

So Your Tax Dollars  
Go Up in Smoke

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# THE MILITANT

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## Are Labor's Muscles Flabby and Untrained?

By Tom Kerry

The American labor movement has been recently subjected to its severest mauling since the merger convention of 1955 which unified the AFL and CIO into one federation numbering some 14 million members.

The unification of the rival federations was heralded as the dawn of a new era for the organized union movement. The anti-labor offensive following the enactment of Taft-Hartley in 1947 and the McCarthyite reaction in the fifties provided the main impetus toward unification. United into one body, the union heads promised a reversal of the trend toward union retreat and stagnation.

Four years have elapsed since the merger. Drawing a balance of the four-year period in its account of the recent San Francisco AFL-CIO convention, the Sept. 19 issue of the magazine, Business Week, observed: "Four years ago, unions in the old AFL and CIO counted on their merger into AFL-CIO to give them the brawn and muscle for new successes." What has been the result?

"It (AFL-CIO) has suffered serious setbacks in bargaining, organizing, legislative, and political fields. It has had very few off-setting successes. And it faces growing problems."

There is no question, in the view of the publication, which speaks for big business, that the AFL-CIO has the "potential muscle." "Used effectively," says BW, "the muscle could give labor economic and social power. But the muscles haven't been used effectively. Some of labor's top leaders complain, in frustration, that the muscles are there—but they are flabby and untrained."

Nothing could be more calculated to underscore this flabbiness than the addled action this week of AFL-CIO president George Meany writing a letter to Eisenhower, proposing that "Injunction Like" call a summit conference of labor and industry chiefs "to consider and develop guiding lines for just and har-

monious labor-management relations."

The Meany letter is larded with platitudes—"our country's free collective bargaining system," "our democratic way of life," etc., etc. This approach is intended, presumably, to emphasize the fact that there is no disagreement on the really important issues between Wall Street, Washington and Meany. Then why fight about secondary issues like wages, hours and working conditions—which can all be resolved by a friendly chit-chat between labor and industry statesmen?

There is an old proverb that says: Experience is a hard teacher but fools will learn by no other. But what of those, who having gone through the hard school of experience, persist in clinging to their illusions? They, presumably, are enthroned as labor statesmen! For it was none other than George Meany who participated in a summit meeting at the very birth of the AFL-CIO in 1955.

The occasion—a Congress of American Industry, held in New York in December 1955 with George Meany as guest speaker on the subject: "What Organized Labor Expects of Management." It was the month in which the formal merger convention was preceded by months of fevered outcry by the employers over the use to which labor intended to put its augmented power.

"No Experience" In his speech, Meany hastened to assure the top brass of American industry, that the men at the head of the AFL-CIO "actually have very little power." For instance, Meany elaborated, "they have absolutely no power to tell anyone to go on strike. And," he added, "it may interest you (Continued on Page 4)

## Boston Makes Its Goal A Month Ahead of Time

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Director

Dec. 16, 1973. That's an important date in American history. That was the day a band of American revolutionaries dumped a cargo of tea from a British ship in Boston harbor. A poor way to make tea but a good way to demonstrate against a government tax; it became known as the Boston Tea Party and it helped make Boston famous as the cradle of liberty.

The political descendants of those tea makers have got me enthusiastic enough to make a motion that another date go down in history—Nov. 16, 1959. That was the day the comrades of the Boston branch of the Socialist Workers Party completed their quota in the Socialist Publications Fund—in full and one month ahead of time!

For the benefit of the historians, the following is the text of the document that accompanied that wonderful-looking check: "I just can't believe we were able to fulfill our pledge so soon. Previously, every time a fund drive would start, some unforeseen difficulty would arise. Everything moved smoothly and speedily in this drive. The comrades did realize the importance of getting the money in as soon as possible. We are most happy."

That was signed by Franklin. The Boston family that made its mark in the First American Revolution seems to have its eyes on another one coming up.

All of us, I'm sure, will take special pride in a success like that and feel it as an inspiration to step up our efforts.

Philadelphia fund director David Stevens hit the target square in the center, I think, when he said (with an accompanying check of course), "we realize we're behind and now that we have passed the halfway mark we will have to go full steam ahead to finish in full and on time."

James Boulton likewise assured us that while only 50% of the Milwaukee quota is in, virtually the entire amount has been subscribed and the heat is on for the last half.

A number of other branches are doing well also but I'll have to mention them next week be-

cause I want to use the space remaining here to discuss something special, thought up by V. R. Dunne.

A veteran of 55 years in the labor and socialist movement, including leadership in the historic Minneapolis Teamsters strikes, Comrade Dunne is known for his keen interest in strategy and tactics.

So it's quite natural that he began to take a friendly interest in the progress of our "General" who stands for contributions sent by Militant readers directly to us instead of through SWP branches. Up to now, the General has been lagging behind almost everyone else.

In a letter this week Comrade Dunne told me why. The speed at which a general marches, he says, is determined by how well his ranks are organized. Our General represents "an important group of independent socialist fighters," who may not agree with every bit of our program but who would like to see the distribution of socialist literature expanded. So, says Comrade Dunne, how about passing on some hints and tips on how to get organized?

The General can make that \$150 quota if just 20 readers will agree to contribute \$1 each, another ten agree to contribute \$5 and five contribute \$10. In fact, it will put him right over the top, brass buttons and all.

The very day we received this welcome letter on tactics and strategy, the manager of Pioneer Publishers came upstairs with what was obviously the first application for membership in the General's army—just to prove how right Comrade Dunne was. Along with a book order, D. S. of Long Island, N. Y., included \$10 to be forwarded to the Socialist Publication Fund.

So how about you? Won't you help the General in his "war aim"—to win peace through socialism? (See scoreboard, Page 2)

# Racists Step Up Attacks On Mississippi Negroes

## Layoffs Hit Los Angeles Steelworkers

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 9—Workers in the Maywood and Vernon plants of Consolidated Western Steel, a division of U.S. Steel, were hit with layoffs on returning to work under the Taft-Hartley injunction. The company laid off 378 at Maywood and 103 at Vernon.

The Maywood plant employed 1,850 before the strike; Vernon, 520. The company has been engaged primarily in work on rocket and missile launching devices.

The company attempted to justify the layoffs with the excuse that it had lost contracts as a result of the strike.

At an angry meeting of more than 600 members at Vernon, Local 2058 officials denounced the company action and expressed the opinion that the layoffs were just another effort on the part of the company to starve the steelworkers into submission and to smash the union.

A motion was put "To refuse to return to work until all of the laid-off men were recalled." Local President M. L. Sierras, while expressing sympathy with the union spirit behind the motion, ruled it out of order as conflicting with the International's constitution.

The following day, Charles J. Smith, director of District 38, USW, denounced the layoffs as a violation of the intent of the Supreme Court back-to-work order.

He said Governor Brown had been asked to have the State Department of Employment investigate the layoffs. Smith pointed out that if the employees had been notified "when such alleged cancellations of orders took place they would have been eligible for unemployment benefits," and "they could have been looking elsewhere for permanent employment."

Workers on strike in California cannot draw jobless benefits. Those laid-off can.

"The company knew well in advance of the court ruling whether these reductions were necessary. By keeping the employees in the dark until the moment of the court ruling, the company has indeed struck a low blow to the workers and their families who already have been suffering months of joblessness due to the company instigated shutdown," Smith said.

The Steelworkers Union is taking the cases up with the Department of Employment and continuing strike relief to its hard-hit members.

Meanwhile the layoffs at the two U.S. Steel plants continue. Management rumors have it that at least another 700 will go in the next few weeks.

## Mexican Students Fight Bus Fare Hike



Mexican students at Guadalajara use an overturned bus as a platform during a protest demonstration Nov. 5 against a sudden five-centavo fare hike. The students stopped 97 buses from operating but were attacked by federal troops who wounded 12 of them. The cost of living has been increasing sharply in Mexico. A five-centavo increase, which is four-tenths of a cent, doesn't sound like much unless you know that even a skilled Mexican worker makes only about \$2.40 a day. Most workers earn a lot less. As for students—it's the principle involved.

## Rockefeller Flooded with Pleas To Save Reid from Chain Gang

Defenders of civil rights in New York are anxiously awaiting the decision by Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller on whether or not chain-gang fugitive Willie Reid will be returned to Florida. After hearing pleas by Reid's attorneys on Nov. 10, Rockefeller announced he would give his decision in a week. That time has passed and still no word.

In that week the Governor's office has been deluged with petitions, telegrams and letters urging him to revoke the extradition papers against Reid. These papers were signed by former Gov. Harriman, a Democrat, but have been continued in force by Republican Rockefeller. The refusal of the U.S. Supreme Court on Nov. 9 to review the Reid case, made them automatically operative.

Among resolutions passed asking that Reid not be extradited was one by the state convention of the AFL-CIO, meeting in Buffalo. Rockefeller addressed this convention the day before the resolution was passed. It declares that to put Reid into the hands of the notorious anti-labor, anti-Negro sheriff of Lake County, Willis V. McCall, may be tantamount to signing Reid's death warrant. It was this sheriff who cold-bloodedly shot down two handcuffed Negro prisoners in the "Little Scottsboro" case "for trying to escape" when the U.S. Supreme Court ordered new trials for them.

