

The Rebellion In Tibet

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Secrecy Excuse Covers Atomic Dollar Handouts

By Herman Chauka

Many people now realize that the Atomic Energy Commission uses "military secrecy" as a pretext to conceal, misrepresent or minimize the extent of nuclear-test fallout and the danger it represents to humanity. But this isn't the only field in which the AEC censors are at work.

"The best kept secret of the Atomic Energy Commission does not concern itself with military matters, fallout or the effect of atomic radiation," says Robert Spivack in the March 27 New York Post.

The AEC's top secret, Spivack reports, hushes up multi-billion dollar handouts to big business. Spivack cites Senator Clinton P. Anderson (D-N.M.), Chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, whom he recently interviewed, as his authority.

Anderson charges, for instance, that the AEC has refused to permit plutonium, from being made in large quantities because it can produce cheap electric power. He "feels the AEC is playing the electric power companies' game."

He also charges that the "heat" produced by the plutonium reactor at the AEC installation in Hanford, Wash., is "being wasted by dumping it in the river" rather than being utilized for production of electric power.

This is done, the Senator says, because the utilities companies haven't yet figured out how to control the power for their own purposes or how to sell it at their own prices.

While Anderson doesn't tell the full story of the AEC giveaway program, he cites a few figures that indicate the extent to which the Treasury is being fleeced. . . . the question of peacetime use of the atom is a matter of preventing more than \$16 billion spent on atomic research from being turned over to predatory private utilities companies, the power lobby."

Reporter Tries To Crack Vital Security Area

Legal action by a newspaperman is threatening to breach a vital area of American national security. Vance Trimble, news editor of the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance, filed suit in federal court April 1 to compel Congress to make its payroll records public.

Congressmen are permitted secretaries and "assistants" at salaries ranging up to \$16,300 a year. A recent crop of newspaper exposes again confirmed that most of these offices are held by the lawmakers' wives, children and political cronies. Trimble said his court action is intended to determine if Congress has the right to maintain "a veil of secrecy" over such practices. Apparently he doesn't realize that he is jeopardizing the security of the public trough.

The Hunger They Face In Bolivian Tin Mines

"It is a question of the stomach," declared Victor Urquidi, 28-year old Bolivian tin miner. "We are not going to let the government unfreeze prices at our company stores." Urquidi is one of 8,700 miners working the Siglo Veinte mine in Catavi — the largest in Bolivia. On April 2 the tin miners walked out, the second time this year, and demonstrated against a scheduled increase in commissary prices.

Continued attempts of President Hernan Siles Zuazo to deprive the starving miners of 40% commissary price discounts have been stymied by militant strike action. The April 2 strike forced Siles to retreat again. Fearing "riots" against the nationalized Patino Mining Corporation, the government ordered the stores to continue selling at previous subsidized prices until negotiations with the union were settled.

Urquidi's statement, Juan de Onis, N.Y. Times correspondent says, represented "a challenge that has brought the Bolivian Government to the brink of crisis and sent tremors as far as Washington."

TEA AND COCA LEAVES

The tin miners made clear in an interview with de Onis that he was not impressed with government arguments that Comibol (the government's mining corporation) was running at a deficit of \$10 million annually. "Look," he said, "I've got four children and a wife at home where I share one room with another family of five. I come into the mine at 6 in the morning and leave at 4. In here all I have all day is this tea."

He pointed to another miner who was adding a dry green coca leaf to a wad in the corner of his mouth. Coca leaves contain alkaloids, including cocaine. They are chewed to help numb hunger pangs. "That is what

some do," Urquidi explained. "I don't do it for my kids."

The miners are also victims of silicosis, a lung disease. "I am young in the mines," said Urquidi, "and have already been out once with mine sickness."

There are always deaths due to accidents in the run-down mine. "Not long ago thirteen men were killed in this section in the elevator shaft," continued Urquidi. "On pay day children come up and ask for a few pesos. Go ask your father, the men say, 'My father's dead, the child will say.'"

Urquidi told the reporter of the shameful conditions under which the miners must subsist: "For this work I make less than 12,000 pesos [\$1] a day. At home we have had two bottles of milk this year and we haven't had meat in two weeks. Anybody who says miners are black-marketing their commissary rations is lying [International Monetary Fund made this charge.] We haven't even received half our sugar rations for last month."

That is Urquidi's story backed up by 40 fellow workers who were present at the interview. It is a story of poverty, humiliation and despair.

Coldbloodedly ignoring these conditions the International Monetary Fund, acting in behalf of American financiers, refuses to grant \$26 million in American aid unless the Bolivian government ends its food subsidies to the miners. Thus it deliberately provoked the strife between the miners and the Siles regime in the hope that it will lead to restoration of private ownership in the mines.

AFL-CIO Delegates Say Labor Must Aid Jobless

Fight for Freedom in Congo



Police jeep was overturned and set on fire during demonstrations in Leopoldville last January, in which Congolese demanded an end to Belgian imperialist rule. During the demonstrations, police and paratroopers killed 89 Negroes and wounded 100 others. Stores owned by whites were sacked and looted, but no whites were killed.

Smear West African Republic For Arms Cargo from Czechs

By Flora Carpenter

Guinea, the small West African country that won independence from France last September, made front-page news last week. Two Polish ships loaded with arms and military vehicles from Czechoslovakia tied up at the docks. This touched off fireworks in Pentagon circles, and the capitalist press began shouting about "Communist domination" of Guinea.

State Department officials were reported to be "worried about the possibility that the European Communists may succeed in establishing a base of operation in Guinea that would extend throughout West Africa."

They gave as their "good" reason that the shipment of arms was unusually large for the present size of Guinea forces, which are said to number only 2,000 men. Their real reason appears to be concern about the bauxite deposits and alumina production plants held by French and American interests.

Guinea has received diplomatic recognition from the East European countries and substantial economic aid. But so have other countries like Egypt. It is not such aid, so much as Pres. Sekou Toure's firm stand against imperialism that has American and French capitalists worried. Toure states: "We are infinitely jealous of our sovereignty and the power we

hold to control our destiny." In Africa today these are immensely popular sentiments among the oppressed millions seeking freedom from imperialist domination.

Toure gained political experience in the French General Confederation of Labor, the Stalinist-dominated union federation. He eventually split from it to form his own group. His radical background is evident in the way he has organized his Parti Democratique de Guinea. It has a political bureau which meets weekly to make key decisions. Under this bureau are various district committees and below them about 4,000 village committees. This apparatus controls the government.

Toure's outlook appears to extend far beyond tiny Guinea. He speaks of the fate of Africa and of the black man. "We shall lead our revolution in the name of all unjustly enslaved . . . by decades, even centuries, of colonization which have subjugated the black man, modified his original ways, reduced and sometimes destroyed his possibilities of development, used his riches and his wealth, taken his soil, his strength and dominated his thoughts."

COLONIALISM MUST GO

He sees a unified Africa: "The form of the union matters little at the moment. What does mat-

ter is to create conditions for this unity. Independence is a forerunner of unity . . . We have to re-create Africa in its true dimensions, and all the frontiers imposed by colonialism will of necessity have to disappear."

As to the charge of "Communist domination," a Negro diplomat from another African country said that it "may be a Marxist - minded government, but it is certainly not a Communist-dominated government."

Sekou Toure responded to a leading question on the subject by firmly speaking a good word for Marxism and hitting capitalism: "It is evident that certain Marxist conceptions suit African conditions, but it is no less evident that Africa will have to find its own revolutionary principles . . . there exists in Africa one small class — that of the dispossessed . . . and it is unthinkable that we should seek inspiration in the capitalist system to solve our problems."

ARMY OF "CRIMINALS"

Official figures reveal that some 1,250,000 Africans are prosecuted each year under the racist government of South Africa for such offenses as violation of the curfew and failure to have a pass when demanded by the police.

High Court Considers 'Screening'

By Harry Ring

A top executive of a Maryland engineering company was fired from his job after Navy officials ruled him a "security risk." The evidence officially cited against him included the secret testimony of an unnamed friend that the executive's former wife had used a bed board "to keep the common touch."

The justices of the Supreme Court reportedly smiled when they heard that this kind of "evidence" from faceless informers is used by government boards to screen workers out of their jobs. Under the federal security program, however, it can happen to any of three million workers in private plants holding government contracts. On March 31 and April 1 the high court heard arguments on the constitutionality of the screening program and the use of anonymous stool pigeons to carry it out.

The security program permits government bureaucrats to fire anyone they think might be associated with an organization arbitrarily branded "subversive" by the Attorney General. The program was first applied to federal employees and then extended into private industry. Its victims are stamped "security risks" on the basis of "hearings" in which they are not permitted to confront their accusers and where they are presumed guilty until they can prove otherwise.

The "bed board" case just heard by the Supreme Court is that of William L. Greene, former vice president and general manager of the Engineering and Research Corporation of Riverdale, Md. He lost his security clearance chiefly on the basis of secret allegations that his former wife, Jean Greene, was a "communist."

The other case argued before the court was that of Charles A. Taylor, who was fired from the Bell Aircraft plant in Buffalo in 1956 after the Defense Department ruled that he had once held membership in the Communist Party, a charge he denied.

