trotsky at the time of the assault. The official Communist Party statement on the attack said Pavlovich was a "fascist." (Daily Worker, Oct. 26, 1953.) A news story in the same issue described him as a one-time member of the Yugoslav "fascist Chetnick brigade." As late as Dec. 28 of last year, Ben Davis described him accurately in the Worker as "a fellow prisoner crazed by the anti-Communist hysteria of the McCarthy period."

While Thompson was in the hospital

Not One

Without a word of debate, the House of Representatives unanimously passed a bill March 2 aimed at reviving the government witch-hunt.

The measure, which was backed by the arch reactionary American Bar Association and the Department of Justice, is intended to counteract recent decisions of the Supreme Court against the infamous Smith Act.

Sponsored by Francis E. Walter, Pennsylvania Democrat who heads the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the bill seeks to get around the Supreme Court's 1957 decision in a California case that the word "organize" in the Smith Act signifies the actual organization of a group to teach or advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence and not a continuing process of organization.

"The term 'organize,'" the Walter bill reads, "with respect to any society, group, or assembly of persons, includes the recruiting of new members, the forming of new units, and the regrouping or expansion of existing clubs, classes, and other units of such society, group, or assembly of persons."

The bill is clearly unconstitutional, for it seeks to deny free speech and the

First of all, why should unions agree to "stand still" at prevailing wages while they demand a shorter work-week to take care of the unemployed? Certainly not for the reason that Hoffa suggests; that "employers" couldn't afford a wage increase after reducing hours. The capitalist class has been squeezing huge extra profits out of workers on a 40-hour week. They do it through automation, other technological advances and murderous speed-up.

Secondly, to "stand still" in the face of continuing inflation means taking a wage cut. Many unions have already adopted and partially won the demand for an escalator clause as an answer to this problem.

Thirdly, there are millions of unorganized workers in this country whose wages must be brought up to standard if for no other reason than to safeguard the union scale. The unions can't "stand still" to do that. They have to press ahead.

Defense of the standard of living has always meant an all-sided struggle to raise wages, shorten hours, improve conditions, and organize the unorganized. With a "hard core" of permanent unemployment now reappearing in America, this struggle has become more important than ever.

The shorter work-week at no reduction in pay, together with an escalator clause in contracts tying wages to prices, can lay a solid foundation for pressing the historic aim of the union movement: raising the standard of living of all workers.

The CP leadership did initiate a whispering campaign that Pavlovich was a "Trotskyite." (This was in the days when they still called Tito a "Trotskyite," too.) But in print they did not go beyond asserting that Pavlovich "was being defended by the Workers Defense League, a Trotskyite organization." (Daily Worker, Oct. 26, 1953.)

Every politically literate person in the labor and liberal movements knows that the Workers Defense League cannot truthfully be called a "Trotskyite organization," whether by way of praise or depreciation. To the extent that its leaders can be classified politically, they are generally regarded as having a liberal or Social Democratic viewpoint. The organization has opposed the Smith Act; and a number of those prominently associated with it, such as Norman Thomas, have joined in amnesty appeals for Smith Act victims belonging to the Communist Party.

According to a spokesman of the Workers Defense League, the organization, which is quite active in deportation cases, did give Pavlovich legal aid in the Immigration Department hearing before the attack on Thompson. It did not participate in his defense against criminal charges.

For our part we will continue to do everything we can to help Thompson from going back to prison and to arouse maximum support for his defense. We think this case deserves backing from everyone interested in building a united front against the witch-hunt in general and the Smith Act in particular.

As for the Communist Party leadership, we suggest that they begin practicing elementary labor solidarity and elementary honesty by refraining from smearing those who have differences with their policies.

right of assembly. When the witch-hunt bill was called up, a single objection by any member of the House would have blocked it. No objection came. Out of 153 Republicans and 283 Democrats, not a single member spoke up. Not one.

The liberals of both parties were affected, it seems, by a malady to which they are peculiarly susceptible in test situations. The symptoms of this disorder, which strikes whole groups like Congress with remarkable swiftness, are weakness of the spine, swallowing of the tongue, paralysis of the knees, and complete amnesia for even such recent and dramatic events as a landslide order from the voters to stop playing the McCarthy game.