Thousands of signatures to petitions on Reid's behalf have been sent to Rockefeller by the Committee to Save Willie Reid. In addition to these petitions from New Yorkers, the Committee has forwarded to Rockefeller petitions from some 150 Florida residents urging that Reid not be sent there. Among the Florida petitioners are Rev. C. K. Steele, head of the Tallahassee Inter-Civic League, which led the famous bus boycott, and student leaders from Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, the Negro institution near Tallahassee.

The petitions read: "We most earnestly urge that you not make New York State and its residents parties to the racial injustice perpetrated against Willie Reid by extraditing him to Florida. His extradition can mean slow torture or possibly sudden death. Neither you nor the people of New York can wash their hands of the responsibility for what may happen to Reid if he is extradited."

As part of the "Save Willie Reid" campaign, Harlem radio station WLIB made 60 spot announcements a day urging letters and telegrams to Rockefeller. Thousands of messages are believed to have resulted.

A telegram from NAACP head Roy Wilkins told Rockefeller that turning Reid over to Florida and the jurisdiction of Sheriff McCall "will be sending him to his death." Wilkins added, "If returned to Florida Reid will have to serve out 13 more years of his sentence plus at least five years for having escaped. His escape and efforts to block extradition practically guarantee that he will not be allowed to live out his term."

Reid's troubles stem from a gambling fight in 1950. For what ordinarily would have brought a maximum one-year sentence, Sheriff McCall had Reid sentenced to 15 years. He has already served two years on the chain gang and two years in New York jails awaiting extradition.

## HUMAN GUINEA PIGS

Of 700 chemical additives in foodstuffs today, the government lists 150 as possibly poisonous.

## Whitewash of Lynchers In Mack Parker Case Sets Off More Killings

By George Lavan

As a consequence of the unpunished lynching of Mack Charles Parker in Poplarville, a wave of racist killing and anti-Negro violence is sweeping through Mississippi.

The world outcry for punishment of the guilty, which followed the Poplarville lynching last spring, at first gave pause to the white supremacists, making them wonder if perhaps the days were past when they could kill Negroes at will. But the subsequent emergence of the known lynchers—not only unscathed but as local heroes—has reassured them that the old days still remain. Mississippi's crime statistics are not endangered: a white man runs much greater risk of arrest and punishment for killing a deer out of season than for killing a Negro.

In the past month alone Negroes have been killed in Clarksdale, Philadelphia and Corinth, Miss. The first two of these killings are listed as lynchings by the Nov. 21 Afro-American, a leading Negro newspaper, which further reports that state authorities have taken even less interest in these two cases than in the Parker lynching. The third killing—that of a 15-year-old boy by eight white teenagers—may also fall into the category of lynching. In addition a Negro pastor in Rolling Forks narrowly escaped a mob and in Tupelo the threat of mob action hung for days over the Negro community.

Booker T. Mixon, 35-year-old Negro, was found naked and unconscious on the highway near Clarksdale. Taken to the Coahoma County Hospital, he died on Oct. 23, 12 days later, without having regained consciousness. The state police declared him a victim of a hit-and-run accident, without, however, offering any explanation for his nakedness and evidences of terrible physical torture. No inquest of any kind was held, Coahoma County authorities and state police claiming that his escape and efforts to block extradition practically guarantee that he will not be allowed to live out his term.

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Estes requested Mississippi Gov. J. P. Coleman to investigate Mixon's death. "There is no question in my mind that this man was murdered and probably lynched," he told the press. "The body shows every evidence of having been dragged over a rough surface, probably behind a car, and there were other indications of mutilation." So far

## They'll Gladly Eat An Ice Cream Hat

For Secretary of Labor Mitchell, unemployment is a numbers game in which you eat an ice-cream hat when you guess wrong. But the members of the special Senate Committee on Unemployment Problems were told what unemployment really means at a Nov. 17 hearing in McDowell County, a West Virginia coal mining area devastated by chronic unemployment.

"Unemployment has caused emotional upset among pupils. . . . This has been our worst year as far as children not having clothes and school supplies," said a statement of 20 school teachers. Rep. Kee (D-W.Va.) said he had heard reports of children taking home part of their free school lunch to feed their parents. "Men are making moonshine, cutting hot wires in mines to sell them for copper—even stealing food from garbage dumps," reported Howard Chambers, a local sheriff.

Gov. Coleman has made no reply.

Two days after Mixon's death, 27-year-old Luther Jackson was killed. He and a girl friend were sitting in a car parked on the street, when a cop came up and ordered them out. Mrs. Thomas' affidavit, sent to the U.S. Department of Justice by the Mississippi NAACP, gives the following account.

"At the time I was getting out of the car, I heard a shot. When I started to go the same way. . . I heard a second shot. It all happened so quickly. When I arrived at the scene. . . Mr. Jackson was lying in a ditch. He had been killed instantly. I began to cry and said, 'You have shot him for nothing.' I knelt down beside him and the officer knocked me back. I hit him back. . . . He went to his car and called City Hall. . . and said 'Come on down here, I think I have killed a nigger.'"

Neshoba County authorities ruled that the cop had justifiably killed Jackson and then fined Mrs. Thomas \$40 for drunkenness, resisting arrest and assault and battery.

On the night of Oct. 31 William Roy Prather, 15-year-old

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# Two Views on Deutscher's Biography of Trotsky

By Alex Harte

"Was Trotsky right and Stalin wrong?" "Was each of them both right and wrong?" "Are socialism and democracy incompatible?" These were typical themes discussed at a lively symposium held in New York Nov. 13 under the auspices of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The discussion was led by Murry Weiss, editor of the International Socialist Review, and Dr. Stanley W. Moore, a contributor to Monthly Review and former professor of philosophy at Reed College. The topic was "The Prophet Unarmed," the second volume of Isaac Deutscher's biography of Leon Trotsky.

Both speakers had warm praise for Deutscher's book, which covers the crucial struggle in the twenties between the rising Stalinist bureaucracy and the Left Opposition led by Trotsky.

Dr. Moore held that "of all those writing on Marxism today,

Deutscher is the most important single person to read."

Weiss described the book as a "splendid work" that "honestly and even brilliantly marshals the facts" of a crucial period in Soviet history. He said he disagreed with many of the author's interpretations, but welcomed what he saw as a shift by Deutscher away from a belief that Stalin, despite his crimes, had played an essentially progressive role and that the present ruling group in the USSR is capable of self-reform.

Dr. Moore said that Deutscher presented us with a "paradox"—the paradox that while Stalin was contemptible in his methods, he was proved right in his objectives and Trotsky, while highly commendable from a moral viewpoint, was proved wrong.

The great merit of the present volume, he continued, is that it poses and grapples with the unanticipated and complex problems besetting a revolution in a

backward country. The way that the Soviet Union met the problem of industrialization, Moore contended, demonstrated that the division of views cannot be divided into "right" and "wrong." It is rather "a case of mixed right and wrong against mixed wrong and right."

The basic issue dividing the Stalin and Trotsky factions, Moore contended, was not democracy versus bureaucracy, but the need for a forced march to industrialize Russia, which Stalin at first resisted.

But after Stalin swung over to a program of industrialization, even though the program had grave bureaucratic defects, the Left Opposition lost its reason for existence, he argued, and those who went over to Stalin had not "capitulated" but simply thought out the logic of their pro-industrialization position.

On the issue of democracy, Moore said that while Stalin had committed grave crimes in this sphere, the need for suppressing

democratic rights had also been forced upon the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky. The suppression of the Kronstadt rebellion, he said "was their Hungary and its suppression was led by Trotsky."

While he did not believe the Left Opposition had provided a workable alternative to Stalin's industrialization program, he continued, history might establish that Trotsky had fulfilled the worthwhile function of "being right against your time." Stalin's contribution, he added, was contradictory—"on a system of slavery a civilization was built."

Weiss contended that the present development of the Soviet economy did not come as a result of Stalin's role but despite it. He cited Khrushchev's revelations of Stalin's ignorance of agricultural problems and dictatorial orders that led to costly military blunders during World War II as examples of how the

Soviet Union had forged ahead in spite of Stalin.

The historical roles of Stalin and Trotsky can be understood, he continued, only in terms of the conflicting social forces they represented. The Left Opposition, he said, fought to preserve the political rule of the Soviet working class as the best means of developing the economy while the Stalinist faction usurped political power to ensure the growing material privileges of the bureaucracy.

The Soviet Union, under conditions of backwardness and isolation, Weiss maintained, produced not simply the rise of the bureaucracy but also the working-class opposition to it and the fact that the opposition was defeated did not prove its program was wrong or that there was no historical justification for its existence.

Deutscher criticized Trotsky, Weiss said, for what he considered to be Trotsky's failure to follow through with sufficient

vigor in the opposition to Stalin which Lenin had started. But Deutscher's criticism indicates his realization that the struggle was a necessary one.

