

Jobless Lines Grow Longer

Economic Forecasts Indicate Recession Will Grow Worse

By Tom Kerry

Is the American economy experiencing a "moderate decline," a "rolling adjustment," or a plain old-fashioned recession? It all depends on who you are!

Socialist Ticket Enters Toronto City Elections

The Toronto municipal elections can give a solid boost to the labor party now being formed by the Canadian Congress of Labor.

The Labor Council did not enter a candidate for mayor, but the three big-business candidates are being challenged by Ross Dowson, candidate of the Socialist Educational League.

The Socialist Education League has nominated Alan Harris, a unionist for Controller.

A socialist candidate has been entered in a local ward contest by the Young Socialist Alliance with the nomination of John Darling for Board of Education.

The SEL ticket is offering a program of opposition to the (Continued on Page 3)

Venezuela Gov't Crushes Revolt

The Betancourt regime in Venezuela checked an incipient popular uprising by heavy use of armed force and police-state measures last week.

The government followed up its victory by applying dictatorial measures against those who want effective action against widespread unemployment and run-away inflation.

Under martial law, which suspended constitutional rights, wide-scale arrests were made of people suspected of "subversion."

Reports from Caracas said that revolt still simmers in the slums and that the anticipated failure of many firms to pay Christmas bonuses could spark new demonstrations.

300 San Diego Students Hear Socialism Debated

SAN DIEGO, Dec. 2 — Three hundred people jammed into an auditorium at San Diego State College last night to hear a debate over "The Case for Socialism."

The speakers were Theodore Edwards, Southern California chairman of the Socialist Workers party, and Capt. Stanley Nizenski, U.S. Army (retired).

A real-estate man in the San Diego area, Nizenski is an associate of the Anti-Communist School recently convened here to train enrollees in the art of "fighting communism."

Like other bad news, the figures on October unemployment were released only after the elections. "In October," reports the Dec. 3 New York Times, "the ranks of the jobless increased to 3,579,000 and in November the number probably increased to well above 4,000,000."

What is alarming about this rising curve of unemployment is that October is normally a month in which unemployment is lower than in any other month. Unemployment normally rises during the winter months to hit a peak in February.

On the basis of the figures released by the Department of Labor, the Dec. 1 Christian Science Monitor, concludes: "Whichever way business goes the next few months the absolute amount of men out of work will probably rise — it will be highest just when Congress meets."

"By this computation," the Monitor adds, "the unemployment rate in February would be 7.6 per cent, or 5,260,000 unemployed. The top of the 1958 recession came in August with 7.5 per cent unemployed. In February, 1958, there were 5,173,000 unemployed."

Hoist Storm Flags

And what are the pundits saying about which way business will go in the next period? According to the N.Y. Times, "Wall Street chartists were sounding warnings that a possible break-through to new 1960 lows might be in the making."

There is no reason to believe that the current recession will have run its course by mid-1961. Contrary to the implication that the "experts" might be proved unduly pessimistic about not predicting an upturn before mid-1961, the postwar pattern

(Continued on Page 2)

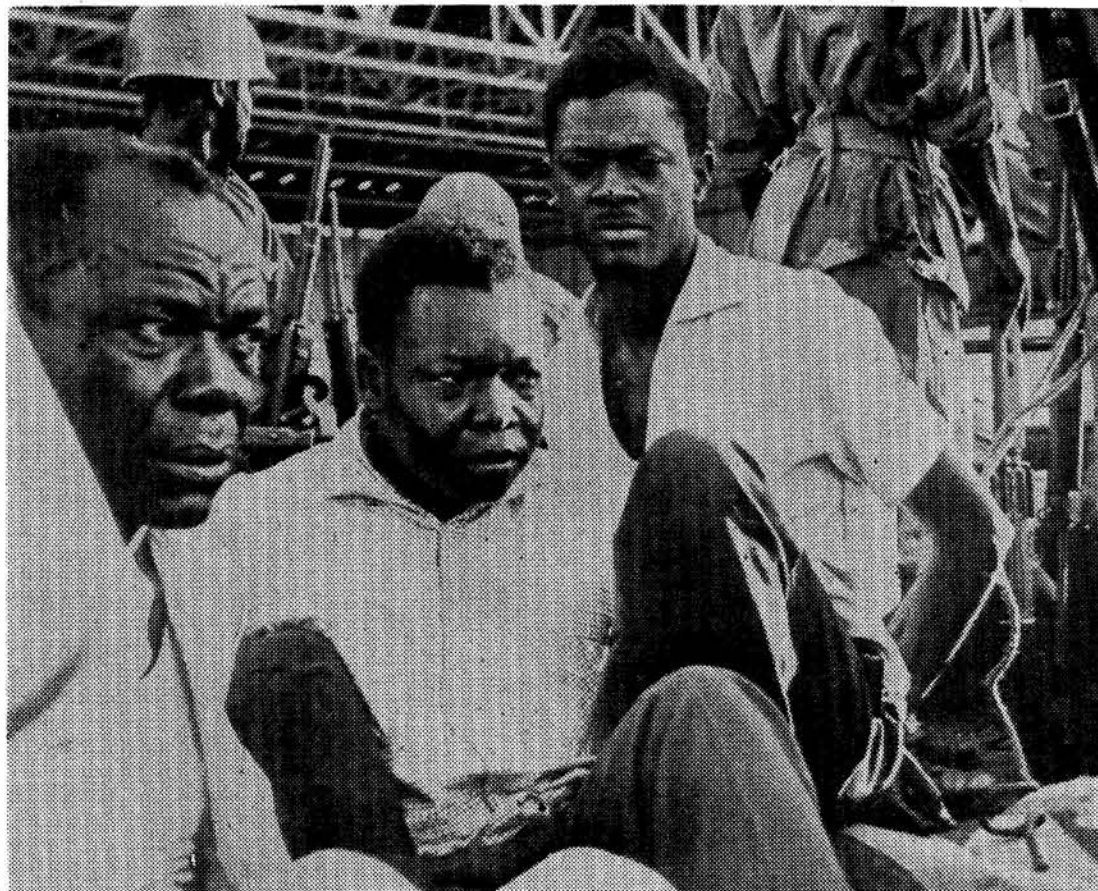
of the case for socialism. The captain largely devoted himself to eulogizing "Western culture." He drew a roar of laughter when he asserted that the class struggle is "communist hogwash" and that in this country "we merely have a gradation of rank."

During the heated discussion period most of the young people who took the floor were sympathetic to Edwards' viewpoint while the captain's support came largely from older people in the audience. Fully two-thirds of the questions were directed to Edwards.

Capt. Nizenski was hard put when a Negro in the audience asked him if his concept of "Western culture" covered the African and Asian people, and when another asked how his exposition of "Christian character" related to the school desegregation crisis in New Orleans.

The captain said you can't "force" integration on people. After the meeting was finally closed, Edwards was the center of an informal discussion that continued at a nearby house until two a.m.

He Trusted in the United Nations



Patrice Lumumba (right), legally elected head of the Congo government, after his capture by Mobutu, who is being groomed by the State Department and Belgian colonialists as the Batista of the Congo. Newsreel pictures displayed on television screens in the U.S. showed Mobutu's troops publicly mauling the bound Lumumba in the truck in which he and his two unidentified aides were hauled like cattle. A high UN official said Lumumba had been seriously injured by his torturers but Mobutu refused to let Red Cross doctors examine his prisoner. Lumumba's mistake was to invite the United Nations into the Congo.

Torture of Lumumba Brings Bitter Protest

Vigorous protests by Afro-Asian and Soviet bloc delegates have forced United Nations Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld to remonstrate against the brutal treatment accorded Patrice Lumumba by troops under command of Colonel Joseph Mobutu, military dictator of the Congo.

The ghastly travesty of United Nations intervention for the alleged purpose of restoring national unity, peace and democracy to the Congo is being played out to its tragic climax. According to the United Nations charter, the elected parliament is the only legal force in the Congo.

After receiving a direct report from his special representative in the Congo, Hammarskjöld wrote to Congo President Kasavubu, requesting that Lumumba be given all the rights and immunities of a legally elected representative of parliament.

St. Paul Chief 'Bugs' Meeting Of Police Union

ST. PAUL, Dec. 3 — Chief of Police William Proetz was ordered yesterday to take a leave from his job. He had refused to resign after admitting that he had ordered detectives to "bug" a police union meeting.

Robert Peterson, commissioner of public safety, who ordered Proetz to take the leave with pay, said he will introduce a resolution in the city council for his dismissal but saw little prospect for approval. The police union has demanded that Proetz be fired.

Peterson acted after disclosure that Proetz ordered a lieutenant to attend the policemen's union meeting at the Labor Temple with a concealed microphone. Two other cops recorded the meeting on tape in a building across the street.

Inside Dope

The police chief said he wanted to get "first-hand information" on what he called "Communist tactics" by policemen who were "packing the meeting and swaying the members."

He got the idea, he explained, from a training bulletin issued last March by FBI director J. Edgar Hoover warning of "Communist activities" in police unions.