As this witch-hunt bill goes to the Senate unchallenged by a single labor-endorsed Democrat, we think militant unionists should write it down as one more lesson on the need for independent political action. A single representative of the American labor movement in the House could have stopped Walter and forced a debate that would have given the voters a chance to let Congress know what they think about starting up the witch-hunt again.

But there was no representative of labor there. Not one.



"Very becoming — but the Russians thought Mr. Macmillan looked just awful in it."

A Liberal Democrat "Revolts" Against Johnson's Dictatorship

Most worms are reputed to turn at one point or another. There seemed to be an exception to this rule among the liberals in Congress. But last week one of them finally made a brave speech about the dictatorial control Senator Johnson of Texas exercises over members of the Democratic Party in that august body.

William Proxmire of Wisconsin made headlines for this feat when he declared on the floor of the Senate Feb. 24 "that the typical Democratic senator has literally nothing to do with determining the legislative program and policies of this party in the Senate."

And how did Czar Johnson respond to this exposure of his one-man rule of the Democratic machine? "With wry amusement," the March 9 U.S. News & World Report said. "Senator Johnson has no plan to hold party caucuses more often, as Senator Proxmire wanted."

The Democratic liberals are reported to have been "seething at what they consider Johnson's high-handed methods in determining party policy." They have held any number of "cloak-room" conferences about it, but each time they worked up enough courage to say something in public, they thought of Johnson's control over committee appointments, jobs, and pork-barrel legislation.

Not a single liberal Democratic senator backed Proxmire

on the Senate floor. They waited instead to pick up the head after the axe dropped on the exposed neck.

PROXMIRE UNBUTTERED

But Johnson did not do much. One of his lieutenants, Senator Neuberger of Oregon, simply put into the record a long list of occasions when Proxmire had "battered up" Johnson for nearly a year.

The fact is that Proxmire didn't say the half of it. Johnson runs the Senate through two powerful committees, the "Policy Committee" which schedules the legislative program and the "Steering Committee" which determines committee assignments. Johnson is chairman of each committee.

The combined membership of these two committees is 24. Not a single one of the major industrial states has representation on the two committees. None of the dozen largest states, except Texas, is represented. The only Eastern states are Rhode Island and Delaware. Half the representation is from the South and another eight are from the Mountain or Southwestern states.

Proxmire's revolt was not entirely motivated by love of democracy. One of his pet bills is a measure to help small oil companies who are fighting the giant corporations for a bigger share from the country's oil pools.

... "Big Four"

(Continued from Page 1) powers there are reportedly three positions. German Chancellor Adenauer and French President de Gaulle hold an "inflexible" position which rules out any foreign troop withdrawals from West Germany, and more particularly, from West Berlin. They insist that unification of Germany can be brought about only through "free elections," and they bar recognition of the East German government by any NATO power.

British imperialists at this juncture favor a "flexible" approach to the German question, including a pullback of troops in both West Germany and East Germany, some form of diplomatic recognition for East Germany and negotiations between the East and West German governments.

The current position of the U.S. State Department seems to lie between the British and Adenauer-De Gaulle positions. Thus through the intercession of Washington, the Western powers agreed among themselves that they "might be willing to recognize the East Germans as 'agents' of the Soviet Union provided Moscow were ready to offer firm guarantees that the access routes [to West Berlin] would remain open."

In West Germany, the sparring between the Kremlin and the State Department over the country's fate has aroused sentiment for negotiations between the two German governments to bring about unification.

WORKERS' ROLE

Growth of sentiment among the German people to bring

about reunification through joint East and West German efforts is a welcome development. It could encourage the German working class in both parts of Germany to intervene decisively in the process. The German working people have been prepared by their struggles during the last several years to take a hand in the matter. The West German workers waged a militant campaign first against German rearmament and more recently against West Germany becoming a nuclear power. The East German workers revolted in 1953 against the "regime of gendarmes and bureaucrats" foisted on them by the Kremlin. The most class-conscious among them declared themselves for a united workers' Germany freed of foreign occupation troops and without capitalists.

Both Washington and the Kremlin — each for its own reasons — fight this program. Washington wants capitalism ultimately restored throughout Germany (and beyond that throughout the Soviet bloc). Atomic war lies at the end of this road. The Soviet bureaucrats, on the other hand, fear a democratic German workers' state because it would help undermine their dictatorial rule over the Soviet working people.