The principal historical justification of the role of the Opposition, Weiss concluded, is that throughout the period of ideological shambles and destruction of workers democracy under Stalin it kept alive the body of Marxist ideas that had produced the Russian Revolution. That struggle, he said, ensured the continuity of those ideas and made possible the rebuilding of a movement around them as represented by the present cadres of the Fourth International.

In the floor discussion, a young man pointed to Dr. Moore's exposition as confirmation that Stalinism had necessarily developed directly from Bolshevism. Holding that socialism and democracy are inseparable, he argued that this dem-

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# So Your Tax Dollars Go Up in Smoke

By Harry Ring

If all goes well, 75 new hospitals, worth \$4 million each, will be at the bottom of the ocean by the end of 1960.

That isn't a literal fact, but the government does hope to have the dollar equivalent of those 75 hospitals — three Polaris nuclear submarines — under water by that time.

Those three machines of death, and the 75 hospitals that could have been built in their place, represent only a tiny fraction of the staggering price the American people are paying for a war budget so huge that it defies comprehension.

These are among the startling facts presented in the November issue of the Washington Newsletter of the Friends Committee on National Legislation. Under the title "What Happens to Your Tax Dollar?" The Newsletter analyzes 1959 Congressional appropriations and shows what they mean in terms of the social progress sacrificed to "balance" the arms budget.

In 1959, Congress appropriated more than \$82 billion for government expenditures. To try to indicate how much that is, the Newsletter observes: "If translated into dollars laid end to end, it would make more than 32,000 round trips to the moon."

Of that \$82 billion, nearly two-thirds — \$51.6 billion — was allocated for armaments and veterans affairs. (Almost \$2 billion of that went to equip and finance the military machines of such "free world" champions as Franco, Chiang Kai-shek and



EXPENSIVE GADGET

South Korean dictator Syngman Rhee.

A substantial portion of the arms budget was earmarked for long-range ballistic missiles and tactical nuclear weapons for "limited" war. According to Senator Leverett Saltonstall (R-Mass.), the appropriation "emphasized offense and avoided over-emphasis on defense to give us the greatest deterrent for our dollars invested."

When the senator refers to "our dollars invested," he doesn't mean we can expect a return. Quite the contrary. Almost exclusively as a result

of the cold-war arms race, the national debt now stands at \$285 billion. In 1939 the debt was \$40.4 billion, including \$15 billion in debts from World War I.

### Banker's Dream

For the bulk of the American people this fantastic debt means ever-increasing taxes and inflated prices. But for the Wall Street tycoons who hold the IOU's, the government debt is a banker's dream come true. The interest on it is currently estimated at \$9 billion. That's more than double the \$4.2 billion that the government grudgingly decided to spend on health, education and welfare.

The interest payment is \$1.4 billion more this year than last year. That's because the administration felt the bankers weren't doing well enough and hiked the interest rate.

Financial and industrial interests cash in on every aspect of the arms program, including "waste." The Newsletter offers some facts on this that received only passing notice in the press.

The word "waste" is actually ambiguous. For the business interests involved, it's something quite different. For example, Rep. F. Edward Herbert (D-La.) revealed on June 3 that private contractors had overcharged the Air Force \$30 million on 14 contracts.

Senator Paul Douglas (D-Ill.) reported April 30 that the Department of Defense last year sold \$6 billion worth of surplus property for about \$200 million.

Even that \$200 million never got back into the treasury. The Department spent just that amount on two chemical plants and then closed them without

### If All of Us Lived In a Single Town

"If the present population of the world could be represented by a thousand persons living in a single town, 60 persons would represent the population of the U.S.A., and 940 all the other nations. The 60 Americans would have half the income of the entire town; the 940 persons would share the other half. Three hundred and three persons in the town would be white; 697 would be non-white. The 60 Americans would have an average life expectancy of 70 years; that of the 940 would be under 40 years. The average Christian American family would be spending \$850 a year for military defense and less than \$3.50 a year to share with other residents the knowledge of why they are Christians." —Henry Smith Leiper, in Social Action, March 1959

turning out a gallon of fuel, according to the House Committee on Science and Astronautics.

Far greater sums are poured out just to keep military plants and installations going when there is no use for them even by Defense Department standards. Rep. Alvin O'Konski (R-Wisc.) charged recently that at least two dozen military bases around the country should be closed down "but political pressures from senators and congressmen and the Chamber of Commerce frighten the military authorities

from closing them." He said if these pressures were not applied "the taxpayers could save \$5 billion a year."

But the government has developed a substantial apparatus for dealing with those who would apply a different kind of pressure — those who are opposed to the suicidal war preparations.

Congress appropriated this year the not insignificant sum of \$124,211,000 for the nation's secret political police, the FBI. The bulk of that money is used by J. Edgar Hoover and his snoots and paid informers, for the harassment and attempted intimidation of those suspected of heretical views — and who is more heretical than those who oppose or simply dare to question the government's war plans?

The Newsletter seeks to indicate how much of our money is drained off for weapons by listing the major items for which our national income goes.

Food is the only thing we spend more for than war preparations — \$67.4 billion in 1958. For arms we shoveled out \$45.9 billion. Only \$26 billion went for clothing and shoes and \$18.4 billion for medical care and death expenses.

For weapons research and testing \$3.8 billion was poured down the drain. This topped considerably the \$3.4 billion spent last year by all the people of the United States on books, magazines and newspapers.

Incidentally, the next time you see a B-70 jet bomber streak through the sky just remember that the prototype of that plane represented 37 new \$4 million schools that weren't built.

# The Capitalist Casts a Wary Look At the Intellectual on the Payroll

By Tom Kemp

The intellectual is a mistrusted but indispensable figure in capitalist society. Mistrusted because he does not, simply by being an intellectual, have a property stake in capitalism and is liable to be oversensitive to its misdeeds and abuses. Indispensable, because no modern society can be operated without the skills and abilities which the intellectual possesses. The intellectual may become a hired man, swallowing his humiliation and selling his talents in the market place to men he despises for purposes which he deplores. But often he has some opportunity for independence and is able to adopt a critical stance towards the institutions of capitalism.

The latter fact has often been a cause for concern among the upholders of capitalism. How is it that normally well-fed people, benefiting from capitalist "freedom" become radicals and socialists?

The question has been raised again by Calvin Hoover in the September-October Harvard Business Review. He regrets the "almost total lack of enthusiasm on the part of so many United States intellectuals for an economic and political system under which they have fared so well." He seeks an explanation for what he describes as "the passivity and sometimes outright hostility of intellectuals to modern American society" and outlines an approach which he hopes will win their allegiance.

Whether this writer is himself an intellectual — and he makes it clear that, unless specially hired for the purpose, intellectuals have generally left capitalism to fight its own ideological battles — or one of the "thoughtful businessmen" to whom the Harvard Business Review is addressed is not manifest. In any case, he is shrewd enough to know that intellectuals cannot be won with the old stuff. Arguments for capitalism couched in terms of Adam Smith's "invisible hand" guiding private interest to bring about public advantage can only raise a smile these days. Something more sophisticated is required which does not disguise the fact that the economy is ruled by the big corporation and is sustained by supports driven into the system by the state.

This is the capitalism Hoover wants to put over, but he spends a good deal of his space in showing how bad the Russian system is and assuming that there is no choice between the Russian model and American-style capitalism.

That many intellectuals have been attracted by Russian achievement in the economic, technical and cultural fields is a tribute to the Russian revolution and reflects interest in a society which has released mankind from bondage to profit and property. That a large proportion have been driven back to make terms with the profit-makers by their revulsion at Stalinist methods of terror rule by a privileged bureaucracy and by the ruthless repression of free enquiry and discussion is also a fact. One of the historical crimes of Stalinism is that it has been a barrier to the enlistment of many more eager young intellectuals to the cause of socialism or has turned them into time-servers and cynics on one side or the other.

There is also a grain of truth in Hoover's implied gibe at the "irresponsibility" of intellectuals: "Modern capitalism," he says, "makes it possible for the intellectual to enjoy the thrill of being a critic at little or no cost." Such is the impression one derives from reading some of the radical magazines. There are, undoubtedly, what might be called tolerated critics, who know they will not have to justify their criticism in any way likely to cause them personal inconvenience, let alone sacrifice. They can even get recognition as critics and sell their books on the strength of their daring; but they have not really broken with capitalism. They have not accepted responsibility for replacing it with a better system by taking their place in the ranks of the working-class movement.

Of course, this is not the "responsibility" which Hoover wishes to induce, far from it. He wants to win intellectuals to a sincere faith in the virtues of corporate business; not an easy task when he has to call on business to eliminate practices which only give ammunition to the critics. He seeks to provide them with "a

better understanding of the true nature of the economic and political systems which are in all-out competition in the world today." It is obviously extremely important for him that the choice should be kept as one between the bureaucratically degenerated Soviet Union and U.S. capitalism.