Mayor George Vavoulis said he felt the idea of "Communist infiltration" of the police union was "complete nonsense." It was at the meeting which was "bugged" that the police union had demanded that Proetz be removed when his term expires.

Release Photos Of 'Little Boy' And 'Fat Man'

DEC. 7 — The government yesterday released the first pictures of the type of atom bomb that devastated Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

The 9,000-pound bomb dropped on Hiroshima was described as "Little Boy" and the 10,000-pound Nagasaki bomb as "Fat Man."

The photos were made public despite "misgivings" of the State Department which felt they might be injurious to the U.S. image abroad.

A Defense Department spokesman disclosed that the decision to release the pictures was made several months ago but they were withheld until after the Japanese elections for fear they would provide campaign material for the Socialist party.

There was good reason for the estimate. The "Little Boy" dropped on Hiroshima's population of 343,969, left 78,150 dead, 37,425 wounded and 13,083 missing, according to the 1960 World Almanac. The Almanac credits the "Fat Man" with killing 73,884 of Nagasaki's population of 252,630. A Dec. 6 UPI dispatch cites a government source as estimating 40,000 wounded there.

The day prior to release of the picture, the Waco, Texas, Times-Herald disclosed that Air Force Major Claude R. Eatherly was missing from the Waco Veteran's Administration Hospital.

Eatherly was the officer assigned to pilot the atomic bombers over the two cities. In 1957 he was committed to a mental hospital after being involved in several burglary incidents.

A psychiatrist testified that Eatherly had a guilt complex, saying he felt responsible for the mass slaughter caused by the two bombs.

On the other hand, ex-President Harry Truman, who ordered the bombings, has apparently never lost a night's sleep over his deed and has declared he would do it again.

Dodd Helps Kennedy to Forget

In a recent speech, the influential Democratic Senator Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut argued that "every Presidential candidate . . . and congressional candidate ought to announce his own platform, describing his general approach, as of the moment, to basic issues. Any attempt of a party convention to dictate to a President or a Congress concerning constitutional responsibilities cannot be countenanced."

Attendance Rises In New Orleans School Struggle

Encourages Students in Rights Fight

DEC. 2 — Intensification of southwide student demonstrations was urged today by Gloster Current, NAACP director of branches.

In a speech prepared for delivery to the Oklahoma State Conference of NAACP branches, Current declared: "Southwide student demonstrations are not only going to continue, but must be intensified. Negroes must refrain from cooperating with segregation not only in border states, but even Mississippi."

Six Months

Meanwhile, a Little Rock, Ark., judge yesterday sentenced Charles Parker, 22, to six months in jail and fined him \$509 for participating in a sit-in at a Woolworth lunch counter. Six other students were also arrested and will be tried Dec. 30.

In Jacksonville, Fla., members of the NAACP Youth Council demonstrated at the Woolworth counter for the fourth day in a row. They continued to sit at the crowded counter after being denied service. A half dozen cops patrolled the aisles.

Girl, 12, Beaten In Mississippi

The life of a Negro father whose 12-year-old daughter was hospitalized after a beating by the city marshal, was threatened in Batesville, Miss., last week.

The father, Willie Kurkendall, told NAACP Field Secretary Medgar Evers that he has received numerous threats since his daughter, Linda Fay, was beaten Nov. 19.

Trouble flared when the girl entered Sterling's Variety Store eating candy. The manager accused her of taking the candy from his store.

Uses Blackjack

When she denied the charge, he slapped her several times and called the city marshal upon arriving, the marshal is reported to have struck her several times with his fist and to have hit her with his blackjack.

Little Linda was hospitalized for two days.

The Negro community immediately started withholding patronage from Sterling's.

The beating is expected to add impetus to the NAACP's "No Christmas Gift Buying" drive which was launched in Mississippi Dec. 1.

Credit Two White Families For Lead in Resisting Racists

The embattled New Orleans Negro community was heartened by the appearance of what may be a significant crack in the school blockade against token integration. The number of white pupils at William Frantz School mounted to 23 by Dec. 6.

Much credit for the rise in attendance at Frantz is due two white pioneers, Mrs. James Gabrielle and Rev. Lloyd Foreman, who conveyed their daughters to and from the school through shoving, egg-throwing mobs day after day.

Ruffians hooted the minister's sermons Dec. 4, shouting, "If it wasn't for that nigger-lover, we'd have won our fight!"

But Rev. Foreman was unmoved. Instead he called on all "who believe . . . integrated schools are preferable to no schools . . . to launch an offensive."

Mrs. Gabrielle tells how at first "I pulled Yolanda out . . . I was so scared . . . But that night my conscience tore at me. Are you going to give in to a mob? . . . When I woke up the next morning I told my husband 'I'm taking Yolanda back.'"

Daisy Orlando Gabrielle was born in Costa Rica 42 years ago and came to Louisiana at the age of seven. Her husband reads 65 meters. But when his boss told him he should stop "contaminating the white race," Gabrielle announced he was quitting Dec. 15. "Nobody," he says, "is going to tell me how I should behave."

Children returning to William Frantz are now transported by Save Our Schools, an organization set up last April. Its chairman, Mrs. N. H. Sands, says, "We aren't afraid. We'll find rides for any mother who needs them."

The name of the lone Negro child at Frantz, Ruby Nell Bridges, was revealed last week. As she leaped through her primer, "We Look and See," her mother told reporters, "We're going to see that she gets all the education she can. We couldn't get ours."

Names of three girls in McDonogh 19 School, where the white blockade remains unbroken, are still guarded.

Meanwhile the world is watching. Writing from Europe, columnist Inez Robb saw "pictures of these berserk Furies threatening children" doing "irreparable" damage "to the United States in its foreign . . . policy."

Tenn. Negroes Evicted For Using Right To Vote

The same day that President Eisenhower announced appropriation of \$1 million to aid "refugees" from Cuban "slavery," Negro spokesmen were en route to Washington to seek federal surplus food for families evicted from Tennessee plantations for daring to vote in the presidential election.

Nearly 700 families have been subjected to savage economic reprisals in Fayette and Haywood counties, according to John McFerren, chairman of the Fayette County Civic and Welfare League. "We already have more than 350 families in Fayette County alone who have been ordered from their homes," McFerren told the New York Post Dec. 4.

"The people have no place to go," he said, "and most of them have nothing to eat once they're thrown off."

The most acute hardship at the moment, he explained, is being caused by the refusal of local dealers to let Negro families buy bottled or natural gas for heating.

Kennedy Faces Rule 22 Test On Civil Rights

The acid test of President-elect Kennedy's proclaimed devotion to the cause of advancing civil rights will come on the opening day of the new Congress in January. For it is on that day and only on that day when the Senate can alter Rule 22 under which the Dixiecrats have been able to block civil-rights legislation by use of the filibuster.

Observers agree that unless proflibuster Rule 22 is revised on the opening day of the new Congress it will likely mean the end of any hope for meaningful civil-rights legislation for the next four years.

This is the problem: Senate rules can be changed only if the vice president, who serves as president of the Senate, rules that the Senate is not a "continuing body" and therefore a majority is free to adopt new rules if it sees fit.

Nixon will still be vice president when Congress convenes prior to the inauguration and he will probably rule, as he has in the past, that the Senate is not a "continuing body." It will then be up to Kennedy to demonstrate his avowed position as champion of civil rights by throwing the full weight of his prestige and authority into revising Rule 22.

Otherwise, the Dixiecrats can filibuster any civil-rights legislation to death for the next two years. At the following session of Congress which convenes in 1963, Lyndon B. Johnson, the newly elected vice president will be in the driver's seat and nothing in his past record gives the slightest hope for any civil-rights support from that quarter.

So . . . where there is any doubt about if there is any doubt about civil-rights — watch him on the day Congress convenes!

"It Is Not Necessary for You To Report for Further Duty"

By George Breitman

DETROIT — Gobble, gobble. And down went the Hearst-owned Detroit Times, latest big-city victim of the dog-eat-dog competition in the newspaper business.

The Times was bought (and shut down) by the Detroit News, an "independent" paper (meaning it's not part of a chain). The only other Detroit daily left is the Free Press, of the Knight chain.

So Detroit is now a two-newspaper city. There are only 91 of these left in the country, and only six with three or more papers (New York, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Washington, Houston and Boston).

Pious Regrets

The News and Free Press printed pious regrets about "the passing of a great newspaper." (They had been trying their best to make it — and each other — "pass" long before this.) Then they dug in for a circulation war over the Times' readers and advertisers.

The passing of the Times was, as they say in the death notices, "sudden."

Three o'clock in the morning of Nov. 7 most of the Times' employees were awakened by arrival of a telegram that said:

"It is with deep regret that the management of the Detroit Times must inform you of termination of your services as of the opening of business on Nov. 7, 1960. It is not necessary for you to report for further duty."

Later that day a Times' worker told me he had thought he was the only one being laid off, and wondered why. He didn't find out about the whole paper closing down until he turned on the radio.

It's this aspect of the shutdown that has aroused the most comment. The Michigan Catholic, for example, was especially incensed that the Times' 1,400 workers were separated from their jobs "in the middle of the night without warning," and said in an indignant editorial:

"In conscience, we cannot stand by silently and watch such inhuman treatment of men and women... Their employer's method of firing we might have expected of the Soviet Union. Not in this United States! Not in Detroit! The dignity of the human person is still inviolable."