But creation of a united and independent German socialist state would deal a mortal blow to Washington's plans for World War III. It would bring the day much closer when the threat of war will be banished altogether by a world socialist order.

This would be done by cutting the "depletion" allowance of the big companies to 15% while permitting those with incomes less than \$1,000,000 to take 27 1/2%.

Proxmire also wants an "investigation" of "tight money" to see who is making the biggest money out of it and what the effect has been on the cost of living. This is opposed by all the big commercial banking interests. It was for this reason, Proxmire's friends believe, that Johnson kept him off the Senate Finance Committee although he was entitled to the appointment according to the rules of seniority.

— W. F. W.

The American Way of Life

Las Vegas! Cadillacs, mink coats, juicy steaks, glamorous show people, roulette, luxury living.

Logandale is 65 miles northeast of this center of pleasure and treasure. Last week almost 1,000 ragged, hungry homeless men, women and children squatted out there. These farm labor families had to camp in the fields because they could find no work.

They had come up from Arizona because the cotton crop had to be plowed under due to weevil infestation. When they got to Nevada, they ran into a mass of surplus labor.

Some workers claimed that the ranchers encouraged this influx to guarantee a well-stocked reservoir of cheap labor when the radish, onion and tomato harvests ripened.

The children are the main sufferers among these migrant families huddling in the fields. One family alone has 18 sons and daughters.

There are flu and ringworm. Some have been sleeping without shelter other than the trees. Temperatures drop to freezing at night.

One migrant worker, Richard Zouno, 40, was given an old tent for his family. "It leaks when it rains," he shrugged. "But it's better than staying out of doors. Wind comes up at night and it just eats you."

FEAR TYPHOID

The authorities feared an outbreak of typhoid. The migrants had to drink water polluted by cattle from the irrigation ditches. The Governor of Nevada proclaimed a state of emergency and rushed medical aid to eliminate the threat of an epidemic. Typhoid spreads. . . .

That same week plans were announced for a new 15-million dollar, 10-story, 1,200 room hotel for Las Vegas. It will include every conceivable feature for luxury living from a stock brokerage office and an authentic Japanese tea house to special playgrounds and wading pools for children.

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 24 — More than 200 farm laborers, mostly of Mexican-American descent, rode from the rich agricultural valleys of Southern California to throw a picket line around the Hotel Billmore here. They came to dramatize their protest against low pay, bad living conditions and unemployment at the opening session of the four-day National Conference of Farm Labor Services.

Their main target was Eisenhower's Labor Secretary James P. Mitchell who addressed the conference on farm problems. Mitchell suggested that domestic agricultural workers be given the protection of minimum wage and maximum hour laws and that the use of foreign workers be reduced or eliminated. He said his department has been studying legislation along these lines to be ready some time this year.

A spokesman for California's corporate farmers warned that the same labor standards could not be applied in agriculture as in industry.

"TOO SLOW"

Four organizations joined in bringing the farm labor pickets to the conference. These were the United Packinghouse Workers of America, the National Agricultural Workers Union, the Agricultural Workers Assn., and a Mexican-American civic group, the Community Services Organization.

Clive Knowles, UPWA international representative, condemned the Labor Department's study of the farm labor problem as "too slow."

"Our people are desperate and hungry; we want action now," he said. "There were between 140,000 and 150,000 braceros (Mexican nationals) imported into California alone at the peak season last year to take the jobs and undercut the wages of domestic farm workers."

These braceros do not have the meager protections given domestic farm laborers. The corporate farmers are even using them at starvation wages to run new harvesting machinery which displace unionized workers.

Headlines in Other Lands

Bolivia Explodes In Anti-U.S. Wrath

An article in the Latin American edition of Time magazine, quoting the arrogant and cynical attitude of a U.S. Embassy official towards the desperate economic plight of the Bolivian people, touched off a miners strike and mass anti-U.S. demonstrations in La Paz and other Bolivian cities.

Police killed a 15-year-old boy March 3 in their attempt to break up a demonstration near the U.S. embassy in La Paz. This led to a mass funeral demonstration.

A March 3 AP dispatch reports, "The miners, also a target of the article went on strike for higher pay, paralyzing the Government-owned mines."

The Time article said the U.S. gave Bolivia "more Yankee aid dollars per Bolivian than for any other people on earth." It continued, "Last week a United States Embassy official added up the results and made a wry face. 'We don't have a damn thing to show for it,' he said. 'We're wasting money. The only solution to Bolivia's problems,' he went on to wisecrack, 'is to abolish Bolivia. Let her neighbors divide up the country and the problems.'"