He seems to assume that intellectuals only want a good material standard and about as much scope to express themselves as they get in present-day America. He is the dupe of his own unmeasured confidence in capitalism and therefore does not begin to plumb the sources of the critical tendencies of the intellectuals. He does not see that they often set off (and sometimes continue) with a preference that their abilities should be used for mankind and not to serve the profits of the corporations. He does not understand their reluctance to devoting time and talent to seeking for more effective means of destroying life when they might be used to extend man's command over nature. He does not consider their concern that the techniques involved in the mass media should be used for the perversion of the cultural values they have been taught to respect. He does not see the basic contradictions which weave complex patterns through the consciousness of the modern intellectual.

He does not understand, consequently, why intellectuals should frequently sense that there is something in the Russian system which is absent from American capitalism. He says that Russia is widely believed, by intellectuals, to be a "worker's state"; he puts up an argument against this, but that is not the main point. The idea that society should be operated by and for the workers by hand and brain is a simple, logical and powerful idea which often survives a higher education. It is this which has to be argued against, and here he conspicuously falls down.

The kind of antiseptic, cleaned-up capitalism with a Sunday School halo which he recommends can never exist. Capitalism came into this world dripping with blood and filth from every pore. No detergents or deodorants have been invented which can clean this away or cover it up to its dying day.

### Uneasy About Capitalism?

No doubt the fears expressed by Hoover about the present allegiance of American intellectuals is more than a little exaggerated. That such concern should be expressed in the journal of the leading business school in the very citadel of world capitalism is highly significant and surely represents an unconscious uneasiness about the system itself. It is probable that, for the time being, most intellectuals have made their peace with capitalism, and many former radicals bend their efforts to holding the system together. Others have settled for relatively innocuous and oblique criticism or for the polite reformism of the right-wing intellectuals in the British Labor party, who get a pat on the back from Hoover.

Material prosperity has played a role here; it was otherwise in the thirties, and it will be otherwise again. The role of Stalinism is also crucial; it has, for many, destroyed the faith in the possibility of a workable alternative which will safeguard the things intellectuals consider valuable.

But the choice is not either Russia as it is, or American capitalism. "Intellectuals," writes Hoover, "do not accept the proposition that the alternative to capitalist organization and direction of production is administration of the economy by a hierarchical bureaucracy . . ." Indeed he offers no reason why they should — except the degeneration of the USSR. Socialists who can explain what happened to the Soviet State in the twenties and thirties, showing the origin and role of Stalinism, have great opportunities for work among those intellectuals who follow this line of thought. They can show, too, that the task of building a working-class movement as first step to the new society, can offer satisfactions and possibilities far exceeding those provided by accommodation or shame-faced criticism without commitment.

# Businessmen Reach for 'Bonbons' Like Germany's Volkswagen Plant

By Flora Carpenter

Last spring Herman Lindraht, West Germany's federal assets minister, said that denationalization of the Volkswagen automobile industry would be the "bonbon of the century." The mere possibility of this development was greeted with joy by American big businessmen who want to sink their teeth into this nougat.

But the Adenauer regime found Volkswagen, worth a cool \$644 million, rather sticky. The state of Lower Saxony (where most of the autos are made) has engaged the Bonn government in a jurisdictional battle over possession of Volkswagen for more than a year. Lower Saxony opposed busting up the state-owned industry.

The Bundestag (lower house of the federal government) settled the question, Oct. 6, by voting to recognize federal ownership. Thus denationalization of

Volkswagen is on the order of the day.

Bonn's program to end government ownership of industry has the wholehearted support of the U.S. State Department. Its policy, since the defeat of Hitler, has been to preserve and re-establish the German industrialists.

### Case of Krupp

A crowning example of the State Department's attitude is the case of Alfred Krupp. Krupp was one of the capitalist architects of Nazism and Hitler's war machine. This capitalist monster's vast Ruhr war industries armed Hitler's Wehrmacht and reaped untold profits from the slaughter of tens of millions.

The Nuremberg court said of him: "The Krupp firm was a beneficiary of those [concentration] camps. In the use of concentration camp inmates, labor and death were almost synonymous terms."

Despite this record, Krupp was permitted to regain possession of his industrial empire when he was freed in 1951 through an "act of clemency" by General Thomas T. Handy, U.S. Commander in Chief in Europe.

Early this year, with a quiet nod from Washington, Krupp broke a 1953 commitment to sell off a large part of his steel holdings. Instead, he calmly announced, last January, his plans to buy up a major Ruhr steel company. He said that by 1961 the earnings of the 150-year-old Krupp empire would reach a peak of \$1,000,000,000.

The stepped-up drive at Bonn

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# Kennedy — the Friendly Hangman's Helper

By Carl Goodman

The top AFL-CIO brass is currently touting Sen. John F. Kennedy (D-Mass.) as a particularly good friend of labor. Walter Ruther invited him to address the recent United Auto Workers convention. A recent AFL-CIO pamphlet thanked Kennedy and four other Democrats for their efforts in behalf of labor in connection with the Landrum-Griffin "labor-reform" bill. As candidate for president, Kennedy carries the good wishes — if not yet the endorsement — of the labor leaders.

Kennedy is friendly to labor all right — just about as friendly as the hangman's helper who says a few comforting words to the victim just before the hangman drops the trap. In the case of the "labor-reform" law, Kennedy built the scaffolding, tied and soaped the knot and oiled the springs on the trap door. All Landrum and Griffin did was push the lever on the trap door, while Kennedy said a few solacing words to the labor movement.

Actually, the most damaging sections of the "labor-reform" bill are not those written in by Landrum-Griffin but those authored by Kennedy. These give the Secretary of Labor broad powers to "investigate" and harass the unions.

"While only a court test can tell for sure," says the Sept. 11 Wall Street Journal, "many seasoned labor lawyers are beginning to believe the law may give the Secretary of Labor much of the same investigatory power of

the Senate's McClellan Committee — and then some."

To these provisions written by Kennedy, Landrum and Griffin added the clauses against "secondary boycott." Did Kennedy really fight to keep these sections out of the bill? Not at all. He proposed the compromise amendments that bridged the Senate version, bearing his name, and the Landrum-Griffin bill that had been passed by the House.

### A Modest Fellow

"The Kennedy compromise embodies the restrictive provisions of the House bill with a few exemptions," reported the Aug. 31 Wall Street Journal. These exemptions for the garment and building-trade unions are what earned for Kennedy the labor leaders' gratitude. But the exemptions were never seriously challenged by Landrum and Griffin. The "labor-reform" bill as it finally passed through Congress was substantially the Kennedy "compromise." Kennedy is really too modest when he declines to associate his name with the final version of the bill. The law justly merits the title of Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin.

This is not the first time that Kennedy has acted as the hangman's assistant in labor legislation questions. When the Taft-Hartley act was being shaped in Congress, Kennedy, then in the House of Representatives, contributed his share to the inclusion of the 80-day injunction to "cool off" strikes.

At one point in the debate, Kennedy stated: "I am not in the position of opposing everything in this bill, but there are certain things in the bill that are wrong. I do not see how the President is going to have the power to stop strikes that will affect the health and safety of the people under the procedure listed in Section 203. I think he must have that power." At the same time Kennedy cautioned against granting the president powers that might be too sweeping.

It turned out that the Taft-Hartley law as it finally passed

embodied the precise presidential powers Kennedy had advocated. Eisenhower used them to deal a low blow at the steelworkers' strike. But they are otherwise not too sweeping.

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**Logical End for Social Democrats**

At its national congress at Bad Godesberg last week, the German Social Democratic party voted 324 to 16 to drop advocacy of socialism from its platform. This means that the party program will now conform to the true nature of the German Social Democracy, which even before World War I had become a capitalist reform party — or more precisely, a bourgeois labor party, to use Friedrich Engels' definition. On Nov. 15, the party congress adopted a new program including the following points:

- (1) Class warfare is definitely discarded. The Social Democracy will no longer claim to be a working-class party but a party that promotes the welfare of the entire "nation."
- (2) The party declares itself on the side of "democracy" in the battle against "world Communism."
- (3) Nationalization of industry is abandoned as the solution of economic problems. The emphasis is on regulation, vaguely called "public ownership," and on promoting economic freedom including the free initiative of employers.
- (4) The Social Democrats come out for "national defense." Military conscription is opposed only as long as Germany is divided.
- (5) In foreign policy, the program supports strengthening the United Nations and including a reunified Germany in a European "security system"—presumably a military alliance such as NATO represents and to which West Germany already adheres.

None of these programmatic positions do violence to any previous practice of the Social Democratic leaders.

Abandonment of class-struggle principles? From 1918 to 1932, the German Social Democrats repeatedly entered coalition governments with capitalist parties in the "interest of the nation." Again after World War II, they formed coalitions in several German states.

Defense of capitalist democracy against Communism? The Social Democrats lined up with the big industrialists, Junkers and pro-Kaiser army officers in 1918 to crush the Berlin workers who were moving in a revolutionary direction. They were accomplices in the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, the heroic German Communist leaders. This was the criminal basis on which the Weimar Republic—the Social Democrats' proud achievement—was erected.

No nationalization of industry? When and where did the German Social Democracy, when it held office, ever move to expropriate capitalists or infringe on their profit-making in any way? When the Social Democrats were in power they broke strikes, clubbed demonstrations, witch-hunted working-class militants—in short administered a capitalist state. They took no steps whatever leading toward socialism.