It's true that losing your job without advance warning is humiliating as well as painful. (I once had a similar experience on a big newspaper, being notified by phone in the middle of a one-week vacation that I was laid off as of the end of my vacation.)

The Main Injury

But the timing and lack of advance notice are only insult added to injury — the main injury for most workers is the loss of the job around which their lives are planned.

There's only one explanation I can offer for the Michigan Catholic's statement that it "cannot stand by silently and watch such inhuman treatment of men and women." Their editors must be shutting their eyes.

Otherwise they would know very well that — right here in the United States, right here in Detroit — no day ever goes by that workers, sometimes thousands of them aren't laid off without any consultation. They may get a few days' notice, but are never given any voice or vote in their dismissal.

Isn't it a fact that this was going on in the United States long before the Soviet Union was created (whatever they do there)?

Isn't it a fact that it would continue to go on here even if the Soviet Union sank into the center of the earth?

Isn't it one of the basic features of "the American way of life" that the workers have no right to a job and that employers can close down and throw them out onto the street whenever they feel it is unprofitable to continue operating?

What cloud do the editors of the Michigan Catholic live on? They can hardly be living in the same jungle as hundreds of thousands of Michigan workers who are jobless through no fault of their own, whose layoffs are just as callous as those of the Times' workers.

Employers Notified

Human dignity, everyone will agree, ought to be inviolable. But unfortunately it is being violated all the time.

The only way to stop it is by making a big change — by reorganizing the economy so that it serves human needs and human dignity, not profits and profit-making.

Among other things, this will include government ownership and workers' democratic control of industry — that is, taking the ownership and control of industry out of the hands of the employers who now mismanage them for their own selfish and narrow interests.

Let this serve as notice to the employers — in the middle of the day and with due warning — that that's what is going to happen. In these United States. In Detroit.

By Cyrus Thomas

The weekly union newspaper, Labor, devotes the lead article in its Dec. 3 issue, to a report on the economic state of the nation. The opening paragraph asserts:

"Latest reports on America's economy show a paradox — a continuing weakness in jobs and output, on the one hand, but a sharp rise in the cost of living on the other."

After citing the facts of the current economic downturn — growing unemployment due to business recession coupled with a rise in the cost-of-living index to a record high — the article concludes:

"Thus America faces once again a bitter paradox: ample supplies of raw materials, great numbers of idle or under-used machines, millions of willing but idle workers and — at the same time — vast unmet needs."

Webster's International Dictionary defines "paradox" as "something seemingly contradictory or opposed to common sense but that may yet be true in fact." This seeming paradox of growing want in the midst of potential plenty has long been a permanent feature of the capitalist system of production and distribution in its period of decline.

At the Heart

In fact, it is this "paradox" which lies at the heart of the capitalist mode of production, which dooms the system of private ownership of the means of production and exchange and makes inevitable the final victory of socialism on a world scale. All genuine Marxists believe in the historical inevitability of socialism and are convinced that there is no final resolution of the capitalist "paradox" short of the abolition of the profit system and the establishment of a socialist society.

However, the vast majority of the American working class are not convinced of these truths. They believe that their needs can be met within the framework of the so-called "free enterprise" system, primarily through the instrumentality of their trade unions. How to meet this problem?

There are some socialists who consider it incorrect for Marxists to advocate "trade union" demands — or any demands short of socialism — which they stigmatize as "reformism." I was amused, for example, to read in the Nov. 12 issue of the Weekly People, organ of the Socialist Labor party, that the "reformist Trotskyists" had virtually plagiarized the demand for an "escalator clause" in the union contract from Charles E. Wilson, former head of General Motors.

Not Stolen

No, the demand for cost-of-living clause was not stolen from the arsenal of the class enemy, it appeared originally in the proceedings of the Founding Conference of the Fourth International, published in this country by the Socialist Workers party in January 1939 — nine years before the United Automobile Workers union won the escalator clause from General Motors.

The Founding Conference met in 1938 and adopted a "transitional program" which, with some modifications, is the basic program of the Socialist Workers party today. (Available from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.) Of the various demands in the transition program, the ones that concern us here appear as a separate section under the heading: Sliding Scale of Wages and Sliding Scale of Hours.

The section on the sliding scale of wages and hours pinpoints the "two basic economic afflictions, in which is summarized the increasing absurdity of the capitalist system: that is unemployment and high prices, [which] demand generalized slogans and methods of struggle."

This was written 22 years ago. The author was Leon Trotsky. It seems that our present "paradox" was not unknown then and was taken into account when formulating the transition program embodying the "generalized slogans and methods of struggle."

Formulated one year before the outbreak of World War II, the transition program warned that: "Against a bounding rise in prices, which with the approach of war will assume an ever more unbridled character, one can only fight under the slogan of a sliding scale of wages. This means that collective agreements should assure an automatic rise in wages in relation to the increase in prices of consumers goods."

The demand for a sliding scale of wages became known in this country as the "escalator" or "cost-of-living" clause. It was

incorporated in a number of union contracts and has since become one of the major targets of the corporations in their attempt to slash the workers standard of living. (We will go into the question of the escalator clause in greater detail later in this article.)

On the matter of the struggle against unemployment the transition program affirms:

"Under the menace of its own disintegration, the proletariat cannot permit the transformation of an increasing section of the workers into chronically unemployed paupers, living off the slops of a crumbling society. The right to employment is the only serious right left to the worker in a society based on exploitation. This right today is being shorn from him at every step. Against unemployment, 'structural' as well as 'conjunctural', the time is ripe to advance along with the slogan of public works, the slogan of a sliding scale of hours."

"Trade unions and other mass organizations should bind the workers and the unemployed together in the solidarity of mutual responsibility. On this basis, all the work on hand would then be divided among all existing workers in accordance with how the extent of the working week is defined. The average wage of every worker remains the same as it was under the old working week."

Wages, under a strictly guaranteed minimum, would follow the movement of prices. It is impossible to accept any other program for the present catastrophic period."

Answers Objections

Anticipating the usual objections, the transition program added: "Property owners and their lawyers will prove the 'unrealizability' of these demands. Smaller, especially ruined capitalists, in addition will refer to their account ledgers. The workers categorically denounce such conclusions and references. The question is not one of a 'normal' collision between opposed material interests. The question is one of guarding the proletariat from decay, demoralization and ruin. The question is one of life or death of the only creative and progressive class, and by that token of the future of mankind."

"If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands, inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish. 'Realizability' or 'unrealizability' are in the given instance a question of the relationship of forces, which can be decided only by the struggle. By means of this struggle, no matter what its immediate practical success may be, the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery."

The last sentence sums up the essence of the transition program — to mobilize the workers in struggle around demands that meet their needs with the knowledge that in the course of struggle for such demands they will come to recognize the "necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery." It is this that distinguishes the transition demands from the so-called "immediate" demands of the reformist socialists.

That the demand for a sliding scale of wages and hours meets the needs of the workers is attested to by the experience of the struggle. The inflationary price spiral has registered an almost constant increase in the cost of living over the past two decades. Wage increases won in the course of bitter strike struggle were soon dissipated by rising prices and increased living costs.

Like the character in Alice in Wonderland, the workers had to run faster and faster in order to keep standing still — or even losing ground in the race with the cost of living. This gave rise to the demand for a cost-of-living clause in

the union contract. The escalator clause was pegged to the changes recorded in the cost of living statistics compiled in the Consumers Price Index. While the change could go up or down, it is a matter of historical fact that with insignificant exception there has been an uninterrupted accumulation of escalator wage increases under those union contracts containing the clause.

Campaign Against Clause

Beginning with the last steel strike the employers and their pen prostitutes have waged an unremitting campaign against the escalator clause charging that it was one of the primary causes of inflation. This is sheer nonsense.

Wage increases under the escalator clause come only AFTER the Consumers Price Index has registered a significant rise in the cost of living.

Yet the profit-gouging steel magnates were able to emasculate the union cost-of-living clause and deprive the steel workers of a 3-cent hourly wage increase which would have been due under the old escalator clause on December 1, 1960. In the recent strike at General Electric the major demand of the corporation was the elimination of the escalator clause from the union contract. The union was compelled to surrender the clause when the strike was defeated.

This drive to scuttle the escalator clause is part of a deliberate campaign by big business to slash the American workers' standard of living.

Meanwhile the cost of living continues to rise. The Consumer Price Index rose 0.4 per cent in October to reach a record peak and the trend is still up. The sliding scale of wages, more popularly known as the escalator clause, remains the best defense of the workers standard of living against constantly rising living costs.

Workers Squeezed Out

Unemployment is the scourge of the capitalist "paradox." Since the end of World War II this country has gone through a series of boom-recession cycles in each of which the problem of unemployment has become more acute. The rise in "conjunctural" unemployment has been paralleled by an increase in "structural" unemployment. That is, the increased tempo of automation and mechanization, is squeezing millions of workers out of the productive mechanism and creating a problem of chronic unemployment.