March 4 the AP reported a demonstration before the La Paz U.S. Embassy the night before and noted, "The government said Victor Villegas, a member of the Trotskyite Workers Revolutionary Party, led the mob and ordered his arrest." A N.Y. Times editorial March 5 speaks of "the agitation of labor union extremists, some of them Trotskyite."

'Free World' Realty Under Chiang

"A group of prominent Taiwanese met by pre-arrangement at a small, inconspicuous tea house. Singly and in pairs they arrived through winding alleys and back lanes." This is how a "clandestine press interview" was gathered according to N.Y. Times reporter MacGregor.

Asking that their identity be kept secret, these upper-class Taiwanese, who declare themselves to be anti-Communist, told the secret press conference the following: "The fact is, democracy has been stifled here. If there is no

democracy here how could there ever be democracy on the mainland under the Nationalists?" (A businessman.)

"No Taiwan native has ever been a Cabinet minister here, a provincial governor, a high-ranking military officer or a security officer." (A professional man.)

Other facts revealed at this strange "speak bitterness" press interview:

"The secret police hold the Taiwanese in a grip of fear and terror those who attempt to build up an opposition party."

"Court justice is weighted heavily in favor of the Nationalists. The Justice Ministry controls both high and district courts."

"Insurmountable pressure is brought to bear on voters by subtle threats and other methods. In districts where government workers do not poll 80% majority for Nationalist candidates, investigations and discharges follow."

Malta Dockworkers Fight Mass Layoff

Malta dockworkers moved into action when 6,000 of the 12,000 employed at the naval yard received dismissal notices. The layoff came when the naval yard was given to a private British firm. The Maltese General Workers Union and the Labor Party, led by Dom Mintoff, denounced the take-over because it was decided by the British government over the head of the elected Maltese government. Britain recently suspended Malta's colonial constitution in response to a political upheaval on the island.

During a three-hour demonstration, cars belonging to dockyard officials were burned; a fire engine was toppled into a drydock; stones were hurled at the offices of C. H. Bailey, the British firm that is taking over; Rear Admiral J. Lee Barber, dockyard superintendent, was stoned as he went to his office. He ran for safety.

Death Sentences For Foes of Rhee

South Korea's Supreme Court Feb. 27 upheld a death sentence imposed on Chu Bong Am, head of the outlawed Progressive Party. Chu had been found guilty of "espionage" under Rhee's notorious National Security Law. The sentence of

death was also upheld against Yang Myun San. And lesser sentences were approved against four other leaders of the Progressive Party.

In another move to crush opposition, Rhee's District prosecutor's office in Seoul filed charges against a newspaper publisher, Han Chang U, and his editorial writer, Choo Yo Han, for an article which allegedly "implied violent revolution."

One Million Jobless In Great Britain

Newsletter, paper of revolutionary socialists in the British Labor Party reports Feb. 21: "According to the official figures, unemployment in Britain is now higher (except for the 1947 fuel crisis) than at any time since the hungry thirties. By mid-January there were 621,000 registered unemployed, an increase of almost 90,000 in one month. Of this number, 287,000 have been on the dole for more than eight weeks. There were 172,000 workers on short time at the beginning of the year, an increase of 13,000 in two months. . . . If various kinds of concealed unemployment are taken into account, the unemployment rate is now well over a million."

Dutch Imperialists Squawk About Nationalizations

The Dutch government protested March 4 against what it called "the unheard-of massive violation of the rights of Dutch subjects in Indonesia" in a note to Jakarta. The protest referred to the law promulgated last December to nationalize all Dutch businesses in Indonesia as "not valid." Meanwhile, the Indonesian Cabinet in Jakarta, also on March 4, approved a draft regulation nationalizing 15 Dutch-owned electric and gas companies.

Opposition Unites Against Somoza

The leaders of Nicaragua's two major opposition parties signed an agreement Feb. 24 creating a united opposition to the Somoza regime which they characterized as a "dictatorship and dynasty oppressing here for more than 20 years."

Geopolitical Service For U.S. Air Force

The article by Paul Abbott in the "American Way of Life" column Feb. 23 missed by a mile. He quoted Kahn of the "Physics Division of the RAND Corporation."