"National defense?" The German Social Democratic leaders enthusiastically supported German imperialism in World War I and backed the Kaiser's war effort to the hilt.

Support of a European "security system"—that is, a military bloc of imperialist nations? Many Social Democratic leaders, forced by the Nazis to flee Germany, took shelter with British and U.S. imperialism and supported the ruling classes of these countries in their predatory World War II aims.

**"You Just Do These Things"**

But while betraying socialism in deeds, the Social Democrats clung verbally to Marxism during the last fifty years. Time and again they rebuffed those who advocated that the party frankly admit it had abandoned socialism and stood merely for reforms. "You don't say these things. You just do them," is how a shocked party bureaucrat once answered a theoretician who proposed to bring the Social Democratic program in line with its practices. Because of current political conditions in Germany, the party leaders finally decided to "say these things" as well as do them.

The German Social Democratic leaders believe they can catch more votes in the 1961 elections without a socialist platform than with one. Repeated Social Democratic and Stalinist betrayals have lowered the support for socialist ideas among the workers—especially the younger people. The boom of the past decade has also conserved the working class. The Social Democrats have lost three elections in a row to Chancellor Adenauer's Christian Democratic party. A non-socialist platform, the Social-Democratic leaders hope, will attract some liberal middle-class votes.

The fact, however, that the party leaders have decided to drop their socialist verbiage for current vote-getting purposes shows how lightly they took the socialist

program all along. Evidently they never thought socialism good for anything else but vote-catching and holiday speechifying in those periods when the majority of workers were strongly socialist-minded.

Just the same, one might think that the German Social Democrats, of all people, would have developed an insuperable conditioned reflex against touting capitalism. For German capitalism brought Hitler to power, and despite the loyal services that the Social Democracy had previously rendered big business, Hitler filled the concentration camps and gas chambers with a goodly number of Social Democratic adherents, including many lower-echelon functionaries. Furthermore, in the days when Hitler was advancing on the road to power, but had not yet seized it, the Social Democrats clung all the more tenaciously to their capitalist allies in the vain hope that these would block the Nazis. They refused to mobilize the working class for struggle against the Nazi storm troopers for fear that this would drive the capitalist liberals into Hitler's arms. The Social Democrats (and the Stalinists, too, from their side) paralyzed the German working class, and Hitler conquered without a struggle. Surely, one would think, the consequence of their treacherous politics and the horrors of Nazism would have been branded forever in the memory of the Social Democrats, rendering them incapable of ever coming to terms again with capitalism.

**Retreat into a Rat Hole**

But hidebound labor bureaucrats, such as lead the German Social Democracy, are incapable of learning. Their younger replacements have no interest in learning. As Leon Trotsky wrote in 1940 about the Social Democratic breed not only in Germany but everywhere, these "opportunists know but one policy—that of passive adaptation. Under the conditions of decaying capitalism nothing remains open to them but the surrender of one position after another. The whittling away of their already miserable program, the lowering of their demands, the renunciation of demands altogether, continuous retreat further and further back until there is no place left to retreat except a rat hole."

The open renunciation of socialism by the Social Democrats does not end the struggle for socialism—especially not in Germany, where the working class has experienced the barbarism of decaying capitalism on a scale worse, perhaps, than the proletariat of any other country.

Germany is the country where Marxism first won a mass following. For decades before the degeneration of the Social Democracy, the German Marxists taught and led the international socialist movement. Afterwards, the great left-wing leaders—Luxemburg, Liebknecht and Mehring—contributed their imperishable page to the history of world socialism.

Again, Germany is the industrial heart of Europe. The prospect of a socialist Germany has inspired the European working class since the turn of the century and will inspire it again. For Germany's industry and culture, functioning in a socialist united states of Europe, will lift the living standards of the European masses far above the levels reached under capitalism and will make possible the flowering of socialist democracy.

The Social Democracy's open rejection of socialism does not detract one iota from the genuine Marxist tradition or the glowing prospects that socialism offers the German and European working class. What the latest move of the party leaders does is to end a big lie. It disposes of the claim that socialism can be attained under a Social Democratic leadership, that the Social Democrats offer a road to socialism.

Class-conscious workers and rebellious young people eager to fight for a world without war, poverty or oppression, but fooled in the past by the socialist pretensions of the Social Democracy, will now feel freer to contribute their talents and energies to the building of an authentic party of socialism. The economic boom won't last forever. It will give way to a depression, and when it does, this will shatter the illusions among the working people that they can obtain economic security under capitalism. A German revolutionary-socialist party—with its principal rival, the Social Democracy, self-disqualified as a socialist pole of attraction—will be able rapidly to gain the adherence of the masses and organize them for the socialist transformation.

It will thus turn out that the Social Democratic leaders performed an unintended service to the socialist cause by openly renouncing socialism. In fact it is the only service that the profession of Social Democratic pie-cards and fakers has contributed to socialism for fifty years.



"And don't worry about the cranberries. There's hardly enough to kill a mouse!"

**Gomulka Shifts Back Further To Stalinist Methods of Rule**

By Daniel Roberts

During the last three weeks a pronounced shift back to old-line Stalinist methods has taken place in Poland. It was detailed in a series of ten dispatches to the New York Times by its Warsaw correspondent, A. M. Rosenthal, who on Nov. 11 was ordered to leave the country because his reports had "probed too deeply" into Polish affairs. The correctness of the reports, he was told, was not in question.

The shift has been marked by the appointment to key economic and police positions of leading people ousted during the October 1956 revolution against Stalinist tyranny and by the dismissal of prominent "liberals." Thus Julian Tokarski was named deputy chief of planning in the recent personnel changes. In June, 1956, Tokarski, then minister of motor industry, refused to grant the demand of Poznan workers for higher wages and lower work quotas. His refusal touched off the Poznan general strike and demonstration. He was dismissed shortly thereafter.

Again, Eugeniusz Szyr was recently appointed Deputy Premier. Szyr was a prominent economist of the pre-October days. Since then he has urged the regime to concern itself less with avoiding a repetition of Stalinist-type methods of administrative "pressure" and more with upping the production quotas—especially of heavy industry.

Another old-line Stalinist once again raised to eminence is Lieut. Gen. Kazimierz Witaszewski, nicknamed "Gen. Gaspipe," who was given the post of Deputy Chief of Staff in charge of intelligence. Before the October 1956 revolution, Witaszewski served as deputy under Marshal Rokossovski, Moscow's appointee at the head of the Polish army. Witaszewski was removed after October together with his boss.

Among those who have been demoted in recent weeks are Edward Ochab, ousted as Minister of Agriculture, and Jerzy Morawski, who reportedly resigned from the Communist party's top committee because of opposition to the appointment of the old-line Stalinists. Ochab was a principal figure in the Polish regime at the time of these events; he embraced "de-Stalinization" and paved the way for Wladyslaw Gomulka's accession to leadership of the Communist party in October 1956. Morawski was raised to the top rungs of party leadership during the October events. Insurgent workers and youth adhering to the CP looked on him as their spokesman.

The latest changes in personnel reflect the conclusion of a debate over economic policy within the party's Central Committee. In the debate, Gomulka ranged himself on the side of those calling for a "tightening up" of the economy and for "discipline."

As a result of the tough policy, the government marked up the price of meat 25%. Over-time work has been ordered eliminated in the factories and work quotas during the normal eight-hour day increased. Workers consequently will have to produce as much as before but without benefit of overtime pay. Factory rolls have been ordered pruned in a number of industries, and workers thus lopped off face the need to relocate to

industries—often in other areas of the country—that have manpower shortages.

The pretext for the shift to a tough line is that the regime's liberal course has landed the economy in a crisis. This may indeed be the case. But a return to the Stalinist whip as the chief spur to production will also land the economy in crisis, as Polish experience during the Six Year Plan from 1949 to 1955 testifies. Police terror and bureaucratic misrule brought severe dislocations in the plan and a falling productivity of labor.

On the eve of the October revolution the most class-conscious section of the Polish working class, located in the Zeran district of Warsaw, formulated a program to take the economy out of the blind alley of Stalinism.

The Zeran program called for workers' councils elected democratically in each factory. The councils were to take over management of the plants. The Zeran workers criticized a government proposal for a general wage increase as impractical. "We don't want," they said, "new fictions which may only lead to inflation."

The Zeran workers pledged "to double production as compared with the present level, to eliminate completely the current losses in production, and, what is more to create conditions which would enable the factory [then working at a loss] to earn profits for the state... Comrades at Zeran do not want promises from above. They want to work by themselves for an increase in their real earnings," a Warsaw radio station reported at the time.

A section of the Polish Communist party voiced the sentiments of the Zeran workers. In a number of articles these CP militants spelled out the implications contained in the Zeran program. One of them declared that "the movement for workers' self-government should carry in its wake a whole chain of transformations in the political and economic structure of the state."

"... if self-government is actually to have authority, then there must take place now or in the very near future a wholesale transformation of individual enterprises in individual enterprises into a system of councils... The realization of this scheme, however, cannot be accomplished through an artificial fusion of the workers' councils with the existing administrative apparatus which was born in the past era. For there is a fundamental difference between bureaucratic centralization and democratic centralization."