What is the answer? John L. Lewis, with his customary candor, summed up the prevailing view of the American union leaders in his return to an interviewer on automation-mechanization unemployment: Fewer jobs, at better pay. Under this philosophy the number of coal miners has been more than halved while coal production has risen.

Longshoremen Too

The same philosophy was advocated recently by leaders of the Pacific Coast International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union who, in exchange for removing all curbs on waterfront automation-mechanization, advocated the setting up of a special fund to recompense the reduced number of longshoremen that would be required to handle cargo. A similar plan has been promoted by the leaders of the International Longshoremen's Association on the East Coast.

The tendency is for fewer workers to produce more in less time. The traditional demand

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Labor Politics
"Which Way for Labor: Democratic Party or Labor Party?" by Murry Weiss. Bulletin No. 3 of Marxist Studies. 22 pp. 25 cents. Pioneer Publishers 116 University Place New York 3, N.Y.

Just Published

THE TRUTH ABOUT CUBA

By Joseph Hansen

"The Cuban revolution is an event of major significance in North as well as South America... The rise in fear among the reactionary property-holding classes is registered in the preoccupation of the capitalist press and the State Department over the 'menace' that has appeared on the tiny island in the Caribbean. In contrast, the rise in hope among the workers and peasants throughout Latin America is visible in constant trade-union resolutions and popular demonstrations in support of Cuba." Joseph Hansen, editor of the Militant, tells the story of that revolution in this informative new pamphlet previously serialized in the Militant. 25 cents per copy.

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

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

of the American labor movement when confronted with the problem of growing unemployment is for the shorter work week at no reduction in pay. While the labor leaders give lip service to the demand for a shorter work week they take the "easy way out" by adapting themselves to the Lewis formula: Fewer jobs at better pay.

This short-sighted policy can only serve to divide the working class, embitter the unemployed and play into the hands of the union-busting employers.

The problem of growing unemployment, both conjunctural and structural, can be seriously tackled only through the demand for the sliding scale of hours — or as popularly expressed, the demand for 30 hours work at 40 hours pay.

Will It Work?

"What," we are sometimes asked, "would happen if the hours of work were reduced to 30 and there was still a problem of unemployment?"

The demand for a sliding scale of hours is not pegged to any given number of hours but to the needs of the workers. "The right to employment," is ostensibly embodied in the Full Employment Act of 1946

adopted during the Truman administration. The number of hours required to absorb all unemployed workers can be easily determined.

Writing on this problem in the April 13, 1959 New Leader, the labor economist W. S. Woytinsky, observed that "the last cutback in hours of work was effected during the Great Depression when part-time work, 40 hours a week instead of 44-48 hours, became a common practice. A measure originally taken as a sharing-work emergency arrangement was later legalized as a new fair labor-practice standard. Since that time very little has been done to adjust hours of work to changing economic and technological conditions."

The bitter paradox of American capitalism — growing unemployment, idle plant and idle labor in the midst of "vast unmet needs," while the cost of living continues to soar, can be combated effectively only under such demands as serve to unite the workers in action against the owning class.

No more effective demands have yet been devised to spark the struggle than the sliding scale of wages and hours—the escalator clause in each union contract and the fight for the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay.

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Xmas Book List

- THE POWER ELITE, by C. Wright Mills. A study of the structure of our society. Paper, special \$1.
- THE BENDING CROSS, by Ray Ginger. A biography of Eugene V. Debs. Cloth, \$1.75.
- AMERICAN FREEDOM AND CATHOLIC POWER, by Paul Blanshard. Completely revised and rewritten, with new material. Paper, \$2.25.
- REASON AND REVOLUTION, by Herbert Marcuse. Hegel and the rise of social theory. Paper, \$2.45.
- BLACK MOSES, by Cronon. Biography of Marcus Garvey. Paper, \$1.95.
- NEW LIGHT ON THE MOST ANCIENT EAST, by V. Gordon Childe. Paper, \$1.95.
- THE GOLDEN BOUGH, by Sir James Frazer. The classic work about the myths, religions, magical and ritual practices of our ancestors. Paper, \$2.50. Cloth, \$3.95.
- THE LETTERS OF SACCO AND VANZETTI, edited by Marion D. Frankfurter and Gardner Jackson. Paper, \$1.85.
- THE ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, by Charles A. Beard. Special, cloth \$1.19.
- THE STRANGE CAREER OF JIM CROW, by C. Vann Woodward. Special, \$1.19.
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... Jobless Lines Grow Longer

(Continued from Page 1) in the boom-recession cycle tells a different story.

The immediate postwar boom ended in the recession of 1949. The recession of 1949 ended with the war in Korea which brought a period of "prosperity" that

lasted almost four years, from 1950 to 1953.

This was followed by the recession of 1953-54. Then another period of "prosperity" — this one, from 1953-57, shorter by approximately one year than the previous boom. By 1958 the economy was in the throes of another recession from which it emerged only in the middle of 1959. Then another "boom," this one of even shorter duration, from mid-1959 to mid-1960, leading into the current economic downturn.

The trend revealed by the pattern of postwar economic movement is that of ever shorter periods of "prosperity" larded with deeper-going and longer-lasting recessions.

Thus, the level of unemployment estimated for the "beginning" of the 1961 recession is higher than the unemployment peak of the 1958 recession — the most severe since the end of the war.

All of the figures cited above are taken from official statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor which are often misleading. Only those are considered unemployed who are judged to be in the labor market. Those whose unemployment compensation has expired or who, for one reason or another, are ineligible for compensation are not listed in the government's statistics. Nor are those included who have been "furloughed" for temporary periods and are awaiting recall, etc., etc.

Problem for Unions

All economic indicators show that the economy is in another tailspin. These recurring recessions bring great hardship to millions of American workers and their families. It is incumbent upon the leaders of the American labor movement to take prompt and effective action to bring relief through the power of the organized trade unions which they head.

The AFL-CIO tops were con-

strained to act in the previous recession when they finally called a nationwide unemployment conference in Washington on April 8, 1959 toward the tail end of the economic downturn. With a Republican administration and a Democratic Congress, both were able to pass the buck. Lyndon B. Johnson, spokesman for the Democratic majority in Congress, appeared at the conference and scuttled any effective action by setting up a "fact-finding commission to study the problem of unemployment and recommend a solution within 60 days."

That was almost two years ago. So far as we know the "fact-finding commission" petered out with the beginning of the economic upturn. The Democrats will now control both the administration and Congress. The labor leaders claim that their support was decisive in the election. President-elect Kennedy has proclaimed the "first 100 days" of his administration as the key to the future destiny of the country and its people.

What better way to make known to the incoming administration the needs of the American workers than for the AFL-CIO heads to call a rank-and-file conference in Washington for the purpose of formulating a list of demands to be presented to the White House and Congress dealing with the problems of job security, unemployment compensation, health insurance, old age pensions, etc., etc? Such demands could provide the Kennedy administration with a guide to the kind of legislation his labor supporters required to help round out his crucial "first 100 days" in office.

Immediate Demands

Among such demands, the most pressing should deal with immediate solutions for the problem of growing unemployment. We would suggest the following:

(1) For a reduction in the hours of work with no reduction in pay. Hours of work should be reduced so that all those willing and able to work can find employment at trade-union wages. This idea is embodied in the union demand of "30 for 40." Thirty hours of work per week for 40 hours pay.

(2) For unemployment compensation at trade-union wages for the full period of unemployment. Big business receives government subsidies in many forms to maintain its profits. Workers unemployed through no fault of their own are entitled to full compensation for the entire period of their unemployment.

(3) For compulsory federal unemployment — compensation standards set at trade-union wage levels. All restrictive coverage and eligibility qualifications should be removed by federal statute. It was

Calendar Of Events

DETROIT

Friday, Dec. 16, 8 p.m.—Hear tape (and talk) on San Francisco student demonstration against House Un-American Activities Committee. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

Saturday, Dec. 31, 9 p.m.—New Year's Eve party. Both at Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward.

NEW YORK

A review of C. Wright Mills' book on the Cuban revolution, "Listen, Yankee." Guest speaker from the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Friday, Dec. 16, 8 p.m. Militant Forum, 116 University Place (Off Union Square). Contrib. 50 cents.

PHILADELPHIA

Xmas Bazaar and Social. Saturday, Dec. 17, from 6 p.m. Lovely gifts and cards. Socialist Workers Party. 1303 W. Girard Ave.

TWIN CITIES

What About Cuba: Eye witness Reports. Speakers, Jack Barnes and George Tselos, students, Carleton College, and Jacqueline Mims, office worker. Slides and panel discussion. Friday, Dec. 16, 8:15 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. Contrib. 50 cents. Ausp. Twin Cities Labor Forum.

Local Directory

BOSTON Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200.

CHICAGO Socialist Workers Party, 302 South Canal St., Room 210, WE 9-5044.

CLEVELAND Socialist Workers Party, 5511 Euclid Ave., Room 203.

DENVER Militant Labor Forum, 1227 California. MAIN 3-0993. For labor and socialist books, International Book Exchange, 1227 1/2 California. Open 5:30 p.m. to 8 p.m. Mon. through Fri.