The Supreme Court agreed to review the Taylor case last Dec. 8. The Defense Department suddenly reinstated his clearance on Dec. 31 "in the national interest," although it did not retract its allegations against him or offer compensation for his two years of unemployment. The reinstatement was generally recognized as intended to

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The Truth About 387,000 Drop In Unemployment

To take the sting out of the AFL-CIO jobless rally, the Eisenhower administration announced a 387,000 drop in unemployment for last month. But, according to the Labor Dept., 4,362,000 are still out of work, next to the highest March figure since the end of World War II. Last March was higher due to the recession.

More than 1,500,000 have been out of work for at least 15 weeks and the number of "long-term" unemployed is growing. A good part of the present job increase is "artificial," due to stepped-up steel output in anticipation of a strike next summer.

Finally, every seventh Negro worker and every tenth auto worker is unemployed. "We are by no means out of the woods," admitted a Labor Dept. spokesman.

Promise To Start Action

By Tom Kerry

WASHINGTON, April 8—An estimated 7,000 delegates packed the National Guard Armory here today at the AFL-CIO Unemployment Conference called to initiate a movement to "Get America Back to Work." It was the first timid step taken on a national scale by the AFL-CIO tops to provide union leadership to the struggle for adequate unemployment compensation and jobs.

Recognition of the historic importance of the gathering was implicit in the extensive press, radio and television coverage. Attendance was severely restricted by the AFL-CIO heads. Only 15 cities in the east and midwest were invited to participate. Quotas were fixed for each union. Admittance was confined to those carrying official credentials issued by the national AFL-CIO.

As a result less than one-third were actually unemployed. Most of the former AFL-CIO union delegations were almost exclusively officials, stewards, etc. The biggest contingents of unemployed came from the mass production industries, auto providing the largest. An estimated 1,000 arrived without "official" credentials. Such protest followed refusal to admit them, that they were later seated in the balcony.

The delegates were subjected to more than five hours of unrelieved oratory from a parade of union officials, Democratic and Republican politicians. Everyone was permitted to speak—except the unemployed.

A resolution committing the AFL-CIO to take action on behalf of the unemployed was the most important result of the conference. "We in the labor unions," the resolution states "must wage the fight for the jobless of America. Many of them are our brothers and sisters in the labor movement. Those who are not union members have no one else to turn to. No one else will fight for them. We, the delegates to this AFL-CIO Unemployment Conference in Washington, D.C., accept that challenge and that responsibility."

The resolution asks all unions to hold "Meet the Unemployed" meetings "in our home towns." One unemployed auto worker at the conference remarked: "Today we listened. I hope we get our chance to speak when we gather for such meetings in our home town."

Two Ghosts That Still Haunt Massachusetts

By George Lavan

The ghosts of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, working-class mariorys legally lynched 32 years ago, arose to haunt Massachusetts officials April 3.

That was the day the Massachusetts Legislative Judiciary Committee grudgingly held a public hearing in the State House in Boston on a bill to clear the names of the two anarchists executed in 1927 on a frame-up charge of robbery and murder. The fact that all, save one, of those testifying at the 14-hour hearing proclaimed Sacco and Vanzetti's innocence and official Massachusetts' guilt is a gauge of posterity's verdict on one of America's most infamous political frame-up trials.

The 32-year-old Sacco-Vanzetti case was brought into the Bay State's political arena this year when State Representative Alexander J. Cella of Medford introduced a bill for posthumous pardons. Precedent was a similar bill passed several years ago exonerating residents of Salem burned at the stake for witchcraft in the Massachusetts Colony's early years.

Massachusetts officials have long considered the Sacco-Vanzetti case a dead issue. But through the decades the case and the memory of the two men has been kept alive by radical working-class groups and by defenders of civil liberties. In each generation of students many are influenced by the books, poems and plays which have made the personalities and fate of these two Italian-born radicals an element of America's literary heritage.

For socialists and class-conscious workers, Sacco and Vanzetti stand as inspiring examples of the personal courage and rank-and-file revolutionists and the refusal to abandon beliefs even in the face of the hangman. But the image of them created by the liberals and literary people rarely depicts them as working-class militants and political agitators. As with Eugene V. Debs, the picture drawn is that of saintly individuals, whose anti-capitalist ideas and work may be dismissed as those of harmless visionaries. Their legal murder is attributed not to class injustice as much as to blind

chance and the "stupidity" of men. This liberal-literary wing of Sacco and Vanzetti's defenders has been most impressed by the personal dignity, high-mindedness, humane attitudes and power of expression displayed by the victims during their seven-year ordeal in the shadow of the electric chair. That such "nobility" of character should belong to obscure, foreign-born workmen ("a good shoemaker and a poor fish peddler," as Vanzetti put it) with little formal education, speaking broken English, has always been a source of wonder to them.

At the recent hearing the legislators, some of whom have built their political careers on red-baiting, demonstrated their hostility to the bill, to the spokesmen for it, and to the memory of "those anarchist bastards," as Judge Webster Thayer, who presided at their trial, once described them.

The spectators who filled the hearing chamber were, with a few exceptions, partisans of the bill. They demonstrated their support of spokesmen for it and hissed a legislator who voiced

surprise that one of the out-of-state witnesses felt he could "leave Massachusetts safely" after his harsh characterizations of the judge, prosecuting attorney and governor who sent Sacco and Vanzetti to their deaths. This same legislator, implying that such an audience could not be from Massachusetts, then asked the witness whether he had brought it with him by train or bus.

Eleven witnesses testified in favor of the bill. (The one opponent was a lawyer who said that among the effects of a deceased juror in the case he had found a paper stating that the jury had acted fairly.) But the eleven pro-Sacco and Vanzetti witnesses disproportionately represented the liberal, civil-libertarian viewpoint. Only one could be considered as representing the working class — and he himself emphasized that he was appearing in his private capacity and not for the union of which he is an official. In his plea for the exoneration of the dead men (who were "subversives" and atheists) he carefully established that he himself was an active anti-Com-

munist and a good Catholic. Indeed, almost all the witnesses showed their sensitivity to the witch-hunt atmosphere which still hangs like smog over this country. This resulted in a distorted version of the case they were pleading.

For example, the impression conveyed was that Sacco and Vanzetti had been victims primarily of anti-Italian prejudice. That anti-foreigner feeling was widespread and was a factor in their frame-up and execution is beyond dispute. But what was much more important was the officially inspired "anti-Red" prejudice of the period. Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested during the witch-hunt, Palmer Raid days of 1920. They were carrying guns.

This was because they, like many other anarchists, had vowed to defend themselves against kidnapping by federal agents. These agents, under the direction of the then fledgling witch-hunter, J. Edgar Hoover, were violating wholesale the legal rights of radicals, particularly those of foreign birth. Sacco and Vanzetti had before them the fate of their fellow-

Italian radical, Andrea Salsedo. He had been held without warrant or hearing for eight weeks in the offices of the Bureau of Investigation on Park Row, New York City. Salsedo refused to turn informer and finally his body came hurtling down the 14 stories to the pavement. Suicide, the federal agents claimed; murder, cried Salsedo's comrades.

Sacco and Vanzetti's possession of weapons caused the police to frame them for a payroll holdup and murder, that had occurred some months previously. At the trial their radical views and the fact that they had opposed the war, were stressed.

They would have been quickly and quietly railroaded to the electric chair had not the International Labor Defense, which in those pre-Stalinist days made a principle of defending all working-class political prisoners, come to their aid. The I.L.D. publicized the facts of the frame-up throughout the world. International protests were able to delay the executions for seven years, and to

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San Francisco Letter

It Took Socialists To Stir Up Berkeley

By Art Sharon

MARCH 29 — Berkeley, just across the bay from here, is ordinarily a tranquil community of some 140,000 people whose own doings are shadowed by activities on the giant campus of the University of California. The city elections that come and go stimulate little interest. Not since the ear of Eugene V. Debs when a local socialist became mayor has there been anything like a meaningful political contest. Until the present election that is.

This campaign was transformed overnight through the vigorous initiative of the local socialist coalition known as United Socialist Action. Organized several months ago on a Bay Area basis the Berkeley election was the first opportunity it had to demonstrate its footwork.

Challenging the nonofficial but nevertheless very real ghetto boundaries profitably maintained by the Berkeley Real Estate Board against the city's large (25%) non-Caucasian minority, the USA sponsored a bill modeled on New York's Isaac-Sharkey-Brown housing ordinance. The bill would make it a crime to refuse to rent or sell housing accommodations to anyone because of race or national origin with cost of legal proceedings to be paid by the city. And the USA entered its candidate for the Council, Marion Syrek, a printing tradesman, to give the Democratic and Republican contenders a run for their money on this issue.

That the USA had touched a very sensitive nerve became immediately evident. The Real Estate Board and Democratic and Republican politicians reacted explosively. A white Berkeley Citizens Council collected a war chest and bought space in the local paper and on local billboards, seeking to arouse prejudice and fear among the voters.

Berkeley has long enjoyed a reputation for cosmopolitanism and liberalism. The various liberal and radical currents are well represented. The initiative of the USA was welcomed by some of these, condemned by others, and the campaign became the center of a controversy that reached into every corner of Berkeley's political life as well as other parts of the Bay Area.

The arguments of the liberal and radical opponents of the USA-sponsored measure range all the way from the legal quibbles of the NAACP regional office to claims that the bill doesn't go far enough and that therefore radicals should abstain until something comes along that meets their standard of approval.