It is obvious from the last paragraph that Abbott thinks that RAND is Remington Rand. The real story about RAND appears in last week's Nation. As you will see it has nothing to do with Remington Rand. It is the American counterpart of the Nazi geopolitical center.

Put Henry Gitano on that story. I enjoyed his series on the FBI and also that little editorial on sacred Edgar.

A. Sharon San Francisco

Abbott admits that he rarely reads anything outside such magazines as the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. In the January issue he saw Kahn's optimistic report on how an atomic war could be made into only a "limited catastrophe" that would destroy perhaps no more than half or one-fourth of the population of America. He thought that readers of the Militant would appreciate the good news.

The editors of the Nation (Feb. 14) explain that "RAND" is a "trick name" for an agency set up by the Air Force 13 years ago. "Sustained by public funds, it 'thinks' for the Air Force and enjoys, apparently, a remarkable degree of autonomy."

In his article in the Nation exposing RAND, Gene Marine says that the organization was

formed around a "core of Douglas personnel," then was moved out of the aircraft plant in 1947.

The Ford Foundation loaned it \$1 million, interest free. This was converted to a grant in 1952 and RAND moved into its own building in Santa Monica, Calif.

The outfit has about 800 employees, most of them in the \$15,000 to \$25,000-a-year bracket. A little under 150 are Ph.D.s. On contract to the Air Force on a cost-plus basis, RAND's bill to the Air Force in 1958 was \$13 million.

"RAND is generally described, when it's described at all, says Marine, 'as a super-secret outfit in which high-priced, high-domed individuals—engineers and philosophers, physicists and anthropologists— devote their time to figuring out bigger and better ways to kill people.'—Editor.

U.S. Wage Rates Are the Lowest

American manufacturers contend that they cannot compete with foreign producers in the world commodity market due to our high wage rates and their low. Fact is that American wage payments in relation to productivity of labor are the lowest in the world.

Inability to compete is not due to wage rates but to other factors, chief of which is too many people who do not produce. In fact we have more consumers than actual producers. This cuts down competitive capacity.

In our country the biggest consumers are the idle rich. Al-

so there are others who eat but do not sow or reap.

Sends Editor "The Power Elite"

I am mailing you in a separate envelope "The Power Elite" sent to me by the Liberty Book Club. I belong to it and agree with them let's make 1959 the big leap forward for the workers of both hand and brain.

I saw a large ad in the Sunday Worker and the National Guardian, both papers that I take as well as the Militant. But I failed to see any mention in the Militant. For that I praise the Sunday Worker and criticize the Militant.

Last fall it was the other way. The Worker took a narrow sectarian line and became a tail to the Democratic Party. Do they think that the tail can wag the dog?

The unemployed are beginning to think. They are beginning to think socialist. Before they thought their job was good forever and they were more capitalist-minded than Rockefeller.

It is as true today as when Karl Marx first said it: "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workingmen of all countries, unite!"

C. T. Wisconsin We already have a copy of "The Power Elite" which the Liberty Book Club sent us, but we can put another to good use. We have recommended the book since it was first published.

Californians 'Disappoint' Witch-Hunt Group

"What Else Do You Expect from Cops?"

NEW YORK—A battery of press agents have been plugging away for years to create a favorable "image" of this city's police department as "New York's Finest." The

image went up in smoke again when Patrolman Francis J. Rogers was arrested Feb. 25, charged with raping and killing a 60-year-old widowed grandmother. He was the ninth cop arrested on criminal charges in the past seven weeks as new revelations of wholesale graft and corruption in the force rocked the city.

According to police department spokesmen, the rape-murder occurred while Rogers was on a drinking spree with a friend. Driving through Brooklyn, they spotted elderly Mrs. Viola Mirman on the street, induced her to get into the car, beat her with the cop's blackjack, raped and then dumped her in a parking lot. She died in a hospital several hours after she was found. Her skull had been fractured and her nose and jaw broken.

No doubt the department would have liked to pass off this grisly crime as an unfortunate case of a "bad apple" that somehow managed to sneak into the force. But three members of the Brooklyn morals squad have just been indicted for tapping the phone of a bookie in order to shake him down. Top officers in Harlem have been broken for participation in a gambling ring.