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Monday, December 12, 1960

Another Such Victory

What is a platform promise worth? Not much, according to an inside story by columnist Arthur Krock...

It seems that Senator Clark of Pennsylvania has been demanding that Senate committee chairmen who failed to support the Democratic party platform or ticket be demoted regardless of seniority...

Both Democratic party candidates went through the entire election campaign beating their breasts over their firm adherence to every platform promise.

Krock goes on to remark: "Virginia is one of the seventeen states with 'right-to-work' laws, and Senator Byrd's announcement that he would resist this repeal by Congress was well known to Senators Kennedy and Johnson when, at Senator Kennedy's suggestion, they called on him, after their nominations by the national party convention, to enlist his campaign support."

the one quoted above. Senator Kennedy, with the concurrence of his running-mate and in the presence also of Senator Smathers of Florida, then informed Byrd that the Administration would not include the repeal in its legislative program.

Arthur Krock is no keyhole columnist for some provincial newspaper. As dean of the New York Times Washington staff his pipelines reach into the top circles of government.

Both Democratic party candidates went through the entire election campaign beating their breasts over their firm adherence to every platform promise.

When the unions were hit last year with the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law, George Meany, head of the AFL-CIO remarked about the 1958 "labor victory" which returned the Democrats as a large majority in both houses of Congress: Another such victory and we'll be finished.

It looks like the "labor statesmen" have gone and done it again!

That "Total Vote" Mystery

It isn't easy for an organization that calls itself "socialist" to support the anti-labor candidates of the Democratic party. This is illustrated by the gymnastics of the Socialist Party - Social Democratic Federation which didn't get around to backing Kennedy until after the election was over.

Before the election, the SP-SDF said it had decided not to run a presidential candidate because it didn't want to alienate its "friends" in the labor and liberal movement who were mistakenly committed to the Democrats.

The Nov. 1 issue of New America, official voice of the SP-SDF, even took a critical attitude toward Kennedy. It reported that Willard Shelton, managing editor of the AFL-CIO News, had exposed a deal between the Kennedy machine and the Dixiecrats.

New America sternly declared: "In short, if Shelton's report is accurate (and coming from a supporter of the Democratic ticket, it would be shocking if it were not), the Kennedy forces have made a deal which guts every serious promise of the New Frontier."

The same issue of New America was

curiously evasive on the simple issue of whom to vote for. An editorial stated: "NEW AMERICA advocates a total vote for peace, Civil Rights and political realignment." It did not say which lever to use in the voting booth to cast that "total vote."

The mystery was cleared up after the election. A Dec. 1 New America editorial proclaims that the hair-line Democratic victory fully vindicated the SP-SDF decision not to run a candidate since such a candidate could have taken enough votes away from Kennedy to defeat him.

"Though we are basically critical of the Democratic party... we do not regard the Democrats as 'just' another Party, as the simple Tweedledum to the Republican Tweedledee," the editorial says.

It continues: "In the days to come we will be working with the liberals in the Democratic party on a host of issues like Civil Rights, trade union legislation, and peace."

We wonder how those who joined the SP-SDF because they wanted to work for socialism feel now that they know that the "total vote" position really meant post-election work in the Democratic party?

"First 100 Days"

As President-elect Kennedy's inauguration draws closer and closer, the bright promise of candidate Kennedy's historic "first 100 days" grows dimmer and dimmer.

The pledge of rapid and dynamic action sought to revive in voters' minds the legend of Roosevelt's "first 100 days" when the skeletal framework of the New Deal was fabricated for the social legislation that followed.

Polaris Brinkmanship

Pentagon propagandists are boasting that the Polaris-carrying submarine is the ultimate weapon - able to sneak undetected to the shores of the Soviet Union and there on behalf of the "free world" deliver H-bombs on target with a destructive power twice that of all the bombs dropped by all belligerents in World War II.

The New Statesman, a British weekly, calls attention in its Nov. 5 issue to some flaws in the boasts:

(1) Soviet missile capacity is far ahead of the U.S. Soviet missiles are accurate and either now or shortly can knock out American nuclear and industrial complexes in case of war.

(2) The Polaris "is a primitive weapon. Its margin of error is so great that it is pointless to zero it on Soviet nuclear bases; it can be used only for the indiscriminate destruction of Soviet population centers."

(3) There is no guarantee that either the British or American governments will be consulted before the H-bombs are fired. "Admiral Rickover... has himself admitted that a Polaris submarine commander can lose complete contact with base (let alone Washington and London) and may therefore be obliged to fire his missiles at his own discretion, with stray radio bul-

letins, picked up on the submarine's receivers, as his sole guidance."

(4) The British have no veto power whatsoever on any decision to fire the missiles. Veto can be secured only through physical control, "and this the Americans refuse." "Indeed," continues the New Statesman, "they will not even allow British representatives on the Polaris submarines."

(5) On the claim that it is undetectable. "It is nothing of the sort. In his 1959 White Paper, Mr. Sandys rejected the missile submarine on the grounds that it was detectable - indeed, he actually used the word at a press conference on 10 February 1959. Since then detection techniques have unquestionably advanced; there is nothing to prevent Soviet 'killer' submarines from shadowing each Polaris vessel from the moment it leaves port... and destroying it instantly in the event of hostilities. The Polaris submarine has no effective defensive equipment."

Those are strong arguments, we think, for putting the Polaris in mothballs. And while bids for mothballs are being solicited it might be a good idea to order enough of the chemical to take care of the Pentagon too.

Isn't it about time America turned away from H-bomb "brinkmanship" and took the lead in seeking peace?

Should Disarmament Talks Be Televised?

By Bert Deck

One of the outstanding lessons of the history of war is that disarmament proposals generally lead to nothing, so far as actual dismantling or even reduction of arms stockpiles is concerned.

Hiler, for example, began his rearmament of Germany in the thirties with proposals to the other imperialist powers to disarm. When his offers were rejected, he utilized this as justification to speed his armaments program in preparation for World War II.

The current dispute over disarmament is a case in point. Study of the contrasting positions of the governments of the Soviet Union and the United States quickly reveals which disarmament offers are sincere and which are made as propaganda gestures.

In the current session of the United Nations, the disarmament debate began on a "procedural" question: Where should the subject be discussed - in the plenary session or in the Political Committee?

Castro's Position

Fidel Castro, speaking for Cuba, demanded that disarmament be discussed openly in the plenary session. If the discussions did not result in actual disarmament, he said, they would at least expose before the peoples of the world the real culprits in the arms race.

Kruschchev likewise demanded that the General Assembly take up the disarmament question in plenary sessions. "We know your little committees," he said. "They are a stable of horses and we know the smell in them."

However, the U.S., the dominant power in the United Nations, had the question referred to the Political Committee. Christian A. Herter motivated the action by claiming that the Russians wanted the more open debate for propaganda purposes. However, the record of the discussions on disarmament in the various less-publicized UN subcommittees indicates that the real motive for referral was something different.

Philip Noel-Baker, world-famous pacifist author and winner of the Nobel peace prize, cannot seriously be considered as biased in the Soviet direction. In fact he states in his book, "The Arms Race": "But at no time has it been open to doubt that the United States Government and people detest war, detest armament competition, and, like their President, are genuinely dedicated to the cause of peace."

Noel-Baker's Conclusion

Yet this British author, who does not doubt the "serious dedication" of the U.S. government to peace, is forced to admit:

"Two events of overriding importance stand out from the history of the UN work on disarmament since 1952: the Russian acceptance of a great part of the West's proposals on May 10, 1955; and the United States suspension of those proposals four months after Russia had accepted them."

What is the story behind this now almost forgotten but remarkably revealing incident?

In January 1952 the UN set up a new Disarmament Commission to deal with both nuclear and "conventional" weapons. Thereafter formal negotiations took place through this commission and its subcommittee, consisting of representatives of the U.S., France, Great Britain, Canada and the Soviet Union.

... Toronto Socialist Ticket

(Continued from Page 1) U.S.-sparked cold war and to the plans for the nuclear armament of Canada.

At the same time the ticket is fighting on a series of important local and national issues. With unemployment rising swiftly in the area, Dowson and Harris are calling for a moratorium on debt seizures, a shorter work week, extension of unemployment compensation and an effective public-works program.

They are demanding extension and improvement of the low-cost public housing program and a revision of the local tax structure to put the burden of municipal finance on the

During the first three years of negotiations, the Western powers proposed schedules for reducing armed forces and weapons, both conventional and nuclear. They also proposed means of international control and inspection of the process of disarmament.

Russians Agree

At first the Russians were cool to the Western proposals. Then on May 10, 1955, the Soviet delegate presented a document to the subcommittee accepting the Western proposals on manpower reduction, conventional arms reduction, arms budget reduction and the scheduling of the destruction of existing nuclear weapons.

In addition, the Russians agreed to the establishment of an "International Control Organ."

The proposal included setting up a "staff... selected on an international basis" with "rights and powers to exercise control, including inspection on a continuing basis, to the extent necessary to ensure implementation of the above-mentioned Convention by all states."