Actually however the debate over the measure reflects two opposed conceptions of how the minority and labor movement should conduct the fight for their needs and aims.

Among those rank and file voters who are keenly aware of the humiliating pattern of discrimination there is no doubt as to what to do. They welcome an organized attempt to curb this evil and scorn the argument of the NAACP lawyers and others who counsel patience while the world waits for progressive legislation out of Washington and Sacramento. The wait has been long. Not until the USA made its challenge was the issue even publicly acknowledged in Berkeley. Virtually every NAACP activist encountered during this fight has declared himself for the measure in defiance of the NAACP leadership.

The Communist Party made its opposition clear through its newspaper, the People's World, and the activity of its shadowy front group known as the Independent Voters of California. But they ran into trouble here. A free-wheeling apparatus purporting to speak for the IVC tried hard to get the USA group to drop the anti-discriminatory measure on the grounds that it endangered some progressive proposals or other now before the Sacramento legislative body. They lost on this. They were further frustrated when their stand was repudiated by the one unit of their organization (East Bay) known to hold meetings.

The USA campaign story got front-page treatment in the local capitalist press and coverage in the local Negro labor and college press. The People's World ignored the news until the racist campaigners attempted to associate the paper with the USA. This brought an immediate rejoinder from the editors, who tried to distinguish their opposition from what they called the "out and out opposition" of the racists.

The attitude of the Socialist Party — Social Democratic Federation was mixed. The new Shachtmanite recruits reacted much as did the Stalinist leadership. They, too, cited the "danger" to progressive legislation. However other members of the SP-SDF were unresponsive to this argument and saw in the issue an opportunity to put some meaning into their own election campaign. Their candidate gave forthright support to the measure. In return the USA offered him conditional support in the race. The USA also sought by this to indicate that it would back any socialist willing to enter an electoral contest on at least a minimum socialist platform against candidates of the capitalist parties.

In contrast to the pulling and hauling and dismay shown by their liberal and radical elders, a very active student organization known as "Slate" responded with admirable directness. They dismissed the superficial arguments against Proposition "C" and joined the fight to make it law. But no sooner did they start to work than they ran into opposition and hostility from the University administration. This centered in the office of the Dean of Students, Dean Stone, a candidate for the Berkeley City Council, issued an edict that student organizations could not become involved in issues outside the campus. "Do As I Say, Not As I Do" was the motto of this aspirant for office.

This started a new controversy overshadowing the anti-discrimination issue. Slate now has a first-class fight on its hands. At stake is its continued existence as a recognized student organization. I dare say that upon the next ceremonial occasion when Dean Stone utters those banalities deploring the conformism and silence of this generation he will be met with a Berkeley version of the Bronx cheer.

All in all the campaign in Berkeley has offered instructive lessons in capitalist politics and the behavior of liberal capitalist politicians. Come to think of it the fight is the most lively and significant course in political science that this university town has had in a long time even though it is not listed in the university catalogue and the only credit given is not recognized by the professors.

I would say that the most instructive item was the behavior of the white liberal political leaders who have expressed themselves in the past with deep passion and conviction on the outrageous conduct of Gov. Faubus and the outrageous color bar in South Africa. They give generously, I am sure, to NAACP and Urban League financial drives. Their convictions get stronger in direct ratio to the distance of the issue from their immediate material interests and concerns.

Another instructive bit was the wriggling of radicals influenced by the CP and the SP-SDF line. The thought of having to take a public stand at variance with the strategy of the NAACP and the so called "friends" of labor and minorities in the capital brought them close to panic. They can dress it up any way they want but that's all it was at bottom and anybody with half an eye in this area could see it.

Win or lose, the energetic campaigners of the USA deserve a big hand. They fought courageously against many odds, were not intimidated and demonstrated capacities that promise well for the future of this movement in the Bay Area.

Tibet's Feudal Rulers Rebel Against China

By Daniel Roberts

The uprising in Tibet against Chinese suzerainty is the revolt of a feudal ruling class against social change. Chinese colonization of Tibet, development of new industries, social reform measures — these precipitated the two-year-old rebellion, the most recent phase of which was marked by fighting in Tibet's capital, Lhasa, and the flight to India of Tibet's supreme ruler, the Dalai Lama.

Careful analysts in the capitalist press discount the charge of "forced communization." Thus Tillman Durdin, best informed of the New York Times' staff of Far Eastern correspondents, writes on April 5 that "... no revolutionary social or political changes have been openly decreed since 1956. But the steady Chinese opposition to the influence of the ruling ecclesiastical elite has, nevertheless, had the effect of subverting the old society."

Citing "Communist education" of children through which, "despite their 1951 agreement the Chinese began to undermine the position of the Lamas [monks], plus Chinese colonies, airstrips, roads and enterprises, Durdin concludes, "The handwriting on the wall must have been clear to the Tibetans and their landed religious aristocracy that for centuries has held the reins of power in virtual isolation from the rest of the world."

What is this system? It has often been depicted — especially in connection with recent events — as "Shangri-la," a gentle and peace-loving society of harmony and brotherhood of man. Marquis Childs calls it an "almost dreamlike country." (April 7 N.Y. Post.) It is, in fact, nothing of the kind.

"The Dalai Lama presides over a system of government that is dominated at all levels by nobility and clergy," writes Joseph P. Lash in the April 2 N.Y. Post. "There are about 150 aristocratic families in Tibet ... Ownership of land ... is monopolized by the monasteries and nobles. Ula — a feudal obligation to provide free transportation and other unpaid services to nobles, monks and of-

"Dreamlike" System

The religious orders — headed by the Dalai Lama, the "god-king" of the sect — wield political power. There is also a spiritual head, the Panchen Lama, whom the Chinese CP have now elevated to head of state, though keeping open the possibility that the Dalai Lama will return.

Most of the monks are celibates. They do no work. Their monasteries are supported by contributions from the nobility — which means, ultimately, by the labor of the peasants. In addition to monks and nobles, the warrior-tribes function as the military arm of the state.

A sample of the customs in this "dreamlike country" appears in the Encyclopedia Britannica Year Book for 1948 (before the Chinese established control). "In April 1947 the ex-regent Jechong was arrested by the regent of the dalai lama on the charge of plotting against the dalai lama. Jechong was blinded and subsequently died in prison. Two other leaders of the revolt were sentenced to 250 strokes and imprisonment for life; it was also ordered that they should be fettered and have their eyes put out."

If this is the kind of punishment that members of the ruling group mete out to one another, one wonders how they treat the peasants?

All in all, Tibetan society resembles feudal Europe during the dark ages far more than it does "Shangri-la."

17-Point Agreement

Chinese control over Tibet dates from the eighteenth century, China establishing "suzerainty"—a loose form of domination. The Dalai Lama continued to exercise authority over internal affairs, but China regulated Tibet's foreign relations and was entitled to station an army in the country.

Britain and Czarist Russia recognized Chinese suzerainty over Tibet through the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907. (Both countries had first intrigued in Lhasa to push the Chinese out.) In 1911, following the Chinese revolution of that year, the Tibetans ousted the Peking representatives, but the Chinese continued to claim suzerainty over the country and to list it as part of China's outer territories. However, because of Tibet's forbidding geography (it is located in mountain regions whose plateaus rise from 12,000 to 16,000 feet above sea level) and because of its own weakness, the Chinese government did not try to reestablish actual military control.

Before Tibet Disturbed "Peaceful Coexistence"



Chinese Premier Chou En-lai (left, holding bouquet) at 1955 Bandung Conference of Asian and African nations. Next to him is former Indonesian Premier Sastromidjojo. Spokesmen of "neutralist" powers such as India are now citing Chou's commitments at Bandung on "peaceful coexistence" to whip up sentiment against People's Republic of China because of its current involvement in Tibetan strife.

cial — still exists." (Last year, Hsinhua, official Chinese news agency, reported that the Dalai Lama was prevailed on to carry through a modest reform in this regard — namely, to abolish "Ula" for government office workers and for students.)

The Encyclopedia Britannica, 1945 edition, says, "The nobility of Tibet are wealthy by comparison with their fellow-subjects. For instance on the Pa-lha estates there are at least 1,400 farms, as well as 13 grazing grounds, each of the latter supporting 15 to 20 families of graziers. The tenantry pay rent in service, grain and cash."

The population breakdown in 1955 was approximately as follows: agricultural workers 600,000; herdsmen 200,000; monks 150,000 (15% of the population); then nobility, merchants, artisans and beggars totaling 50,000. (These figures were cited by Lash from "an English newspaperman of Communist leanings whom Peking allowed to visit Tibet in 1955.")

These developments led the CP to abandon social reforms. According to Ajit K. Das, in reviewing the history of the conflict in the April 3 Christian Science Monitor, Chinese officials in Tibet reported after a fact-finding study "that Tibet was not fit for immediate communization and a go-slow policy would be necessary in the interest of communism itself."

In his report to the Chinese Communist Party on Feb. 27, 1957, Mao Tse-tung stated official policy as follows: "Because conditions in Tibet are not ripe, democratic reforms have not yet been carried out there. According to the seven-point agreement reached between the Central People's Government and the local government of Tibet, reform of the social system must eventually be carried out. But we should not be impatient; when this

will be done can only be decided when the great majority of the people of Tibet and their leading public figures consider it practicable. It has now been decided not to proceed with democratic reform in Tibet during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan, and we can only decide whether it will be done in the period of the Third Five-Year Plan in the light of the situation obtaining at that time."