Three patrolmen have been suspended for being on the scene of a holdup under sus-

picious circumstances. Two more were arrested for shaking down a 'merchant seaman they had picked up on the street. Twenty-six cops called before a grand jury investigating corruption on the Brooklyn force have balked at filling out questionnaires on their personal finances. If Commissioner Kennedy means business when he says that he's going to clean out the "bad apples" as fast as he finds them, the 24,000-man force ("biggest in the 'free world'" should be down to the size of a squad in short order.

The stench created by these revelations led Kennedy to suggest that maybe cops should be given psychiatric examinations before entry on the force. The results would probably be interesting but wouldn't bring any basic change. Cops are already given stiff examinations which only one in eight applicants succeed in passing. And they are apparently good church-goers. More than 75 per cent are Roman Catholics.

What counts is that police are the sworn defenders of a social system that spawns crime and violence on an incredible scale—a society where the payoff is part of the natural order of things.

One murder and 90 assaults and rapes take place every day in New York. Robberies, burglaries and larcenies run almost 400 a day. More than 171,000 people are arrested each year. "New York's Finest" solve only two out of every five major crimes committed. How many of the unsolved ones they commit themselves hasn't been established.

Detroit Cops Demonstrate Racist Bias

Detroit's cops are racist minded. They showed this last week in a way everybody could see when they set out to block an order to integrate a police station on the East Side.

In cooperation with sergeants, lieutenants and top officials, they "slowed down" throughout the city on enforcing the law.

There are only 94 Negro policemen out of 2,500 assigned to the 15 precincts, yet the order assigning Negroes and whites at one station to go on patrol car duty together, touched off the racist sentiment. In one 24-hour period the cops issued only 126 tickets for parking violations—less than 10 per cent of what they would write on a normal day.

Even then they managed to put 85 of the 126 tickets on cars of workers.

Michigan state law forbids strikes by public employees, but Mayor Louis J. Miriani said he would not invoke it in dealing with the police on this problem.

"I Have No Shame," Declares Captured New York Landlord

A grand jury returned five criminal informations containing 425 individual counts against him, shortly before he was arrested.

When the slum landlord was questioned at the New Jersey police station he said, "I have no shame for my record . . . I have cooperated with the courts in New York for 12 years. I should be given some consideration for my record."

Yet a check by a New York newspaper of the records of the Wyckoff management revealed that for the years 1957 and 1958, only \$1,050 in fines was levied for more than a thousand violations in 20 buildings. These included inadequate toilets, rat infestation, no hot water, broken ceilings and windows, rotting beams, and "conditions dangerous to human life" some of which were noted as far back as 1937.

Since Feb. 13 the Police and Fire Departments have kept all five buildings under 24-hour guard. Despite orders to stay out of the buildings, three families unable to find other lodging moved back in, pending execution of the board-them-up order.

They had appealed for two



United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther joins picket line of Puerto Rican workers during recent meeting of AFL-CIO Executive Council on island. The 95 workers at the Technicast Manufacturing Co. have been on strike for three months for higher wages. A number of small U.S. companies have set up shop in Puerto Rico on basis of tax exemptions and lower wages than mainland.

Socialists Hit Tax on Poor in Michigan

DETROIT—Daily newspapers here last week reported opposition in the state to "any tax on family incomes under \$7,500."

Candidates of the Socialist Workers Party in the April 6 election were reported as campaigning against plans to impose a state income tax on Michigan working people.

The four nominees are Robert Himmel for State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Evelyn Sell for University of Michigan Board of Regents, and Harriet Talan and Rita Shaw for Wayne State University Board of Governors.

Harriet Talan, is a senior at Wayne State University, and her three running mates are all former Wayne State students. A folder issued by Miss Talan says, "A student voice belongs on the major policy-making board of a university. Who knows better than students what the crisis in education means? They have to live with it. They deserve a meaningful say in the decisions to meet that crisis."

'Witnesses' in Probe Refuse to Cooperate

LOS ANGELES, March 1—The House Un-American Activities Committee barnstormed here again last week. It subpoenaed 31 people, grilled witnesses for three days,

found none of them responsive and left with the threat, "We shall return."

On the first day of the "hearings" ten witnesses, including several young people, exercised their rights under the Fifth Amendment to refuse to answer questions. Chairman Walter (D-Pa.) said he was "very disappointed." "I thought at least one or two of them would talk. I don't know if we're going to get much at all."