The Russian document was a block-buster. Jules Moch, the French delegate, commented, "The whole thing looks too good to be true."

Can't Do That to Us

The American delegate was tongue-tied for 48 hours. Finally, after consultation with the State Department, he made the following statement:

"We have been gratified to find that the concepts which we have put forward over a considerable length of time, and which we have repeated many times during this past two months, have been accepted in large measure by the Soviet Union." The British delegate, likewise struck dumb for 48 hours, at last declared that the negotiations had "now achieved this welcome dividend, and that the proposals [of the West] have now been largely, and in some cases, entirely, adopted by the Soviet Union and made into its own proposals."

So far so good. For the moment it appeared that the world's two greatest powers had reached an understanding that would enable them to end the arms race and begin dismantling their stockpile of armaments.

The Russians logically proposed that the drafting of a treaty begin immediately. But the Western powers suddenly decided that they needed a summer recess. Over Russian objections, they adjourned the subcommittee sessions.

Eisenhower Shifts

At the Geneva "summit" meeting in July, Eisenhower announced his "open skies" proposal - a scheme, ostensibly, to prevent surprise attacks. However, the real purpose of the proposal became evident when the subcommittee reconvened Aug. 29.

Instead of starting where they had left off, instead of submitting a draft of a treaty based on the new agreement, the U.S. delegation busily praised Eisenhower's "open skies" scheme as the "curtain raiser" for the "gateway" to disarmament.

However, this transparent maneuver could not work for any length of time and on Sept. 6 the U.S. delegation had to admit:

"The United States does now place a reservation upon all of its pre-Geneva substantive positions taken in this Sub-Committee or in the Disarmament Commission or in the U.N. on these questions in relationship to levels of armaments."

In other words, all the American proposals made in the previous decade had been withdrawn.

Unconvincing Reasons

The reasons given for this move were hardly convincing. The Americans claimed they had discovered that current inspection techniques could not guarantee that purposely hidden nuclear weapons would be discovered.

But the question of inspection

techniques had been openly discussed in the UN long before May 10, 1955. The Western powers had considered the problem when they first made their proposals to the Russians!

It was difficult to escape the conclusion that the American participants had withdrawn their own proposals simply because the Russians had accepted them.

As long as the accepted proposals were still on the table and the next task on the agenda was to cast them into a formal document, it was difficult to cover up by talking disarmament while actually increasing the armament stockpile.

The State Department had suddenly lost the traditional advantage an imperialist government seeks in "disarmament"

negotiations - of presenting a public image of peaceful intentions while continuing with all the preparations for war.

There was no way out except to withdraw the proposals that had been accepted by the opposing side. The only saving factor for the State Department was that the whole business had happened in a subcommittee of a subcommittee and therefore might soon be forgotten.

One can imagine the reaction in the State Department over the possibility that such a situation might be repeated before the television cameras at the current plenary session of the General Assembly. Herter's eagerness to avoid a gallery consisting of the world's television audience is understandable.

On the other hand, Khrushchev's distaste for "your little committees" can be appreciated in light of the Russian experience of 1955.

Moreover the Soviet demand to carry on the discussion in the plenary sessions, indicates that they have nothing to hide in regard to the disarmament problem.

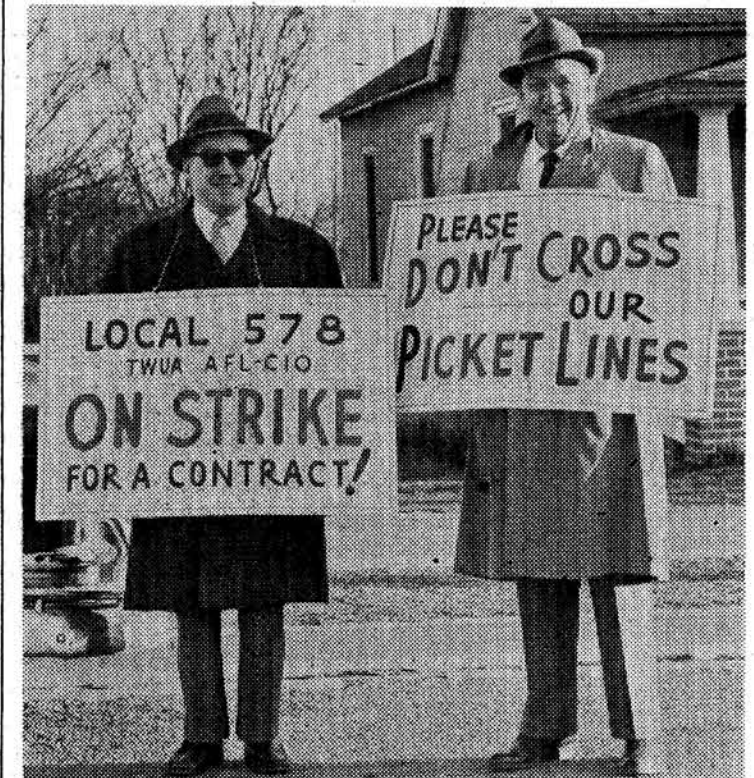
The U.S. delegation, apparently, was not so confident.

Foster Wins His Fight For Treatment Abroad

After repeated requests, a federal judge finally issued an order Dec. 2 permitting ailing William Z. Foster, long-time Communist party leader, to travel to the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia for medical treatment.

Foster was indicted under the Smith Act in 1948 but never brought to trial because of his poor health. He was partially paralyzed by a stroke several years ago. He is now 79.

Target of Union-Busters



William Pollock (left), general president of the Textile Workers Union, AFL-CIO, and Boyd Payton, Carolina director of the union, on picket duty at struck Henderson, N.C. cotton mill. Payton is now in prison. Along with seven other textile unionists, he was framed up on a charge of "conspiring" to dynamite the struck plant. Gov. Luther Hodges, who sent the National Guard to run scabs through the picket lines, twice rejected clemency appeals for the victimized unionists. Hodges is "friend-of-labor" Kennedy's choice for Secretary of Commerce.

In Other Lands

Cuba, China Announce Trade Agreement

State Dept. Forced To Pull Fleet Back

Defenders of the Cuban revolution were heartened by the announcement in Peking Dec. 1 that Che Guevara, president of the Cuban National Bank, had negotiated a favorable economic agreement with the People's Republic of China.

The Mao government extended an interest-free loan of \$60 million for the purchase of Chinese goods and technical help during the next four years. Repayment is to begin in 1966 but the dispatches did not indicate how many years they would run.

Among other items covered by the \$60-million credit, Cuba is to receive 24 plants, installation to begin in the coming year.

The \$60-million loan compares with a 12-year loan of \$100,000,000 at 2 1/2 percent interest granted by the Soviet government to Cuba last February for purchase of Soviet products.

China also agreed to a 1961 trade arrangement in which Cuba will exchange one million tons of sugar and other Cuban products for Chinese goods of equivalent value.

The Soviet government, in comparison, agreed last February to buy five million tons of sugar from Cuba in the next five years at the current world market price, one-fifth to be paid in dollars, four-fifths in Soviet machinery.

Counter-revolutionary Front

While the beleaguered revolutionary government of Cuba thus sought and found aid in distant Peking, the nearby U.S. government, representing Wall Street, continued to hammer away in its "Hate Cuba" campaign.

Eisenhower announced Dec. 2 that he had decided to designate the regime of Premier Fidel Castro as "Communist-controlled."

Some of Washington's more cunning propagandists sought to provide a plausible cover for this lying label by saying that the White House had to designate Cuba that way, truth to the contrary, in order to free funds for jobless counter-revolutionary Cuban refugees in Miami.

Eisenhower, in fact, earmarked \$1 million for this purpose.

The excuse was rather thin in view of the billions of dollars for which Central Intelligence need make no accounting. Undisclosed sums from undisclosed sources are already pouring into the treasuries of various Cuban counter-revolutionary outfits in Florida and elsewhere.

Other, more ominous explanations were advanced for Eisenhower's handout. "The President's move today," Felix Belair, Jr., reported in the

New York Times, "was regarded by some Latin-American diplomats as preliminary to a more determined effort by the United States to persuade the O.A.S. to invoke the Rio Treaty's collective security provisions against Cuba."

Belair indicated that this was also the interpretation around the White House: "In a move described authoritatively as the first of a series of steps intended to break the grip of the Castro regime on the Cuban people, President Eisenhower authorized the use of up to \$1,000,000 for relief and resettlement of the growing number of Cuban refugees..."

Plans Suffer Set Back

But Washington's counter-revolutionary plans were not running smoothly. "The United States has found no encouragement in Venezuela for a plan to convene soon a new conference of American foreign ministers to seek far-reaching sanctions against Cuba." This admission came from Caracas Dec. 6. It was made by Ted Szulc, the bitterly anti-Castro correspondent of the New York Times.

"The main features of the United States plan were said to call for breaking diplomatic and economic relations with Cuba, creating an inter-American 'emergency force,' and establishing an inter-American 'committee for political defense to control revolutionary activities,' Szulc continued.