The Zeran workers were in the forefront of the upsurge that brought Gomulka to power. He was compelled under the circumstances to legalize the workers' councils that had been organized throughout industry. However, Gomulka and the Communist party leaders most closely associated with him did not mobilize the workers for a further assault on the system of bureaucratic privileges and rule by command.

From the first day he came to power, Gomulka sought instead to limit the functions of the workers' councils. He denied them the right to federate. He forbade them to take over the functions of the trade unions or to infringe on the prerogatives of management. Finally, in 1958, he virtually dissolved them by

merging them into "workers' self-government conferences" dominated by the trade-union and party functionaries in the shops.

Instead of the workers' democracy the Zeran workers had demanded, Gomulka offered higher wages, reduction of work norms, some relaxation of the former Stalinist discipline and alterations in the plans so as to favor consumer-goods production. Police rule also was attenuated. All these reforms, to be sure, made the bureaucratic regime more bearable. But they did not generate enthusiasm for boosting labor productivity and thus advancing on the road to socialism.

The bureaucracy, both when it applies the Stalinist whip and when it does out a few reforms, keeps a tight lid on the great creative potential lodged in the working class. As the Zeran workers realized, this potential can be freed only through a regime of workers' democracy.

**Headlines in Other Lands**

**Eisenhower Finds Canal Zone Strife Just a Big "Puzzle"**

President Eisenhower said he was "puzzled" by the violence of the anti-American demonstration in Panama City, Nov. 3. The State Department, however, seemed to know what it was all about—namely, that the Panamanian people want to exercise control over the Canal that cuts through the middle of their country. The State Department has warned the Panamanian government to prevent a march on the Canal Zone scheduled for Nov. 28. A march by a group of students who sought to plant the Panamanian flag in the Canal Zone touched off the Nov. 3 demonstration.

Secretary of State Herter informed Panama this week that there could be no "settlement" of the differences between the two countries while the threat of violence exists. And Under-Secretary of State Rubottom resorted to the U.S. government's stock accusation that "communists" caused the Nov. 3 demonstration.

Panama gets \$1,980,000 in "rent" per year for the Canal Zone. This is less than one-fifth of the Canal's yearly revenue. Panamanians have demanded that their country get 50% of the tolls.

**Land Distribution To Start in Tibet**

The Chinese Communist party's regional committee in Tibet decided at a meeting ending Oct. 18 to start redistributing land to peasants belonging mostly to feudal lords and monasteries.

Land belonging to feudal landowners who participated in the anti-Chinese rebellion last spring will be confiscated without payment. But the Tibet committee recommended that the state compensate those landowners who remained loyal to the Chinese.

Land distribution will first be applied to agricultural areas involving about 900,000 of Tibet's population. The main tasks at

**The American Way of Life**

**And Now the Butcher's Thumb**

America has been faced with some agonizing reappraisals in recent weeks. What about that TV set after all? Was it a good investment? True, it's cheaper entertainment than going to the movies, but what about the morals of our children? Is it good to expose them hour after hour to such corruption as was evident in the quiz shows?

Then came another shocker. Just as the Thanksgiving season opened, a conscientious government official—that rarest of all rarities—warned housewives that America's cranberry crop was contaminated with a cancer-inducing chemical weed-killer.

While the American people, for the first time in the history of the country, contemplated a Thanksgiving without cranberries, some searching questions were asked. In the interest of maintaining the health of the private enterprise system is it moral to take a chance with the health of the public, if the poison included in food put on the market is small in quantity, detectable only in occasional lots, and has demonstrably caused cancer so far only in rodents?

What about that most important of all questions in this country, profits? The profits of the cranberry growers? If they're to be hurt by a sudden reaction among buyers, which they hadn't foreseen when they used aminotriazole in their bogs, isn't it in the interest of the general public welfare to grant them funds out of the U.S. Treasury? After all, this is something important, not a mere matter of strikers losing their wages or workers running out of unemployment insurance or being denied relief checks.

While people from coast to coast wrestled with these questions, New Yorkers were given still another jolt. Once again they were reminded that you can't trust a butcher and you can't trust Tammany Hall. New Yorkers knew this already, so it hurt to find out that they had paid a few million dollars for the reminder.

Fred J. Loughran has been arrested as a ring leader in this tale of tainted politics and short-weighted meat. He was appointed director of the city's Bureau of Weights & Measures by Mayor O'Dwyer and kept in

office by Wagner. The post is a strategic one in the eyes of the Tammany boys.

Inspectors under Loughran put the arm on the butcher shops. About once a year or so they insisted that it was about time to change brands on the scales they were using. This meant a lucrative commission from the scales manufacturers. In addition they insisted that butchers who felt compelled to cheat their customers in order to make a profit, had better share their profits with the squad of inspectors.

The shakedown was \$50 or \$60 a month, and as many as 500 or more shops are rumored to have been involved.

The butchers used ingenious ways of working the public for the benefit of themselves and the Bureau of Weights & Measures. Those with dexterous thumbs exercised them regularly while weighing up an order. Some, not so dexterous, hid the reading on the scale from the customer's view, an illegal practice. Others rigged wire contraptions that permitted a heavy toe to substitute for the thumb. Still others used loaded counterweights.

Hand Faster Than Eye Butchers, adept at card tricks and similar sleight of hand, weighed tender prime meat on the scales, then with the magic words, "Fresto, change-6," converted it into tough commercial meat right through the wrapping.

Mayor Wagner, of course, has passed the word down the line to keep investigating "until everything is cleaned up." Loughran looks like a promising candidate for the fall guy.

It is remarkable what cynical remarks are heard in New York's stores. "I don't care if they do release the cranberries. Who did they pay off?" "It's getting so you can't trust even their bargain prices." "Who is there that isn't fixed?"

It's been an unusually rough few weeks on the moral front. Some people are even beginning to wonder if it wouldn't be wiser to stop looking for morals in the American Way of Life.

—Paul Abbott

**Defiant Nicaraguan Students Challenge Somoza Brothers**

A new round of conflict between Nicaragua's students and the Somoza brothers who rule the country is in the offing. The National Student Federation has sent a telegram to Pres. Luis Somoza demanding that three university students recently arrested be freed immediately.

Gen. Anastasio Somoza, chief of the National Guard, charged that the three students were found by policemen "near an unexploded bomb" and that they would be held indefinitely.

The bad feeling between the students and the regime has become so deep that, according to Paul F. Kennedy in the Nov. 14 New York Times, Gen Somoza has said: "The Government furnishes the university with money, but there is no reason why it will have to continue doing so when all these students do is fight us."

**Report Khrushchev And Tito Held Secret Meeting**

Premier Khrushchev and Marshal Tito held a secret conference on the Yugoslav-Rumanian border in October, according to information the U.S. State Department received from Rumania, Poland and the Soviet Union. This was reported by Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott in their column, Washington Report, Nov. 16.

At the meeting, Khrushchev is

said to have briefed Tito on his talks with President Eisenhower and with the Chinese Communist party leaders. Tito is considering an invitation to make an official visit to Moscow possibly in December, according to the State Department's information. Khrushchev is said to have initiated the meeting with Tito.

**American Plane Oil Adulterant Poisons 10,000 Moroccans**

Nearly 10,000 cases of paralysis of the arms and legs have occurred in Morocco recently. They were caused by mineral-oil poisoning. Surplus stores of the oil, used normally to rinse airplane engines, had been sold to Moroccan merchants by the U.S. Air Force base at Nouasseur near Casablanca. The merchants fraudulently used it to dilute olive and peanut oil and resold it for cooking purposes.

Physicians say no cure has been found for the paralysis. The situation has been officially proclaimed a national disaster. The merchants involved face the death penalty.

A spokesman for the U.S. Air Force stated that the oil was sold as machine oil. "Its subsequent use is not our responsibility," he said.

**Note British Fallout Coincides with Rise in Leukemia Deaths**

Deaths from leukemia in five counties in England rose by 50% between 1950 and 1957, reports the Lancet, a British medical journal.

Leukemia, or cancer of the blood, is almost always fatal. The increase of its incidence in the counties in question is ascribed by a British medical officer, Dr. Phillips, to strontium 90, a radioactive element in atomic fallout brought down in the rainfall. The medical officer pointed out that four of the counties are mountainous areas with high rainfall.

Increase of leukemia by 38%, 25%, and 19% was reported in three other counties.



Asks Us to Define Technical Terms

Editor: I am a new contact to socialism and as such I find certain terminologies difficult.

- (1) secondary boycott, (2) plenum, (3) neo-fascist, (4) empirical, (5) sectarian, (6) Fabian.

Most newcomers to the socialist movement find it difficult at first to learn a new set of words seldom used in everyday life.

- (1) Secondary boycott: A union engages in a secondary boycott when it pickets a business firm that is handling the products of a strikebound company.

party. Such meetings are also referred to as plenary sessions.

(3) Neo-fascist: New supporters of the fascist program of Hitler or Mussolini.