On the second day of the "hearing," A. L. Wirin, the noted American Civil Liberties Union attorney, filed a legal action in Superior Court asking that the subpoena against one of the school teachers be quashed. This, too, discomfited Walter.

By the third day of the "hearings" Walter had dropped subpoenas against five school teachers. But he threatened an investigation "as big as a barn" of Los Angeles school teachers in June. "It might point to legislation to the restriction of employment of some persons in this field," he said. Then he admitted, "It's a delicate subject."

Apparently the Los Angeles Times agreed. In an editorial, it gently rebuked the committee, stating, "Communists reap an added crop of subversion when efforts to root out disloyalty result in unreasoning mass suspicion."

Besides his attack on teachers, Walter sought to intimidate the Mexican-American community by charging that it too was "red infiltrated." Walter is co-author of the discriminatory Walter-McCarran Immigration Law, which the Mexican-American community opposes.

During his appearance here, Walter threatened new discriminatory laws. Because there are at present no quotas on immigration from other parts of the Western Hemisphere, he said, "anybody can enter this country and this is providing a fertile field for the Red buildup."

Walter asked witnesses such questions as this: "Will you outline for us the Red master plan for operations among the Mexicans." Delfino Varela, a social worker, told Walter: "My objectives are subscribed to by the entire community. These are to help the Mexican people and disabled people to share more fully in our democracy. I have found hearings of this type are hampering these objectives because they are making people suspicious of all civic activity. Furthermore I sincerely believe that these hearings into peoples, associations and beliefs violate the First Amendment."

Frank Wilkinson, of the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms was on hand during the hearings to give aid to those subpoenaed. (He is currently appealing a Contempt of Congress conviction, himself, for refusing to answer House Un-American Activities Committee questions in Atlanta last year.)

In a statement to the Militant at the end of the three-day hearings, Wilkinson said: "Having received an additional \$322,000 from Congress for its investigations in 1959, despite the mounting national opposition to its inquisitions and the introduction of a Resolution to abolish the Committee

by Congressman James Roosevelt, the House Un-American Activities Committee decided to launch a determined counter-attack in Roosevelt's home district.

"They were met by a rock wall of resistance from every one of the 31 persons subpoenaed; not a single witness cooperated despite Chairman Walter's pleadings.

"The Committee's back down in the face of the ACLU court action is an important step forward toward its ultimate abolition.

"The Committee's visit was not without harm. Despite the improving civil liberties climate in Los Angeles, the Committee's attack aroused old fears. Particular vigilance must be paid to the Committee's threat to return to investigate further in the field of education and the Mexican-American community."

Calendar Of Events

LOS ANGELES Meet the author at a dinner and meeting celebrating publication of James P. Cannon's "Notebook of an Agitator." Reading and program dramatizing "Fifty Years as a Socialist Agitator." Entertainment, fine food, refreshments. Sat., March 14, 7 p.m. Forum Hall, 1702 East 4th St. Call AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238 for reservations. Donation \$2.

TWIN CITIES Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, educator, author, lecturer, will speak on "The Outlook For United Socialist Political Action." Sun., Mar. 15, 8 p.m. Andrews Hotel, Rm. M3. Joint Sponsors: National Guardian Associates and Twin Cities Labor Forum.

NEW YORK Myra T. Weiss, Vice-Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party in 1952 and 1956, will speak on "The Chinese Communies." Fri., March 13, 8:30 p.m. Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. 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. MILWAUKEE 150 East Juneau Ave. MINNEAPOLIS Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon to 6 P.M. daily except Sundays.

What About the Teachers?

Integration of Negro students into white schools has raised a further problem. What about Negro teachers? Is integration complete if they are excluded from teaching staffs?

This question has been called to public attention once again by the NAACP in a brief filed Feb. 20 in a case going back to 1955. Eleven Negro teachers were discharged in Moberly, Mo., that year after schools were integrated and Lincoln school, where Negro students had been segregated, was abandoned.

The excuse given by the school board for firing the Negro teachers was that integrated schools required a smaller staff. This did not deter the board from hiring three inexperienced white teachers.