"Venezuela notified Washington that she not only would refuse to bring a complaint against Cuba to the Organization of American States, as the State Department had hoped, but also would not even agree to a conference on Cuba until the O.A.S. had taken decisive action against the Dominican Republic."

The State Department's disappointment at this setback may be imagined, since the Betancourt regime was still putting down a rebellion which it had charged only a few days before was inspired by Cuba.

The Washington strategists undoubtedly hoped that Betancourt would respond the way

Ydigoras of Guatemala and Somoza of Nicaragua had in recent weeks when they provided the excuse for rushing the U.S. Navy into the Caribbean.

Szulc's revelations would confirm this interpretation: "United States' hopes that Venezuela would take the lead in seeking action against Cuba grew from an insinuation in a speech by Senor Betancourt last week that Cubans were behind the Left-wing disturbances here. But it appears Venezuela has very little actual evidence of such direct involvement, aside from Cuban propaganda activities, and she is not ready to take the case to the O.A.S., particularly in view of strong pro-Cuban, Leftist pressures at home."

The rebuff which Eisenhower's secret inquiries met with in Venezuela undoubtedly explains his cancellation Dec. 7, the day after Szulc's report, of the belligerent display of U.S. naval force in the Caribbean.

The retreat is a welcome one, but it would be quite a false hope to take this as a sign that the State Department is calling off its counter-revolutionary dogs. The struggle in defense of the Cuban revolution still remains a long and difficult one.

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Name Street City State

Bridge to the Folies Bergere?

By Harry Ring

The Port of New York Authority has the staggering responsibility of keeping land, sea and air traffic flowing smoothly in the country's densest metropolitan area.

The joint New York-New Jersey public agency is in charge of the Holland and Lincoln tunnels and the George Washington bridge, which accommodate 80 million vehicles a year; International, La Guardia, Newark and Teterboro airports, which handle some 13 million passengers and about 500 million pounds of cargo and mail a year; public piers in four cities of the bight area; truck terminals in two cities and the Port Authority bus terminal in New York, biggest in the world.

It takes men with top ability to handle that kind of an operation. So the governors of New York and New Jersey each appoint six members of the authority, with long executive experience obviously a key factor in their selection.

But, quite naturally, men of that stature have a lot of responsibilities of their own which they can't be expected to drop, particularly since they serve on the Authority without salary.

Take Authority Chairman Samuel Sloan Coit. He is or has been an officer of these companies: National City Bank, Mutual Life Insurance, General Foods Corp. and a half dozen others.

So it's understandable that men like these have to delegate some of their responsibility as Authority members to paid functionaries. They see to it that these men earn a decent wage. Austin J. Tobin, executive director of the Authority, draws \$60,000 a year. He's outranked among public officials only by the president of the United States, who gets \$100,000.

Seven employees earn \$40,000 a year and 21 receive \$27,000 or more.

Nevertheless, some of the Port Authority employees have sought to increase their standard of living from other sources, if we are to believe tes-

timony before a House Judiciary subcommittee headed by Rep. Emmanuel Celler, Brooklyn Democrat.

A Newark real-estate broker testified that he paid an Authority official \$9,575.38 in one year because he thought this necessary to get leases of Authority property for clients.

Other firms have a relation with Authority personnel that has a warmer sound than the tinkle of cold cash. The J. S. Frelinghuysen Corp., the agency's exclusive insurance broker since 1946, reportedly laid out more than \$4,000 in a 21-month period for entertainment and gifts for Authority officers.

According to the subcommittee,

James J. Doyle, the Authority's \$40,000-a-year financial director, was the beneficiary at a Hotel Pierre party of such items as "dinner, \$161.10; refreshments, \$35.95; photographs, \$45.95; Scotch and champagne, \$23.71; caviar, \$32."

The congressional subcommittee said that Mr. Doyle was also given a trip to London and Paris, including a night out at the Folies Bergere.

The financial director answered that the "very grueling week in London" saved the Authority a lot of money in threatened insurance premium increases and the trip to Paris was merely for "some relaxation."

The Authority has also main-

tained cordial relations with banks, according to the findings. It has kept more than a quarter of a million dollars on deposit in various accounts that draw no interest. Rep. Celler said that \$100,000 has been laying in Banker's Trust since the 1920's and that the deposit could have drawn \$150,000 in interest.

However, he was informed that whatever little service was done for the banks was more than compensated for by the free advice the banks have given the Authority.

The investigating committee was somewhat stumped by the Authority's bookkeeping. When the toll system, one of the evils of feudal times, was attached to the Holland and Lincoln tunnels and the George Washington bridge, it was understood that the levy on travelers would be reduced as construction costs were liquidated. Who can prove how much of the costs of the projects have been paid for? The Authority throws income and debts from all projects into one pot.

Congressman Celler estimates that the Holland tunnel has "been paid for four times over by interstate motorists and the George Washington bridge twice over."



George Washington bridge. Patriotic New Yorkers consider it one of the world's most beautiful structures. To the Port Authority, the most beautiful feature seems to be the toll booth where motorists are stopped as if they were at the gates of a Middle Ages barony. Congressman Celler says tolls have paid for the bridge twice over.

Mother of 2 Faces N.Y. Grand Jury

NEW YORK, Dec. 6 — A city magistrate today refused to dismiss abandonment charges against a mother who left her two children in Gimbel's toy department Thanksgiving eve because she had only 15 cents, no job, no food and was about to lose her apartment.

Eileen Weiss, 29, had planned to place the children, Michael, 5, and Maria, 4, in a foster home but was told it would take three weeks.

She left them in the department store with a note that said: "I love them dearly, but I have no money, no food and no place to go. Things are very black for me."

Detectives picked her up the next morning. The abandonment charge was pressed by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. Arraignment was postponed after "Big Joe" Rosenfield, of the "Happiness Exchange" radio program raised \$50 for Miss Weiss and said he would secure her a job and apartment.

Hold Children In addition to moving for dismissal of the charge, Miss Weiss's attorney asked Magistrate Tollers that her children be returned to her from the Children's Shelter where they are now being held.

He told the court that Miss Weiss has lost 30 pounds in the past three weeks. The judge denied the request to release the children.

Press accounts have emphasized the fact that Miss Weiss was not legally married to the children's father who left her when they were infants. The father now says he wants custody of the children.

Miss Weiss and the two children had somehow managed to survive on city welfare payments of about \$35 a week but even this was cut off several months ago and she was advised to get rid of the children.

Apparently, there is no Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Human Beings to intercede in behalf of Eileen Weiss and her children.

The American Way of Life

900 Calorie Diet

One of the virtues of a depression is the opportunity it offers for weight reduction. To get rid of the glut of commodities, capitalists close down the country's plants; workers are automatically deprived of pay checks; and the end result is the healthful loss of countless tons of human fat.

But why wait for a depression to enjoy this beneficial effect? Isn't it possible to starve in the midst of plenty during a boom as well as a bust? Even more exciting, isn't it possible to work out a way of turning this good side of a depression into a profitable enterprise that can help keep the boom rolling?

American ingenuity came up with the answer a year ago: Metrecall. This was a powder composed of bean flour, starch, coconut oil, yeast, a dash of vitamins and anti-appetite chemicals.

Like magic it made you feel nonhungry, yet reduced your calorie intake to 900 a day, which is somewhat below the concentration camp level. Most remarkable of all it sold for \$1.59 for eight ounces — enough to starve you a whole day.

The Mead Johnson product caught on better than the Slenderella craze. By June the drug outfit reduced the price to \$1.19 and in September introduced a palatable liquid form in eight-ounce cans at 40 cents a serving.

"There's money in it!" gloated a spokesman of the Borden Co. as that huge outfit brought out its version of the miracle food eliminator. Sealtest, Pet Milk, Foremost Dairies and the Dairy-men's League scrambled to get in on the ground floor of America's newest booming industry.

Harvest of Dollars

Mead Johnson sales soared from \$43,336,793 in the first nine months of 1959 to \$84,501,083 in the 1960 period. Net income in the first nine months climbed from \$4,127,974 to \$10,370,674. On the American Stock Exchange the company's stock leaped from 68 to 161.

Advertising for the concentration camp diet will run at an estimated \$20 million a year, according to Ad Age. And "promotion money is destined to grow as more blue chip companies come into the market place with their own versions of one-stop weight reducers."

Ad Age quotes a top manufacturer as saying: "This is going to be part of the American way of life." Like hot dogs and pie a la mode.

That seems for sure. Sealtest is now pushing the accelerator down to the floor boards in a high-powered advertising campaign for its 900 Calorie Diet, "choice of chocolate, vanilla or coffee."

Of course Sealtest, being "a name you know and trust," indicates it's "advisable to consult your physician regarding the best method of use." Also if you make the dairy product "your total diet" it is "advisable to drink plenty of water and to eat some low-calorie vegetables for bulk..."

In any event you can find a fly. That seems to be the case even in this happy solution to the problem of how to deprive yourself of food while keeping up meal costs. John C. York, a New York dairy cooperative official, claims that the laboratory marvel is "simply trumped-up skim milk."

But that sounds like sour grapes, for his real complaint is that the producers pay only the low prices fixed for the raw material used in powdered milk products while they should pay for the "fluid-milk" rate for this drinkable stuff.