In 1957 also, Premier Chou En-lai promised, the Dalai Lama that Chinese troops would be withdrawn from Eastern Tibet where the insurrection was in progress and gradually from the rest of Tibet. That year Chinese officials were actually withdrawn and the government vested mainly in Tibetan hands, although the Chinese army, about 300,000 strong, remained. A promise was made to the Dalai Lama that no Communist reforms would be introduced at least until after the expiration of the current five-year plan in 1962. Finally, Tibet was exempted from the program adopted last year to set up "rural people's communes."

Apparently, the Chinese CP leaders pursued a contradictory course in Tibet. Officially, they adhered to the agreement maintaining the status quo. But accounts in the Chinese press tell of social reforms being enacted and of Tibetans being involved in Communist Party activities.

As a result, the feudal ruling group felt itself "subverted" and saw "the handwriting on the wall." The Tibetan peasants, however, were evidently not yet ready to rebel against the Dalai Lama, the nobles and the monks. (This does not necessarily mean that the peasants support the feudal order in this conflict, either.) The anti-Chinese revolt thus has the appearance of an all-national movement, while, correspondingly, the Chinese appear to be arrayed against the entire Tibetan population.

This shows confusion among the Asian masses about the true nature of the conflict and

conduct since he reached India, however, indicates that the CCP's account is true. He is seeking asylum there, although according to an April 7 Reuters dispatch Premier Nehru "will discuss with him the possibility of a return to Tibet." (While Nehru is not averse to using the Tibet issue against the Indian Communist Party, he does not want to jeopardize India's treaty of friendship with Peking over the matter.)

The fact that the Chinese were forced to fight off a feudal rebellion in Tibetan society could explode the old order from within has given every reactionary in Asia, including, of course, Chiang Kai-shek, a field day for anti-Communist agitation. Those who are hotting it up most are religious leaders—especially among the Buddhist monks in Burma—who have a long record of stirring up what is known in Asia as "communist" riots (pitting one religious or national grouping against another.) The New York Times in an April 5 editorial advises Washington that political mileage might be made by now posing as the champion of Buddhism in Asia.

That won't solve any of the problems of the Asian masses, however. And despite confusion over the issue of Tibet, the working people throughout Asia will still base themselves on the experiences of the Chinese people. These prove that only through socialist revolution can the Asian people free themselves from imperialist exploitation and begin climbing out of age-old economic backwardness.

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Originally a series of lectures, this mimeographed book of 75 pages by William F. Warde is an introduction to the dialectical method. Students of Marxism will find it useful in gaining a better appreciation of the way such figures as Lenin and Trotsky approached the great problems of our time. \$1.

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... High Court Considers

(Continued from Page 1)

avoid a legal test of the infamous security program.

The Taylor case illustrates how the victim in these cases is stripped of all constitutional rights. Throughout two years of hearings and appeals he was unable to confront a single one of the six people who testified against him. Solicitor General J. Lee Rankin now admits that five of the six were "casual informants," i.e., neighbors and gossips. The sixth presumably was a paid FBI stool pigeon.

Joseph L. Rauh, attorney for Taylor, informed the court that the hearing board, which handed down the "guilty" verdict, itself heard but one of the six witnesses on whose word Taylor was blacklisted.

POLICE STATE CONCEPT

The government argued that to protect the U.S. "intelligence system it was necessary to deny the right of confrontation. Rauh

said this concept was solely the contention of FBI head J. Edgar Hoover. "The court cannot let America's chief policeman decide that the Bill of Rights won't work," he declared.

In addition to hitting at the faceless informer system, Rauh argued that the entire private-industry security program was unconstitutional in that it was not authorized by any federal statute or even by a Presidential order. Under questioning by the justices, the U.S. attorneys admitted that this was the case. According to the press, the court seemed particularly interested in this aspect of the argumentation.

The justices also gave no evidence of sympathy for the government assertion that the cloak of secrecy around informants was necessary even if it meant "in an individual case an injustice." The alternative to not producing an accuser, suggested Justice Frankfurter, is to clear

the accused. Justice Earl Warren asked: "If my neighbor accuses me of anything else but this, and they're going to put me in jail or deprive me of my livelihood, I have a right to confront him. Why is this different?"

Carl W. Beruett, attorney for Greene, gave this sample of the kind of "charges" security program victims are supposed to prove themselves innocent of: "Many apparently reliable witnesses have testified that during the period of the subject's first marriage his personal political sympathies were in general accord with those of his wife, in that he was sympathetic toward Russia, followed the Communist Party 'line,' presented 'fellow traveler' arguments, was apparently influenced by Jean's 'wild theories,' etc."

The methods of the "security" screeners are so crassly illegal that the New York Times on April 3 was moved to declare editorially:

"... the principle that an accused person is considered guilty until proved innocent and that he need not be confronted with his accusers is an intolerable heresy. ... The Department of Justice, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation, possesses no right, legal or otherwise, to run contrary to the Bill of Rights or of the common law. Nor would it be proper or safe to give the department and the bureau such rights."

And an April 6 Wall Street Journal editorial asked: "For who is to say that, if to refuse a man the opportunity to face his accusers is accepted as the prerogative of classified Government, the virulent doctrine of the unidentified witness will not spread through our whole society?"

Advertisement

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Who Is Ahead?

Has the Soviet Union forged ahead of the United States in the cold war? What is the meaning of the achievements on both sides in the contest over satellites, moon probes and artificial planets?

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Monday, April 13, 1959

War in 90 Minutes

In 90 minutes World War III may begin. It may be started by Gen. Thomas S. Powers. Never heard of him? We've got news for you. You may NEVER hear of him. You may be one of the first victims in a nuclear contest you didn't even know had started.

This information is not a fantasy out of science fiction. It happens to be reality. Gen. Thomas S. Powers himself told a House Appropriations subcommittee in February that the power to plunge America into World War III rests in the hands of two men. He is one of them. The golf-playing President is the other.

The congressmen, who abdicated their power to declare war when Truman took America into the Korean conflict, listened like sheep as the general described how he can send his entire fleet, loaded with H-bombs, streaking toward previously selected targets. They did not even gulp as they heard this possible executioner of the human race say that after the fleet is on its way the golf-playing President has 90 minutes to decide if the fleet should continue toward its destination — or if it should return home.

"I can launch this force if there is an emergency. Nobody but the people in the SAC would know I sent it out . . . This gives the civilian decision-making machinery a gift of . . . at least an hour and a half . . . to make its decision."

That was what Gen. Powers said. That was what the congressmen heard. That was the testimony — highly censored

naturally — which the press reported April 6.

The general, who can throw America into an intercontinental H-bomb contest 90 minutes after he finishes his coffee, assured the committee that there was no need for them to worry. If he sends his bomb-laden planes out, all will return to their bases after a stipulated time — "unless they get an additional instruction from me, which is passed on in a secure, foolproof and safe way." The additional instructions don't go out unless the President gives his approval. It's like a check that requires a counter-signature before the bank will cash it.

As chief of the Strategic Air Command, Gen. Powers can, of course, order the fleet on its way any time a possible "attack" warning is flashed on an intricate system of radar screens.

Sometimes a radar screen "sees" things that really aren't there, the General conceded. But "you must assume" that what it detects is real "and act accordingly."

Suppose it takes not 90 but 91 minutes to discover that what the screen "sees" is only a squadron of geese? Or static in an electrical component? The General didn't say.

But sleep well tonight. You have the general's word that the whole setup is foolproof. The power to start World War III is in safe hands. Gen. Powers and Pres. Eisenhower will pull the pin only if they are convinced that those blips on the radar screen are real.

The Ruling on Double Jeopardy

Since the period of McCarthyism, liberals — and some radicals, too — have felt that the Supreme Court is genuinely concerned about upholding constitutional rights. The 1954 school desegregation decision and a number of pro-civil liberties rulings since then are seen as cases in point.

Those holding this view will generally concede that the high court has been less than forthright even in its favorable stands. It failed, for instance, to implement effectively the desegregation decision. Its civil liberties rulings have been based on technicalities that skirt the basic constitutional issues involved.

The court now appears to have inverted its mood. The hesitation about defending constitutional rights have been reflected in important majority decisions. Two of these involve restrictions on the safeguards provided by the Bill of Rights.

The first came last November when the court upheld the most obvious kind of subterfuge for circumventing the school desegregation decisions — the Alabama school placement law. Then on March 30, the court struck a cruel blow at the Bill of Rights by ruling that a person can be prosecuted twice for the same offense. The court's stand is a flat contradiction to the Fifth Amendment which states: ". . . nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life and limb . . ."

Hoping to allay public apprehension about this reactionary ruling, Attorney General William P. Rogers asserted April

25: "After a state prosecution there should be no federal prosecution for the same act or acts unless the reasons are compelling."

It can be assumed that when the government does engage in double-jeopardy prosecutions it will be for "compelling" reasons.

A sober appraisal of what the ruling means was given by Justice Hugo L. Black in his strongly worded dissent. The decisions, he said, "cause me to fear that in an important number of cases it can — and it will — happen here despite the Bill of Rights."