Carl Henderson, superintendent of schools admitted that the Negro teachers, whose experience ranged from one to 30 years, met all

Notes in the News

AFL-CIO MEMBERSHIP DROPS — Due principally to the increase in unemployment, the AFL-CIO has fewer members today than when it merged in December 1955. According to figures released Feb. 25, the united organization now has 13,100,000 as against more than 15,000,000 three years ago. About 1,400,000 were lost through the expulsion of the Teamsters and two other unions but a million were gained in organizing drives. Both the United Auto Workers and the United Steel workers are down a quarter of a million from their peak strength. Current UAW membership is 1,130,000; USW, 1,000,000.

PITTSBURGH COPS ATTACK PICKETS — Striking UAW members at the Allis-Chalmers plant in Pittsburgh had to stand up against city cops assigned to get two flatcars through the picket line and into the plant Feb. 23. Two police were treated at a hospital for cuts and bruises and one picket for a back injury. Twenty six pickets were forced into patrol wagons and taken to jail.

IN "CONVERTED DOGHOUSE" — J. Edward Conway, a member of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination, said Feb. 27 that he couldn't get accommodations in any Adirondacks mountain resort if he were accompanied by Elmer Carter, Negro chairman of the commission. He also cited the experience of two Negro workers sent out on a job in an unnamed "white" community. No rooming house or hotel would put them up. "As a result," Conway said, "they had to sleep in a converted doghouse."

COST OF NUCLEAR TESTS — Responsibility for one-fourth of the mutations occurring in babies born this year can be chalked up to radioactive strontium 90, one of the products from fallout. The estimate was made by Dr. Dell F. Dullum, a California expert on radiologic health. Mutations such as two heads or five legs are generally lethal, but others lead only to crippling defects.

SPIES COME HIGH — Democrats and Republicans are highly budget conscious when it comes to extending benefits for unemployed Americans, but they shut their eyes when the tab comes up for spies. The Central Intelligence Agency is the sole federal department whose budget has never been disclosed. Congressmen estimate that it spends between three to five hundred million dollars each year. Among other feats, the cloak-and-dagger agency is credited with organizing the 1954 armed coup in Guatemala that overthrew by force and violence the democratically elected Arbenz government because its reform pledges were distasteful to United Fruit.

WHAT KIND OF HOUSE? — "Senator Johnson runs an orderly house and most Senators, prima donnas or not, prefer order to disorder." (Rowland Evans Jr. in Feb. 26 N.Y. Herald Tribune.)

COMIC BOOK DECLINE — A leading publisher of comic books has come to the conclusion, according to the Feb. 25 Wall Street Journal, that "There's no money in virtue." From a billion-a-year peak, comic-book sales have plunged to a current rate of 600 million a year. What caused the drop? "The damn cleanup did it," a veteran publisher told the Journal. "Back in 1954 when we set up the comics code and agreed to cut out horror and sex — that's when we sealed our doom."

CAN'T TAKE IT — The introduction of advertising on television has not brought cheers from British viewers. A widespread reaction appears to have been voiced by Christopher Mayhew, a Labour member of Parliament. In introducing a bill to curb advertising interruptions to once in 25 minutes, he called them "symbols of vandalism and profiteering" and "one of the nastiest imports from the United States." As a case in point he cited a Western in which an attack by Indians was interrupted to offer a miracle treatment for your scalp.

DDT POISONING — Suspicion is growing of mass poisoning resulting from indiscriminate use of DDT by American farmers in the absence of government controls. The bald eagle population, for instance, is thought to be dying out because its diet includes fish killed by DDT. Dr. George J. Wallace now reports in the January-February Audubon Magazine that DDT spraying for insects in a 185-acre tract of Michigan State University at East Lansing virtually eliminated robins. It was discovered that earthworms, eating fallen leaves sprayed with the chemical, concentrate it in their bodies. From the earthworms, the DDT goes to the robins where it is concentrated still further, causing death. The professor reported that 140 kinds of birds in this country are now believed to have died from insecticidal poisoning. Food consumed by humans carries residual insecticides, mainly DDT, which some authorities believe have deleterious effects as they slowly accumulate in the body.

CONGRESSMAN AT WORK — Some Congressmen squirmed recently when the press revealed how many of them are padding the federal payroll by hiring relatives at juicy salaries. But Rep. Clare Hoffman (R-Mich.), a political spokesman for the auto bosses, figured that the best defense was the offense. He said he has no apologies to offer for putting his daughter-in-law and granddaughter-in-law on the payroll; and he accused his fellow congressmen of singular lack of concern for the welfare of their own families. "I only regret so many members show no inclination to take care of their own."