(4) Empirical: A person is "empirical" in a bad sense when he relies only on what he can see, hear, feel, taste or touch and resists fitting such facts into a broad theory or system of scientific thought.

(5) Sectarian: The tendency to disregard anything in reality that does not fit preconceived ideas. In political usage this means a program or stand that disregards important facts in the daily class struggle.

(6) Fabian: The Fabian Society was organized in England in 1884. It proposed to achieve socialism by gradual changes in capitalism.

Editor

Cranberry Fetish

Editor: The Cranberry Growers Association hit at Secretary of Health Flemming for disclosing to the press the contamination of the cranberry crop.

The law specifically denies approval to any compound that produces cancer or impairment of vital organs. Permission had been granted for use of the weed killer after the crop had been harvested.

This is a striking example of what Marx called "the fetishism of commodities." Here are cranberries, a product of man's labor, standing over the producer, threatening them with ruin if they are not disposed of with a profit.

John H. New York City

... Labor

(Continued from Page 1)

I know that I am president of this great organization that has such tremendous power and I never went on strike in my life; I never ran a strike in my life; I never ordered anyone else to run a strike in my life, never had anything to do with a picket line. So," he concluded, "if that is the type of power people have in mind, they should get another fellow for president, because I have no experience with that type of power."

To allay any suspicion that he intended any change in the established order Meany expounded his credo to the assembled corporation chiefs. "In the final analysis," he assured them, "there is not a great deal of difference between the things I stand for and the things the NAM (National Association of Manufacturers) leaders stand for. I stand for the profit system; I believe in the profit system. I believe it is a wonderful incentive. I believe in the free enterprise system completely. I believe in the return on capital investment. I believe in management's right to manage."

After establishing basic agreement on what he considered all the fundamental issues, Meany asked, "what is there left for us to disagree about?" And answered: "It is merely for us to disagree, if you please, as to what share the workers get, what share management gets from the wealth produced by the particular enterprise." That's all! Merely a disagreement over the division of the national income.

Nothing to get excited about — for as Meany observed to the NAM gathering: "We have so much in common that it seems rather silly to be fighting over the things that we do not have in common."

Irony itself stands incredulous and disarmed before such seemingly artless simplicity. If anything, the hard-headed NAM business fraternity are materialists. All of the ideological fluff — individual freedom, liberty, equality, democracy — is intended to deceive the people into supporting an economic system based on the exploitation of human labor.

Selected to reply to Mr. Meany was Charles R. Sligh, then NAM board chairman, who spoke on: "What Industry Expects of Organized Labor." Sligh quickly got down to brass tacks. If Meany meant what he said, then, according to the management spokesman, organized labor would:

- (1) Withdraw its opposition to "Right-to-Work" measures. (2) Refrain from interfering with the freedom of scabs to break strikes. (3) Abandon its "overly rigid seniority rules." (4) Eliminate all "featherbedding" practices and support management's right to fix work rules and conditions. (5) Support tax reductions for the rich so that they could provide more jobs for the poor.

"MAKE A WISH ..."



(6) Not only disavow the setting up of a labor party — which Mr. Meany did — but "refrain from the preparation of arbitrary blacklists as a means of exerting political pressure," as well as other forms of political activity.

All of this was summed up in a five-point "Code of Conduct" and presented to Meany as management's contribution to the furtherance of "just and harmonious labor-management relations." All, peculiarly enough, revolving around the one small point of disagreement so lightly dismissed by the newly elected president of the AFL-CIO.

... Two Views on Deutscher

(Continued from Page 1)

onstrated that Bolshevism and socialism were incompatible. In reply, Dr. Moore argued that just as capitalism has ruled under various political forms, history has shown that socialism can, too. The belief that socialism and democracy were inseparable, he said, had led Karl Kautsky and the Second International to the rejection of socialism and this same concept had led some of Trotsky's supporters to the view that with the destruction of democracy, the USSR was no longer a workers state.

Weiss commented that the attempt to justify Stalinism on the basis of civil-war measures used by the Bolsheviks ignored the fact that these measures flowed from the struggle of the working class in power to defend itself from imperialist assault and capitalist counter-revolution. Whereas the growth of an uncontrolled bureaucracy under Stalin flowed from the need of this parasitic caste to defend its special interests from the working masses. It is necessary, he said, to distinguish between capitalist democracy and workers democracy, as it had existed in the early years of the Soviet Republic. Trotsky, he

said, fought for workers democracy throughout. He also recalled Trotsky's consistent political struggle against all those who contended that the USSR was not a workers state.

Another member of the audience held that it was necessary to restudy the view that the continuation of the Marxist program resided in the Trotskyist movement. History has shown, he said, that "by some miracle, socialism has risen and conquered" under leaders like Khrushchev and Mao Tse-tung and "even a murderer and half mad-man like Stalin."

Commenting on this, Dr. Moore said he felt it was incorrect to view the Stalinist bureaucracy as representing an alien class force because in a distorted way it did represent the needs of the working class and of socialism.

Weiss maintained that to give credit to a Stalin, Khrushchev or Mao for the gains of a progressive form of property relations is similar to the arguments of supporters of the trade-union bureaucracy, who contend that because they hold power, men like Reuther and Meany should be credited for gains won by the trade-union movement.

Twin City Strike Puts Bus Travel In Deep Freeze

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 14—Following an overwhelming vote to reject the last company offer, 1,260 Twin City Rapid Transit Bus Drivers, Mechanics and Clerical Employees

walked out on strike Nov. 9. Minneapolis and St. Paul workers are giving wholehearted endorsement to the strike, and no one seems to miss the absence of buses from the Twin City area too much. Co-operative car pools have been formed to get workers to their jobs and traffic has continued to run smoothly.

The Board of Directors of the TCRT had just been granted a fare increase, effective Oct. 9, and have applied for a second one from state authorities. The bus workers thought they were entitled to a modest wage increase.

The union is asking 16 cents an hour increase. The company has offered a mere 7 cents but tied this to elimination of an 8 cents an hour cost-of-living in-

... Racists

(Continued from Page 1)

Negro youth, was killed when a shotgun blast ripped away part of his face. Lavelle Powell, 17, a friend with whom he was walking home from a Halloween party was wounded. The killers were a group of teenage white boys who had been riding around the Negro district of Corinth that night shooting at Negroes. The actual firer of the weapon was Darnell Gildwell, 17. Alcorn County attorney H. M. Ray said charges would probably be filed against the white youths but did not indicate the nature of the charges.

The Nov. 14 Chicago Defender features an interview with Rev. Paul Henry Hunter who barely eluded a mob in Rolling Forks, Miss. Hunter described the background of the situation as follows: "I was offered \$50 by this white fellow to tell him what went on in meetings of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other Negro organizations. When I refused he tore up a check which he had made out to me and became enraged."

Hunter subsequently received threats and one night six or seven white men with shotguns drove up to his farmhouse in a pickup truck. They banged on the door and called him by name. While the pastor hid, his mother told the White Citizens Council delegation that her son was not at home. After they had gone, Hunter packed a few things, took a 20 gauge shotgun and left as unobtrusively as he could. But at a bridge on the country road he found they were lying in wait for him. As they came for him he fired into their midst and fled. He got to a nearby town and left directly from there for Chicago.

The northeastern Mississippi city of Tupelo was on the verge of an explosion of anti-Negro violence for three days, reportedly because of the stabbing of three white men. An 11 p.m. curfew was proclaimed, city firemen and some 50 white civilians were armed as auxiliary police and state police patrol units brought into the city. The Negro community was combed and Negroes picked up on merest suspicion. Police have now announced that three Negro youths, aged 16, 17, and 18, have "confessed" to the stabbings, none of which apparently are connected. No motives are given other than that the oldest of the prisoners said that a white man had badly beaten him in 1957.

However, Christmas shopping is just getting underway and the department store sales downtown have been hard hit by the strike. Storeowners with influence on the board may decide that the squeeze is too much and get the board to make a half-way decent offer.

Calendar Of Events

MINNEAPOLIS "Labor's Role in the 1960 Elections." Hear Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party National Secretary and 1956 presidential candidate; former Minneapolis Teamsters Union leader, Sal. Dec. 5, 8:30 p.m., 322 Hennepin. Social evening follows. Auspices SWP, Contrib. 50¢.

NEW YORK "Send-Off" Reception For Bill Price

Join UI-SC friends and others wishing Bill well in his new job with the Committee for First Amendment Defendants. Lloyd Gough and his concertina, refreshments, gourmet buffet served at 5:30 p.m., Sunday 4-7 p.m., Dec. 13, at The Weissmans, 325 East 17 St. \$2.50 at the door. ("One foot in America friends": why not make an afternoon of it? Concert at 2; Buffet with Bill at 5:00.)