Black added: "Inevitably, the victims of such prosecutions will be the poor and the weak in our society, individuals without friends in high places who can influence prosecutors not to try them again. The power to try a second time will be used, as have all similar procedures, to make scapegoats of helpless, political, religious or radical minorities and those who differ, who do not conform, and who resist tyranny."

Six of the nine justices voted for the double-jeopardy decisions. How fundamentally the minority of the court may differ from the majority on this question is debatable. But they proved incapable of stopping the six reactionaries. It should now be quite plain that the defense of the Bill of Rights lies with those who have the major stake in its preservation — the organized movements of the working class and the Negro people.

The Case for Federal Standards

An effective case for uniform federal unemployment compensation standards is made in the March issue of Labor's Economic Outlook, published by the AFL-CIO.

The publication points out that under varying state regulations the standards have deteriorated badly since the program started. Most states began paying unemployment compensation in 1938 and 1939. Originally it was not thought of as a relief handout but as recognition of the right of a jobless worker to a fixed portion of the wages he should be making.

Since then jobless payments have lagged far behind both prices and wages and employers now argue that benefit increases should only reflect higher prices — that a 1959 compensation check should not buy any more than a 1939 one did.

The Economic Review replies: "But a standard of living appropriate today: medical care, housing and transportation that once were luxuries are now necessities. Getting a layoff slip should not mean a transfer to the 1930's."

Big business, through control of the two major parties, has prevented unemployment compensation from keeping up with the times. In 1958, jobless pay made up for less than one-fourth of wages lost. The typical maximum benefit was 44% of the weekly wage as compared to 65% in 1939. At that time 35 states provided compensation equal to 60% or more of average pay. Today there isn't a single state in that bracket. Twenty years ago only one state in the union paid less than 49% of

the average weekly wage. Last year 44 states were paying under that amount.

The duration of payments has also lagged far behind the steadily lengthening periods of unemployment. In 1958, two out of five jobless — a total of three million — exhausted their benefits before getting back to work.

Meanwhile the employers' cost for financing the program has been reduced to the point where, as a cost of business, it is one-third of what it was in 1939. The tax base has been rigidly held to the first \$3,000 of an employee's wages even though these are now around \$4,500. A further cost reduction is achieved by the rebate system which determines an employer's tax by the volume of claims from his employees. This practice has led to increased general restrictions on eligibility and a sharp rise in the number of denials of individual claims.

To improve this situation by establishing uniform federal standards for compensation, the AFL-CIO urges passage of the Karsten-Machrowicz bill. This would increase payments to a minimum of half the claimant's pay and a maximum of two-thirds of the average wage in each state. A uniform maximum of 39 weeks would be set. Other improvements include new limitations on eligibility restrictions and provisions for coverage of all workers in smaller companies.

Labor's Economic Review is published at the AFL-CIO Building, Washington 6, D.C.



"If you see any with strontium-90 throw them away; I forgot my glasses."

American Capitalists Worried Over Castro's Course in Cuba

By Alex Harte

The Cuban revolution is deepening. Three months after the fall of Wall Street's puppet, Batista, the government of Fidel Castro is carrying through land reform, turning toward industrialization, coming into sharper collision with the old propertied classes and their middle-class supporters, granting concessions to the working class and calling upon it for support, and, at the same time, maintaining an outspoken anti-Yankee-imperialist position.

These developments have given rise to the deepest apprehension in the U.S. capitalist press. With the visit of Fidel Castro and his closest advisors to the U.S. this week, the spotlight has been thrown on the "disturbing" continuation of the Cuban revolution and the interrelation of its anti-imperialist and social revolutionary tendencies.

The Castro government is far from having acquired a working class base and a socialist program. Nor has it closed the door to making a deal with U.S. imperialism. It is obviously jockeying between the contradictory class pressures at home and abroad. This, however, is not enough to reassure American capitalist opinion, since it is not a question of Castro's conscious plan but of a revolutionary process that is driving his government far beyond the vague middle-class reform program of the July 26 movement.

The whole situation was illuminated by the violent reaction to a pro-American speech made by Jose Figueres, former president of Costa Rica, while he was in Havana recently. Figueres said that Latin America should be on the side of the United States in case of war with Russia. This declaration was sharply attacked by David Salvador, secretary-general of the Confederation of Cuban Workers. He jumped to his feet and replied to Figueres, "We cannot be with the Americans who today are oppressing us."

The New York Times reports April 4 that Salvador was supported by Castro who spoke at the same meeting. Castro attacked Figueres as "a bad friend, a bad democrat and a bad revolutionist." The Times said, "Dr. Castro angrily declared that Cuba would be neutral in any war between the United States and the Soviet Union." He also said, "that Senor Figueres' revolution in Costa Rica was not a revolution, since it had not touched any 'created interest' and had not broken up any big estates. Dr. Castro charged that the reason for this was that Senor Figueres was a big landowner."

Castro's attack on the failure of Figueres to lead an agrarian revolution in Costa Rica is understandable against the background of the events in Cuba reported in detail in the April 2 Wall Street Journal: "Mr. Castro's momentous land reform program also is stirring up a good deal of concern here. The idea is to take land, public and private, and distribute it among landless rural folk."

Interrelated with the land reform is a measure calculated to spur industrialization and relieve Cuba of her almost exclusive dependence on the sugar crop. "We must industrialize if the revolution is to be a success," Castro said, according to the March 30 Times.

"He told sugar mill owners that each mill must become a center of work during the en-

tire year and not just for the three months of the sugar crop. He said the big owners must turn over to the small cane planters all lands now cultivated simply for domestic cane and invest profits from exporting sugar in new industries that will utilize derivatives of cane and sugar."

Another Times dispatch April 5 reports: "The new agrarian reform is receiving considerable support and the proposed reclamation of the vast Cienega de Zapata swamp is applauded. The breaking up of the vast undeveloped estates has long been considered by most economists as necessary for the economy of Cuba. Nevertheless the statement by the Cuban premier that after these are expropriated the next lands to be distributed will be those considered to be poorly utilized and low in productivity has disturbed owners of large cane and tobacco plantations and cattle ranches. So far there has been no talk of prompt and adequate indemnification."

The whole land reform and industrialization program is threatened by the sharp decline in the world price of sugar from a high of close to seven cents in 1957 to 2.91 cents a pound last week. Cuba depends on exports of sugar to cover over 80% of her imports. U.S. imperialism has Cuba by the throat because it can arbitrarily either maintain or relax its limits on the amount of Cuban sugar it will import. Castro is demanding an increase in the tonnage of sugar Cuba will be allowed to export to the U.S. this year. He is also asking for U.S. financial aid to Cuban economy. Undoubtedly the U.S. negotiators will attempt to use this situation as a club to force the Castro delegation to promise to halt their revolutionary measures and line up with the U.S. State Department in the cold war.

The Wall Street Journal carefully assembles the different views about the Castro regime among Cuban capitalist and American business circles in Cuba. One view is that Castro is "naively" becoming a captive of the "communists," and that his policies "discourage investment by both Americans and Cubans."

Another, more widespread, view is that Castro "really isn't a radical, he's alert to Communist danger." The WSJ cites a "knowledgeable" American: "Any revolutionary needs a whipping boy and Batista is gone now. Castro diverts the Cuban people from their own problems by attacking the U.S."

But it is Castro's economic measures, not so much his political pronouncements, that worry U.S. businessmen, the Wall Street Journal says. "Consider Cuba's new rent law that went into effect yesterday (April 1). The law cuts in half all rents below \$100, rents in the \$100-200 bracket are trimmed 40% and those over \$200 are slashed 30%." The WSJ quotes an executive in the sugar industry: "What Castro's done to property values in Cuba is incredible. He's ruined them. We could have borrowed \$5 million to \$10 million on our property a few months ago. Today a banker would laugh if we asked for a loan."

"Most disquieting to the capitalists is the appeal Castro is making for popular support among the workers and the concessions he has made to their demands." Fidel rushed out of a cabinet meeting to ad-

dress railroad workers in Havana who were threatening to strike," WSJ reports. "At the meeting the workers asked that the president and general manager of the road be fired. Even though they were both newly-appointed Castro men, Fidel fired them on the spot."

The N.Y. Times April 5 reports: "Premier Castro has assured the workers they will be given wages and better working conditions immediately. He recently ordered a raise of 20 per cent in the wages of the omnibus workers in the government-owned company and in the private companies which have been taken over by the revolutionary government. Also the minimum wages of government employees has been upped to \$85 from \$60."

Headlines in Other Lands

Sticker Campaign Needles Franco

Growing disaffection with the Franco regime in Spain is demonstrated by a sticker campaign being conducted by a Catholic opposition movement. Stickers bearing the initial "P" (for protest) have been pasted on walls and buildings in Barcelona and other cities. Groups such as this, which formerly supported Franco, are now calling for restoration of the monarchy or even a republic — anything but the current regime.

Working-class opposition to the U.S.-supported fascist government has been signaled by greater activity on the part of socialists, anarchists and communists.

The worsening economic condition in Spain derives from the U.S. recession, but even before that Spanish workers and farmers had long been among the most poverty-stricken in Europe. The current economic deterioration is giving body to the political discontent. It is reported that, under these circumstances, Franco is considering making Don Juan, the Count of Barcelona, King of Spain, while himself withdrawing from the limelight (but not from the exercise of power).

Hungary, Rumania Step Up Farm Collectivization

Hungary has begun a new campaign of farm collectivization. This apparently marks an end to the "voluntary principle" in the formation of collective farms which the Kadar regime has officially proclaimed ever since it put down the revolution of 1956. The new program will utilize both agitation and money incentives to lessen peasant opposition to collectivization.

Hungary has one of the poorest records of all the East European countries in farm collectivization. Its farmland is still a patchwork of "20 million narrow strips," which make the use of modern farm machinery impossible. At the end of 1958 state farms in Hungary occupied 13% of arable land, collective farms 13.5%, and the remaining 73.5% was privately owned.

Also in Rumania a drive to limit private landownership is under way. The parliament de-

The American Way of Life

Do It Yourself

The American Way of getting out of a tough situation is through individual initiative. The popularity of this laudable virtue seems to be rising along with the rise in unemployment. For example, in some areas the problem of rustling together a meal is once more being met in a lone-hand way. Or to put it in frontier language, cattle thieves are riding again. A rancher near Prior, Okla., recently reported a \$5,000 loss in one night.

Charles A. Stewart, secretary of the Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association, is of the opinion that there are "more cattle being rustled now than back in 1877 when our association was formed . . . But unlike the old days, it is the one, two, or half a dozen steers stolen in a pickup truck or the calf stuck in the trunk of a car that gives us the most trouble."

The Wall Street Journal notes: "Curiously, too, much rustling is taking place on the fringes of big cities, leading officials to theorize that city folk with home freezers or out of a job are getting into the trade, too."

Lovely to the touch as they may find fatted calves grazing in the suburbs, city folk seem to be more intrigued by what they can rustle at banks. Part of the credit belongs to the bankers, for, according to Barons, "wooing the public" has been given high priority, and offices that "used to be forbidding and silent now gleam with glass and aluminum paneling and echo to the strains of piped-in music."

All that's missing is a shelf of free samples and some of the customers are taking care of that. In fact amateur bank robbers are sticking them up from coast to coast.

These range from amiable old ladies, who threaten to throw acid in the teller's face unless he fills the shopping bag, to capitalist-minded nine-year olds who coolly order the man at the window to hand them down

a couple of hundred—or else.

Supermarkets have won the greatest popularity among those with a do-it-yourself outlook. Packages devised by America's best advertising brains for irresistible consumer appeal are displayed on open shelves. The owners hospitably urge customers to use the market's shopping baskets and help themselves. Small wonder that jobless workers, instead of visiting museums, prefer to wander through the aisles of a supermarket enjoying the exhibits and friendly atmosphere.

A civil liberties paper recently published a letter arguing that it is difficult to prove a crime if such a connoisseur of grocery shelves succumbs to invitation. What storeowners do, therefore, is seek to entrap the customer into confessing "theft" in the presence of witnesses. But this, argues the letter writer, is a violation of their civil liberties.

SCANDALIZED

Defenders of moral values and storeowners filed a scandalized protest and the editor agreed that a civil liberties issue cannot be found in the matter.

The increase in such ingenious ways of responding to unemployment does point to a more basic issue, however—the right to a job and a decent living.

Many people, denied that right, at first mistakenly think you can solve the problem by yourself. As it becomes more widely recognized that society is responsible, they turn to more rational means, such as organizing demonstrations, putting heat on Congress, mobilizing the power of labor, getting their own kind elected to office and studying the advantages of socialism. Group initiative is the American Way, too. —Louis Ritz

creed at the end of March that kulaks (rich peasants) would no longer be able to use their lands for sharecropping, renting or tilling with hired laborers.

Kulaks will be left only as much land as they and their families can till. The excess will be taken by the state and the kulaks reimbursed for it.

Soviet Sale of Wheat To Japan Alarms Washington Officials

Officials of the U.S. State and Agriculture Departments are flustered by a recent Soviet shipment of wheat to Japan. Though not large (only 77,000 bushels or less than a shipload) it is the first postwar shipment to a market which has been the exclusive property of the U.S., Canada and Australia.

Disposal of surplus farm commodities (the stockpile is now rising beyond \$9 billion) is a major economic headache for the U.S. Both Canada and Australia shout "dumping" when the U.S. tries to sell wheat abroad at cut-rate prices. Now there is the threat of Soviet farm commodities competing in the world market. The USSR has recently made similar small wheat shipments to France and indirectly to West Germany.

In 1956 with its bumper crop and the tilling of new lands in Siberia, Soviet wheat exports (mostly to the East European countries in its orbit) rose to 158 million bushels. This is the highest figure since Czarist days when Russia was one of the world's great wheat exporters and annually shipped about 165 million bushels.

Though Soviet exports have dropped somewhat since the bumper-harvest year of 1956, the USSR is now definitely considered a potential rival by the great wheat-exporting capitalist countries — the U.S., Canada and Australia.

Kidnapped in Congo; Released in Belgium

Joseph Kasavubu, African burgomaster in the Belgian Congo, who was arrested in Leopoldville during the anti-imperialist demonstration in January, has been released with two of his followers in Brussels. Kasavubu was among the many African leaders ar-

rested by the Belgians. He had consistently fought for immediate independence and was jailed for "inciting unrest."

The kidnapping of Kasavubu and his release in Brussels was surrounded in mystery. But it has become clear that the Belgian colonialists had attempted to force him to either agree to the "reforms" following the uprising, or stay out of politics. Apparently Kasavubu has refused to do either.

Technically he is "free" to find his way back to the Congo, but news reporters admit that it is doubtful that he could get passage on commercial planes.

Kasavubu is a leading figure in the Abako, African Congo organization with 700,000 members out of a population of 13 million.

Senate in Philippines Scores Handling of U.S. Army Crimes

A majority of 15 of the 23 members of the Philippines Senate are backing a resolution that may spike U.S. plans to maintain military bases in the islands. The resolution calls for the Philippines to make the final decision on whether a U.S. soldier is on "duty" if he commits a crime.

This issue has figured in the struggle against U.S. bases from Japan to Iceland.

A previous agreement allows authorities of the Philippines to try U.S. soldiers only if the crime is committed while they are off duty. The joker is that the U.S. army decides whether the soldier is off duty or not.

The resolution, which comes as a bombshell in the midst of negotiations between the U.S. and the Philippines government on this question, is said to reflect strong sentiment favoring ousting the U.S. army completely.

Paris Busmen Strike

On March 24 bus conductors and maintenance machinists staged a 24-hour strike demonstration for higher wages. Paris was without two-thirds of its 2,000 buses as a result. The one-day strike was but one in a series of walkouts staged by French workers that week in protest against the deGaulle government's policy of inflating prices and holding down wages.

A Quarter Next?

Editor:
City Hall has just announced it wants to keep the 15-cent subway fare. When they said that about the 5-cent fare, it was time to reach for a dime. The same for the 10-cent fare. I say they're getting ready now to soak us a quarter.

O. T. Road
New York

Jobless Statistics In Great Depression

Editor:
The article on the history of the 30-hour week bill in the April 6 Militant cited a figure of 20 million jobless in 1933 and 12 million in 1935. This would give the impression that the Roosevelt administration had cut unemployment by 40% in these two years.
The figure of 20 million unemployed for 1933 is, I believe, inaccurate, although the writer of the article may have cited figures used in the heat of senatorial debate at that time. The official figures from reliable sources which I have been able to check are as follows: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, an average of 12,634,000 unemployed during 1933; the AFL, 13,271,000. According to a later study by the CIO, the number for 1933 was 12,643,000.
All three sources give the number of unemployed in 1935 as between ten and eleven million.

A. P.
New York

Carey Defines A "Real Radical"

Editor:
At a forum sponsored by the Minneapolis Junior Chamber of Commerce, James Carey, president of the International Union of Electrical Workers was invited to represent labor's viewpoint in opposition to Edward Maher, public relations vice president of the National Association of Manufacturers.

Carey did all right on several points. "What is the economic freedom by which NAM justifies the necessity of recession?" he asked. "Was it the freedom of people to grub in garbage cans in the depression of the 1930s?"

He called on management to "share the benefit of automation" through "lower prices and shorter working hours without reduced pay."

But he offered an odd definition of the "real radicals" when he came to the problem of how workers are to win the benefits of automation. "Let's get back to the real radicals like Henry Ford — men who really did believe in free enterprise and were willing to share with others the benefits of their toil."

If I recall my history correctly, it took something like a small revolution to win union recognition from this billionaire.

C. F.
Minneapolis

Thanks!

Editor:
Enclosed is a \$5 donation for your outstanding work and for the honor of receiving the Militant each week. Words can't express how I look forward each week for the Militant.

J. J. O.
Columbus, Ohio

'Have to Get It'

Editor:
I've been receiving your wonderful paper through some generous subscriber and I sure appreciate it. I get the National Guardian and didn't intend to subscribe to any other paper because I just couldn't find the time to read it. But after reading a little more of your paper each time I've come to the conclusion I have to get it.

J. J. K.
Minnesota

Independent News Favored; But Not Splinter Differences

Editor:
I am a registered socialist and take the Militant but for its weekly independent news. I do not care for other socialist matter — know the principles and am not interested at all in Trotskyism, Stalinism, Leninism and all the splinter differences. USSR and China are doing well now and even Stalin was no devil as painted, and anyway let him rest now.