Local Directory

- BOSTON Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200. CHICAGO Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736. CLEVELAND Socialist Workers Party 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Thursday nights 8 to 10. The Militant, P.O. Box 1904, University Center Station, Cleveland 6, Ohio. DETROIT Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Temple 1-6135. LOS ANGELES Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. MILWAUKEE 150 East Johnson St. MINNEAPOLIS Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon to 6 P.M. daily except Sundays. NEWARK Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N.J. NEW YORK CITY Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852. OAKLAND-BERKELEY P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif. PHILADELPHIA Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 P.M., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820. SAN FRANCISCO The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Rm. 4. Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone PR 6-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321. SEATTLE 1412—18th Avenue, EA 2-5554. Library, bookstore. ST. LOUIS For information phone MO 4-7194.

Lull-a-Buy Baby

By Herman Chauka

Do you still have the backward notion that music is to entertain? Wake up! Music is to break down sales resistance.

Mitch Leigh, president of Music Makers, Inc., explained this to the Wall Street Journal. Modern jazz in a TV commercial, he said, can implant in your mind the idea that a Ford is a modern car.

That's only the beginning. They want you to believe the Ford is roomier. As actors jostle into a "non-Ford," the music changes meter. "Each meter change gives the viewer an uncomfortable experience."

Real musical brains go into the compositions. "Our music has got to give people an emotional experience that they'll associate with the client's product," this modern maestro says. "It's got to sell, not just entertain."

And it does. To sell Duncan Hines cake mix, a Proctor and Gamble product, Mr. Leigh composed a real high-brow piece, "Concerto for Announcer and Orchestra." With quiet pride, the composer said, "We wanted to build up an

image of real class around their new deluxe cake mix."

Not that the ordinary jingle is dying — as you may have thought, or hastily hoped. Jingle Mill, a New York firm whose production methods would make old Henry Ford's eyes glint, has three writers and a quintet that turn out as many as 40 jingles in an afternoon.

The year Jingle Mill started, only 3,000 jingles were produced. In the coming year, production is expected to hit 8,000 jingles. The best jingles are at the cash register.

The company has a stock of some 500 tunes that are used over and over. The client selects a tune and Jingle Mill dubs in the message on the already recorded music. That way a capitalist can choose the type of music most suited to his product — "peppy, dreamy, calypso, rock n' roll, country."

Don't get this new industry wrong as you drink in the commercials. As Mr. Leigh told the Wall Street Journal, "This isn't a new way to brainwash the public. It's like the mood music used in motion pictures."

Notes in the News

TV QUIZ SHOWS FIXED TO INCITE CLASS WAR? — J. Edgar Hoover's gum shoes are exploring the possibility that some of the participants in the rigged quiz shows were either "communists" or connected with "communist fronts," according to Variety, which peddles the inside dope in the show business. The need for such an investigation is pointed up by one of the letters from an ad agency to a quiz show sponsor now in the files of the House Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight. The letter proposes: "... let the farmer become champion and find a good city slicker to compete against him in another contest." Clearly a move to widen the gulf between town and country.

IT'S NOT ILLEGAL, BUT — Arthur D. Foster, III, a 27-year-old resident of Baltimore, has been walking through the poor section of the city, knocking on doors and handing people \$25 or \$50 as a gift. He reportedly came into a large inheritance recently and simply wanted to give it away. Police heard about these unusual doings and the young man was promptly hauled off to jail. The money was checked to see if it was good and he was grilled at some length. He was finally released. A puzzled police officer said, "There's no law saying a man can't give away money if he wants to."

ONE OBSTACLE TO CHINA TRAVEL REMOVED — The State Department has quietly blotted out a clause from the passports of 31 newsmen cleared for travel to China which the government of that country had branded as an "insult." The section authorized the newsmen to travel "in those portions of China under Communist control." Asked about the action, officials said the change had been made without announcement so it should not be misinterpreted as a change in basic policy toward China.

HOW MANY OTHER SIMILAR CONFESSIONS? — Charles Baisten, a 17-year-old Negro, was scheduled to go on trial in Chicago Nov. 16 for the slaying of a 16-year-old boy. Police had a strong case. Baisten had made a full confession of the crime, although he later repudiated it. But three days before the trial James Duncan, 18, admitted he had committed the killing and the murder weapon was found in his room. Baisten said he had confessed after police had threatened to mutilate him.

THE LINING IN THAT CRANBERRY CLOUD — Lingonberries, a red Scandinavian berry that can be substituted for cranberries, are enjoying a leap in sales. Some New York shops are now charging as much as \$1.95 for a one-pound can, although others are still charging 65 cents. The wholesale price in New York is about 33 cents.

H-BOMBS NOT ENOUGH — The army is seeking reversal of the present U.S. declaration that it will not use chemical warfare except in retaliation. Pentagon officials feel there is a good chance this will be done. A recent budgetary request by the army for \$40 million for research in these weapons was upped to \$55 million by the Defense Department. Army public

relations men have been campaigning to counter public aversion to use of chemical and bacteriological weapons. One of the press agents' favorites is a chemical that will render the entire population of a city "temporarily" insane without damage to property.

MAN WITH A VISION — Joseph Fiala, a Darien, Conn., real-estate broker, claims to have the country's first dealer franchise on atomic fallout shelters. He is handling a steel cylinder, seven feet in diameter and 11 feet long, to be buried in your back yard. The shelter sells for \$1,800. There's an extra fee for burying it three feet underground which is the depth recommended by the Office of Civilian Defense to provide protection against fallout. Batteries, bedding and other accessories are extra. The shelter will hold food and water sufficient for two or three weeks. Mr. Fiala took the franchise because he believes that history teaches that war is inevitable and the shelters have a future.

MACHINERY REPLACES FIELD HANDS — U.S. farmers are expected to spend 15% more for mechanized equipment this year than last. With more machinery they will be able to equal last year's crop with fewer man hours. According to the Nov. 10 Wall Street Journal, in 1958 it took 11.1 billion man-hours of labor to produce America's crops and livestock. In 1950, 15 billion hours were used and in 1920, 24 billion. The productivity of farm laborers today is four times what it was during World War I. Farmers now have 4.8 million tractors, three times as many as in 1940. One farmer now supplies food, fibre and tobacco for himself and 23 others. A century ago a farmer supported only four others.

NOTHING UNUSUAL — After several years of pleading by tenants of two adjacent tenement houses in New York, the owner and management agent of the buildings were hauled into court Nov. 13. The New York Post offered this description of the buildings which house 200 people in reconverted one-room apartments: "For each 50 tenants there is one working bathroom. Water pours through the halls, walls, floors and ceilings. Wall have collapsed, ceilings fallen. Rats are everywhere — six tenants have already been bitten." The City Welfare Department, which is paying rents as high as \$108 a month for 26 of the families, reported it found "nothing unusual" there. The situation was reported to Mayor Wagner last January, but nothing happened.

IS TIME THE SOURCE OF ENERGY? — A Soviet physicist is working on a theory that the flow of time from past to future is the ultimate source of energy in the universe. According to one Soviet scientist's exposition of the theory, the forward flow of time may be similar to a stream of water flowing down hill, or a waterfall whose energy can be harnessed to produce electricity. Propounded by Dr. Nikolai Kozyrev, the theory was first presented in a Soviet Academy of Sciences booklet, "Causal or Asymmetrical Mechanics in Linear Approximation."

Dr. Rubinstein Seeks Grouping To Help Independents in 1960

NEW YORK — In a letter published in the Nov. 16 National Guardian, Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein called for the formation of a committee to support "independent and socialist peace candidates" in the 1960 elections.

She urged that people in New York and across the country interested in working for such candidates write to her.

The Independent-Socialist candidate for Lt. Governor of New York in 1958, Dr. Rubinstein was one of the initiators of the United Independent-Socialist Committee and, until its recent dissolution, a consistent advocate of a united independent-socialist presidential ticket in 1960. The text of her letter to the National Guardian follows:

I am writing as a former leader of the American Labor party, the Independent-Socialist candidate for lieutenant-governor of New York in 1958, and a member of the administrative board of the United Independent-Socialist Committee to date.

Last week's Guardian reported the UI-SC board's amicable agreement to dissolve because of its substantial difference on electoral policy for 1960.

A number of those members who felt unable to commit them-



DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN

selves to an independent election effort at this time favored "postponing decision on a Presidential campaign pending possible nomination of a peace candidate by the Democratic Party." Others indicated their hopes of building neighborhood groups about the campaign of one or more independent congressional candidates who would, like Congressman Meyer of Vermont, take an uncompromising peace, if not a socialist, position.

It seems to me that both these aims might be furthered — as well as the desire of the more intransigent of us for an independent Presidential campaign by the formation of a committee for the support of independent and socialist peace candidates in 1960.

This is a poor second best for a united-independent Presidential campaign, but it would offer some alternative to sitting out an election year; and if July confronts us with a race between a Rockefeller or Nixon and a Kennedy or Humphrey proponent of the bi-partisan war policy, many who now still hope for a more meaningful choice may be very glad to have the opportunity for political work which a committee for the support of independent and socialist peace candidates could offer them.

I earnestly invite all those interested in the formation of such a group on a state or national scale to write me. I am sure this will include many who served on the board of the I-SP and the UI-SC, or worked in last year's campaign. I hope it will also include many other left independents and socialists. As the Talmud says: "If not you, who? And if not now, when?"

Annette T. Rubinstein 59 W. 71st St., New York 23, N. Y.