J. R. K.
Greensburg, Pa.

"That's the Law"

By Lillian Kiesel

"That's the law!" This cruel phrase was heard by thousands of New York jobless last week. Employment office clerks could say little else to those who argued: "Why me?" or "Why am I being penalized?" when they were told that they were not eligible for 13 additional weeks unemployment benefits under the new state law.

In hard-hit Buffalo, where 12% of the work force is unemployed, hundreds came to collect checks that weren't there.

John T. Chester, 45-year-old production control clerk at Buffalo's Bell Aircraft plant, got his twenty-sixth and last regular state check. A. H. Raskin of the N.Y. Times said that Chester "protested loudly when he learned that he could not get a nickel under the extended program."

William Bursee, a 31-year-old steamfitter and veteran of World War II signed for his eighth emergency check. He was "staggered when the clerk told him he would not get the five more checks he would have received under the Federal law."

Another example is Mrs. Morris Cohn, a food administrator, who would have received her regular check last week instead of this

week if she had not been ill. "This brought her to the terminal date just too late to be eligible for another thirteen weeks of insurance."

Signed by Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, the bill became law April 6. It callously cuts off from extended unemployment benefits workers who happen to fall into certain categories.

Each week from now on, new thousands whose regular 26-week unemployment benefits become exhausted will be excluded. An indeterminate number who would be eligible for payments under the federal bill signed by Eisenhower April 1 (extends continued benefits through June) will get nothing because their "benefit year" is up.

Another indeterminate number are reaching the end of their extended benefits and have no hope either of finding a job or of getting a further extension of benefits. Even Korean war veterans who do not now qualify for continued benefits will be excluded.

"That's the law." And under capitalism, naturally, people must fit the law, not the law the people — especially if they're unemployed.

Notes in the News

WORK-DAYS LOST IN 1958 — The AFL-CIO estimates that of the four major causes of lost work-days last year, strikes caused 23 million; work accidents, 55 million; illness and injury, 544 million; and unemployment, 1,118 million. Employers and their spokesmen like to harp on what strikes cost the country in lost production, but from these figures it is clear that in 1958 unemployment cost more than 48 times as much as strikes.

SEGREGATED BLOOD — Gov. Faubus of Arkansas signed a law April 4 requiring blood from Negro donors to be labeled as such. He said there was a chance white persons would get diseased Negro blood in transfusions. He said nothing about a law requiring antitoxins from horse's blood and vaccines from calf's blood and monkey's blood to be labeled as such, or hormones and other extracts from stockyard animals — probably because there is no risk of mismatching these in types like the Governor.

STUDENTS DEMONSTRATE LEARNING — Efforts of banks to recruit cheap student labor have not been cheered at Harvard. When notices were posted on a bulletin board listing part-time jobs at \$1 an hour, the students scribbled, "Absurd," "Nonsense."

WILL U.S. RISK PING PONG IN PEKING? — When a reporter asked whether passports would be issued to Americans wishing to participate in the next world championship ping pong matches at Peking in 1961, Lincoln White, State Department press chief, replied: "The question does not now arise. We received no applications for passports." In view of the gravity of the matter, White added that his answer should not be interpreted as indicating any change in the policy of prohibiting travel by United States citizens to the People's Republic of China.

GARAGE PAYS OFF — Rep. Iris Faircloth Blitch, Democratic Congresswoman from Georgia, doesn't have a front porch like Randall S. Harmon, Democrat of Indiana, which she can rent to the government, but she does have a garage. She equipped it with wood paneling, red drapes and a fireplace. As landlord this entitles her, in line with congressional privileges, to collect \$100 a month from the U.S. Treasury for this convenient office space in her driveway.

NO NUCLEAR COVERAGE — European insurance companies are protecting themselves from the threat of nuclear war. In house insurance policies they now include the following paragraph: "Excluded from the guarantees against damage are those (disasters) due to effects direct or indirect of explosions, of heat

or radiations coming from a transmutation of the nucleus and/or radioactivity." Countries where insurance companies have in this way banned nuclear war include Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, West Germany, Norway, Luxembourg, Sweden, and Switzerland.

NEED LOUDER SIRENS? — New Yorkers have become so accustomed to the 716 ear-splitting air-raid sirens, which have been tested regularly in the city since the end of World War II, that they no longer pay much attention to them. At the last test, Robert E. Condon, Director of Civil Defense, appealed to the public to "listen to the signals and memorize their meanings." The public had better hurry up and listen, for money to operate the sirens seems to be running low. On April 1 Mayor Wagner said that the defense budget has been reduced from a high of \$3,593,200 in 1951-1952 to \$1,384,395 last year, and the current budget is still lower. He explained: "The reductions over the years were possible through a continual re-evaluation of program requirements in the light of changes in planning assumptions: from TNT bombs to atomic bombs, from atomic bombs to hydrogen bombs, and ultimately from hydrogen bombs to thermonuclear missiles."

PROTECTED SLUMLORDS — Some 18,500 landlords were brought into New York courts last year for failing to keep their property in repair. Only 14,300 paid fines. And total fines amounted to only \$220,000 or an average fine of about \$15.40. That's about what a landlord might get for illegal parking while collecting rents.

"INCREDULOUS COMMENT" — After accusing Chief Magistrate John M. Murtagh of parlaying a report she had made on prostitution into a book "Cast the First Stone," Correction Commissioner Anna M. Cross decided to back down. Her accusations over a New York radio brought hot denials and a counter-charge from Murtagh. He accused the Commissioner of being "naive." Mrs. Cross said that "if Murtagh wants to call me naive that's his affair." As for the "statement" that "he stole my stuff," it was simply an "incredulous comment — like 'he stole my stuff' — because it was such a silly suggestion. After all, my report was a matter of public record."

GROCER TAKES MORE, TOO — According to Mrs. Ivy Baker Priest, Treasurer of the United States, the \$20 bill has been the greatest gainer in circulation in the past 15 years. Asked if this was due to inflation, she replied, "I guess so. Or people just have more money."

... Two Ghosts

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move the conscience of most of mankind.

But they were not strong enough to force U.S. capitalism to relinquish its victims. The issues were drawn and the American ruling class had decided as an arrogant demonstration of anti-communist might to execute these innocent men. Although many fine and true things were said at the recent hearing in Massachusetts, the above all-important aspect was sadly neglected. Indeed, the hearing itself was an ironic commentary on the subsequent development of many of the liberal spokesmen since the giant movement to save the two "subversives" in the 1920's.

Momentarily returning to this struggle of their younger days were, for example, Michael A. Musmano and Morris Ernst. Pennsylvania Supreme Court Judge Musmano, who drew the wrath of Massachusetts legislators by his denunciation of Judge Webster Thayer, has in the last decade built his own political career on red-baiting and witch-hunting which for cynical viciousness surpasses that displayed 32 years ago by Judge Thayer. Another witness, Morris Ernst, once a leading civil libertarian, is today a legal and publicity advisor of the brutal Dominican dictator and a paid whitewasher of Trujillo's kidnap-murder of Jesus de Galindez.

The passage or defeat of the bill to pardon Sacco and Vanzetti cannot alter the facts of their case nor their memory. Nor could it memorialize their lives. As with other great figures of the workers' struggle, their only fitting monument will be a classless world — without exploitation and with true liberty for all.

WHY VAUDEVILLE DIED

America's head policeman, J. Edgar Hoover, was chosen by Variety Clubs International as "Humanitarian of the Year." The selection seems to have been influenced by the section of the show business organization that killed vaudeville with its bad jokes.



Soviet Premier Khrushchev (left) congratulated on speech in East Germany by Walter Ulbricht, president of German Democratic Republic. At Leipzig on March 7, Khrushchev told a Communist All-German Workers Conference that German reunification "would be unrealistic today." The time is not ripe, he said, for a united socialist Germany.

Automation Hits Clerks And Candy Men, Too

A Soviet roller bearing plant cut down its processing and assembling operations from 45 days to three days with the introduction of automation. That's one of the facts reported April 3 in a United Nations study on automation made by a British-Soviet group.

The report tells of a bank in Stuttgart, West Germany, where several electronic computers do a bookkeeping job that previously required three months work by several dozen clerks.

In Sweden, introduction of automated boring and drilling operations jumped production of sewing machine units from 30 a day per worker to 150 a day.

The UN group found that in France an automated shop turning out 25 tons of superphosphates a day is operated by two men. In another shop,

a single worker supervises the production of 600 tons of plastic material. At the Renault auto plant, automated machining of cylinder blocks eliminated eight out of every nine workers previously required for this operation.

The survey found that 12 American industries, ranging from chocolate refining to rail traffic, have expanded production and reduced their labor force with automation. The average drop in employment was 63%.

Conversion to automation also means a substantial saving in factory space, the report noted.

CP Leaders Didn't Want a United May Day

By Tom Kerry

The celebration of May Day as a workers holiday originated in the struggle for the eight-hour day in this country. The movement for the shorter work day spread rapidly throughout the world. When, in 1894, the Second Socialist International established May Day as an international workers holiday, it became the symbol of working-class struggle against capitalist exploitation.

For many years thereafter, millions of workers in all capitalist countries would down tools on May Day to demonstrate that their class solidarity transcends all national boundaries.

What had started out as a movement for the eight-hour day soon became converted into a symbol of the working-class struggle for socialism. May Day became the occasion for the advanced workers to demonstrate their irreconcilable hostility to imperialism, war, colonial oppression and wage slavery. This tradition has become firmly imbedded in the consciousness of the advanced workers despite all attempts to distort or emasculate it.

Repeated and persistent attempts have been made to pervert the international working class character of May Day. In this, the birthplace of May Day, the boss class sought very early to undermine the international class solidarity of the American workers by establishing Labor Day as an official holiday. Hitler perverted May Day by transforming it into a nationalist orgy. In recent years various war veterans organizations and businessmen's groups have profaned May Day by staging "loyalty day" parades and patriotic rallies. To no avail—the tradition persists.

The American trade-union leaders have done their share in weaning the workers away from the militant May Day tradition. A tradition which has been kept alive in recent years only by the radical left wing and socialist movement, dispersed and fragmented as it is.

For a number of years, prior to and immediately following the last war, the Communist Party occupied a dominant position in what has come to be known as the "left." Their "united" May Day rallies were exclusive affairs, despite occasional window dressing, tailored to fit the prevailing "party line."

Working-class political opponents were systematically excluded from direct participation except as "endorsers" or "supporters" of an action dominated and controlled by the CP, in what was essentially a variation of the Stalinist "united front from below."

With the advent of the cold war and witch-hunt a process began which culminated in a mass exodus from the CP. The Khrushchev revelations in February 1956, followed by the Hungarian revolution in October, temporarily shattered the party's monolithic character. A section of the CP leadership pressed for a change in policy and attitude toward opponent groups and tendencies in the radical and socialist movement. Evidence of change was manifested by the appearance of an official spokesman for the CP at a united rally held in New York City on May Day 1957. The unreconstructed fundamentalists, however, held their own rival May Day meeting with Benjamin Davis the same evening in the Bronx.

McAVOY'S ROLE

At the united May Day rally in 1957, Clifford T. McAvoy

Calendar Of Events

MILWAUKEE

James E. Boulton will speak on the "Proxmire Rebellion," Sun., April 19, 8:00 p.m. at 150 East Juneau Ave., Stacy Building. Auspices Socialist Workers Party.

NEW YORK

Frances James will speak on "Africa in Revolt — The Road Ahead," Fri., April 17, 8:30 p.m. at the Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. Contribution 50 cents.

RUBINSTEIN RECEPTION

Reception for Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein at conclusion of her national tour. Speakers include John T. McManus, Eve Merriam, Dr. Howard Selsam, Howard da Silva. Sun., April 19, 7:30 p.m. Ballroom of the Hotel Manhattan Towers, Broadway at 76th St. Auspices United Independent-Socialist Committee. \$1.50.

served as chairman. It was largely on his initiative that the meeting was organized. In his opening remarks, McAvoy proclaimed it a historic occasion, the "first joint May Day meeting in almost 30 years," and expressed the hope that it would become a precedent for similar and larger gatherings in the years to come. A hope that was to be deferred by the outcome of the power struggle in the CP.

In 1958 the fundamentalists celebrated their "victory" over the opposition at a "united" May Day meeting held under the auspices of the Worker. The May 11 issue of the Worker deplored the fact that the 1958 May Day meetings "were not of a united front nature." The implication was that they would try and do better the following year—1959.

In its issue of March 1, 1959, the Worker carried a short news item announcing that a group of "rank-and-file trade unionists," had "set up the Trade Union Committee, 1959 May Day Celebration," and were calling a conference to which "all interested groups and individuals" were invited.

As an interested individual this writer attended the conference. So that there would be no mistake as to what the conference really represented each person upon entering the meeting hall was handed a leaflet advertising the courses being presented by the CP-sponsored "Faculty of Social Science." This was followed by the distribution to each person in the hall of a special edition of the Worker, following which everyone was given a copy of the regular edition.

After a few introductory remarks by the chairman-elect, Louis Weinstock, the floor was thrown open for discussion. Several speakers urged a Union Square May Day celebration, expressing dissatisfaction with the 1958 CP rally which they characterized as dismal and wholly lacking in the May Day spirit.

URGES UNITED RALLY

This writer urged a genuine united May Day rally patterned after the 1957 meeting in which the various radical and socialist tendencies would be represented. Further, that no one was going to be taken in by the "rank-and-file" masquerade;

Socialists Find Public Response Encouraging

APRIL 5—Socialist Workers Party candidates in three municipal elections wound up their campaign this week. All reported wider audiences and greater interest to their socialist program than in recent previous elections.

In Minneapolis, the Socialist Workers nominee for Mayor was William Curran, a member of the Sheet Metal Workers Union and a delegate to the Central Labor Union. A high point in his campaign came last week with a three-hour appearance on the popular local radio program, Night Beat. For two solid hours members of the radio audience phoned in questions to Curran on his stand on war, unemployment and socialism.

In Detroit and Highland Park, Mich., five Socialist Workers candidates for state educational offices were heard at university symposiums and meetings of union locals and civic groups. The SWP nominees were: Evelyn Sell for Regent of the University of Michigan; Rita Shaw and Harriet Talan for the Wayne State University Board of Governors; Robert Himmel for Superintendent of Public Instruction and Larry Dolinski for the Highland Park Board of Education.

Peter Buch, Socialist Workers endorsed candidate for the Los Angeles Board of Education was heard at numerous election gatherings, including nine well attended local Democratic club meetings where his socialist program was heard with much interest and sympathy.

A graduate student at UCLA, Buch centered a major part of his campaign around the issue of academic freedom and sought to help rally opposition to a House Un-American Activities Committee's recent witch-hunting visit in Los Angeles.

Pave Ground For New Curb On Passports

APRIL 8 — The State Department and the House Un-American Activities Committee appear to be combining forces to secure legislative reversal of last June's Supreme Court decision barring the denial of passports for political beliefs.

At a press conference yesterday that had the earmarks of careful staging, State Department press officer Lincoln White announced that a passport was being issued to Alger Hiss because the department had "no authority" to refuse one in the absence of authorizing legislation. A target of the witch hunt, Hiss served a prison term on a perjury charge involving claims of Soviet espionage.

Meanwhile, the House committee is preparing a hearing April 21-23 to pave the ground for restrictive passport legislation. Among those subpoenaed are West Coast longshore union leader Harry Bridges, who recently travelled abroad, and William Patterson, business manager of the Worker.

Yesterday, Clark Foreman, director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, said a summons to the hearing prevented a trip abroad by Mocho Michoff, business manager of a Detroit Bulgarian language paper, Narodna Volya (People's Voice).

that May Day, in this day and age and in this country is commemorated only by the radicals, left-wing unionists and socialists; to pretend otherwise is perpetrate a hoax.

Other trade-union militants at the conference spoke in the same vein. They pointed out how absurd they would feel trying to pass off the "Trade Union Committee" as merely a group of simple "rank-and-file" trade unionists out to organize a May Day demonstration in Union Square. But the diatribes were determined to carry through their transparent deception. To prove how truly broad and all-inclusive the rally would be, everyone was invited to "endorse" and "support" their program, their demonstration and their speakers.

A leaflet subsequently circulated by the group is deliberately designed to further the masquerade. To the uninitiated it would appear as though the "Trade Union Committee" represented bona fide union groups. The program is a rehash of the official AFL-CIO stand together with meaningless generalities. Everyone from George Meany on down could subscribe to the "program" without batting an eyelash. Any genuine group of rank-and-file union militants would be outraged at being offered such pap—and for a May Day demonstration no less.

Nevertheless, some people have been taken in. Motivated

by a desire to see a "return to Union Square," the United Independent-Socialist Committee, (formerly the Independent Socialist Party) has endorsed the "Trade Union Committee" May Day celebration. True, they have urged that the TUC broaden its representation by including spokesmen of other socialist tendencies but they did not make their endorsement conditional on the acceptance of such a request. Spokesmen of the Socialist Workers Party on the UISC opposed the unconditional endorsement.

The SWP considers the endorsement wrong on at least two counts:

(1) The USIC is an electoral coalition formed for the purpose of participating in election campaigns independent of and against the candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties. As such it came under scurrilous attack from the Communist Party for opposing the line of coalition with the Democrats — a line that is implicit in the May Day program of the so-called "Trade Union Committee."

(2) The policy of non-exclusion, upon which the USIC was founded and upon which it carried through the electoral action of 1958, is at complete variance with the policy of exclusion practiced by the Communist Party in the so-called "rank-and-file trade union May Day affair."

Local Directory

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| BOSTON Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200. Every Sunday night, round table discussion, 8 P.M. | NEWARK Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N.J. |
| CHICAGO Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9738. | NEW YORK CITY Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852. |
| CLEVELAND Socialist Workers Party 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Friday nights 7 to 9. | OAKLAND-BERKELEY P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif. |
| DETROIT Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, TE 4-1635. | 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 PO 3-5820. |
| 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. | 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. |
| MILWAUKEE 150 East Juneau Ave. | SEATTLE 1412-18th Avenue, EA 2-5554. Library, bookstore. |
| MINNEAPOLIS Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin Ave., 2nd Floor. Open noon to 6 P.M. daily except Sundays. | ST. LOUIS For information phone MO 4-7194. |