A big flaw in the advertising campaign is that it is aimed only at those who have trouble resisting food. Here's a suggestion to the Madison Avenue pitchmen — why not create a favorable product-image for the poor-appetite crowd? To add weight, top off that meal with 900 Calorie Dessert! Or is that the next campaign?

— Paul Abbott

BOOKS

By Anthony Dean

"How Legislative Inquisitions Stifle Integration and Social Progress" is the title of a pamphlet just published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. The pamphlet explains why persons working for integration and similar causes refuse to answer questions put to them by witch-hunting federal and state investigating committees.

The front cover carries a statement made by Carl Braden, white integration worker, when he was questioned in 1958 by the House Committee on Un-American Activities:

"My beliefs and my associations are none of the business of this committee."

For this stand, Braden was sentenced to one year in prison for "contempt," a sentence that is now up for review before the U.S. Supreme Court.

In answering the witch-hunters in this way, Braden was upholding the First Amendment to the Constitution. Under this basic law of the land he was under no obligation to reveal the names of others engaged in the struggle for civil rights or to hand over membership lists to a committee intent on hounding integrationists.

As the pamphlet explains, those who suffer most in such government inquisitions are not the victims who may have to go to prison. Their integrity of character is not destroyed by such treatment.

The real victims are those who may never be called before the witch-hunters for questioning but who "fall into silence, fail to exercise their democratic rights for fear they might be called some day."

This is particularly important in the South today where many are opposed to segregation but refuse to say so out of fear the



CARL BRADEN

label of "subversive" will be attached to them.

The pamphlet exposes some of the links between the government witch-hunters and racists.

Richard Arens had to resign as staff counsel of the Un-American Committee when it was revealed that he was a consultant to Wycliffe Draper, a multimillionaire racist interested in "research projects" aimed at proving that Negroes are genetically "inferior."

Rep. Francis Walter, chairman of the House Un-American Committee, was listed as a member of a committee which dispenses some of the unsavory Draper funds.

The pamphlet is a useful item in the struggle against racism and political reaction. Those interested in the defense of civil rights and civil liberties will find it well worth circulating. It costs 10 cents and can be obtained by writing to the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., 822 Perdido St., New Orleans 12, La.

Get Out the Slide Rule

By Robert Chester

I'm against discrimination. I'm for equal rights. But when I came across this article in the September Consumer Reports magazine I decided to draw the line.

It seems that the big distillers of our holiday cheer have been discriminated against and they complained to the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division of the Internal Revenue Service (the agency that scoops in your liquor tax money). They protested that bottles, are limited to only eight standard sizes.

They want the same freedom that the rest of the retail industry has to change package sizes "in order to keep their prices within acceptable price brackets." That sounds reasonable.

Consumer Reports indicates how this freedom is used. One irate consumer writes in telling about LAVORIS mouthwash. He used to buy the stuff at 79 cents for a 20-ounce bottle. No more. All he can find is an 89-cent bottle bearing the happy inscription "save 15 cents." Its contents — 17 ounces!

Cans have become highly flexible. There used to be eight or ten standard sizes. Now there are 33! A Consumer reader pro-

tested that she used to buy peas in No. 2 cans containing 20 ounces. Now she can get only No. 303 cans holding 16 ounces or No. 300 cans holding 14 1/2 ounces, but prices have not dropped proportionately.

Packaging of food and soaps has become an art. The first trick is to put the weight in an obscure place in print so fine and deftly colored that it's virtually illegible.

The second trick is to make the container look twice the size of what it really holds. For example, one brand of "instant" mashed potatoes in the big box had 10 per cent less contents than the regular size next to it.

Then there is the big special. A frustrated customer tells how she fell for a specially priced Duncan Hines Cake Mix, three for a dollar, only to find that each box contained 14 ounces (2.36 cents per ounce) as against the regular price of 37 cents for 19 ounces (1.94 cents per ounce).

Nor are paper products pure as the driven snow. A correspondent writes "Having used Kleenex Tissues exclusively now for eight years I could not help noticing the shortening of the tissue recently. Close measurement revealed the tissues are

now a full 3/4 inch or more shorter without a corresponding shortening in price."

However you can beat the game. A triumphant shopper wrote that he and his wife took their slide rule along. "A slide rule permits us to choose 5 1/2 ounces of tooth paste for 83 cents over 4 5/8 ounces for 69 cents. It also shows that the highly advertised canned apple juice on 'sale' and prominently displayed is actually more expensive than the regular bottle hidden on a shelf..."

"Two or three dollars invested in a cheap sliderule pays for itself in a few weeks. It also gives a gratifying smug sense of satisfaction in the knowledge that you are defeating the amassed forces of evil from Madison Avenue."

What is fair is fair. I don't think the food industry should be permitted all this freedom while the liquor industry stays tied to only eight standard sizes. Why not have the Food and Drug Administration set up a standard packaging system of eight convenient sizes for the retail trade while a consumers committee goes into the whole question of packages and prices. Meanwhile — what did I do with that old sliderule I once had?

It Was Reported in the Press

Kapitalism — The Ku Klux Klan buys bed sheets for \$1.98 and sells them to members for \$10, according to a New Orleans educator who is investigating the local "rackets." Pillow cases picked up for 50 cents go for \$4. One enterprising segregationist plans to organize 100,000 "defenders" of the South. In return for \$90 they get a "commission" entitling them to wear a genuine facsimile "Confederate captain's" uniform. Profits on the \$9-million deal would come to \$2 million.

Planning for Peace — Pentagon officials and American military commanders from around the world held a conference Dec. 2 and 3 at Strategic Air Force Command headquarters in Omaha, Neb., to bring up to date the list of targets in the Soviet Union selected for nuclear bombing.

No Recession Here — New York City Investigation Commissioner Louis Kaplan has requested funds to put 25 more people on his staff to cope with the growing exposure of graft and corruption by municipal officials.

Progressive Education — William Bergen, president of the Martin Company, which coils millions on the federal missile

program, says the term "defense business" is imprecise. "The business we are in is certainly not... just defense, but is exploring and extending the frontiers of men's knowledge."

Hardship, D.C. — Diplomats from the 16 new African nations rate assignment to Washington, D.C., as a "hardship post," reports the UPI. The news agency said Nov. 2 that "dark-skinned representatives from ambassadors on down have trouble finding decent homes in respectable neighborhoods — and even finding embassy sites... Africans are proud of their native costume, but they sometimes must wear the brightly colored garb as a silent defense against the rebuffs they would receive if taken for native American Negroes."

Some of Their Best Friends — Studies by Harvard and Michigan universities disclose that although Jews make up about eight per cent of the country's college-trained population, less than half of one per cent of them are included among executive personnel in leading American industrial corporations.

The Test — The 16,000 hikers, skiers and nature lovers who make up California's Sierra

Club are now voting on a proposition to require a loyalty oath of future members. "A loyalty oath to look at trees? I've never heard of such a thing," snorted one member. Walter Heninger, sponsor of the proposition, said that "one and possibly two men will be watching the outcome of this election. To which will your vote give aid and comfort? — J. Edgar Hoover or Nikita Khrushchev?"

Jim Crow Down Below — Despite a federal court order enjoining all discrimination in voting, Negroes in Terrell County, Ga., were forced to cast their ballots this year at a "special" booth in the courthouse basement. The chairman of the county board of registrars resigned in protest.

Little Man Who Wasn't There — Commenting on the myth that small stockholders control big business, the Nov. 15 Railway Clerk reported: "Coca-Cola Co., with more than 26,000 stockholders, had fewer than 30 individuals... attending its 1960 stockholders' meeting; Southern Pacific, with more than 70,000 stockholders, entertained exactly six stockholders at this year's meeting; McGraw-Hill, with 12,000 stockhold-

ers, held its 1960 stockholders' meeting with exactly one stockholder, a nice elderly lady, turning up..."

Its Campus Paper Is Criminal — Senator Barry Goldwater, Arizona Republican, says that "where fraternities are not allowed, communism flourishes." He singled out Harvard as a prime example of such a nonfraternity institution.

Searchlight on the South — "The Wall Between," by Anne Braden, has just been published in Poland. It will also be published in Italy and publication negotiations are in process in France and England. An illuminating account of Southern race relations, the book tells the story of the Louisville "sedition" case in which Anne and Carl Braden and others were persecuted for helping a Negro family obtain a home in a "white" neighborhood.

Thought for the Week — "At no time do the American people get a clear look-see at the expenditure of their Federal tax funds to ascertain whether or not they are being spent wisely, wasted or stolen." — Freedom of Information committee, Sigma Delta Chi, professional journalistic fraternity.

Letters from Our Readers

A Young Booster

Editor:

The Militant is the finest socialist paper I've read. If I don't know what to make of an article in a paper (big business) I can always consult the Militant.

Many of my friends in high school also enjoy it and many are turning to Marxian socialism just as I have.

Keep up the good work! Yours for a Socialist Society. M.K. Clayton, Wisc.

From Havana

Editor:

I am a Cuban girl who received a copy of that magnificent pamphlet, "The Truth About Cuba," by Joseph Hansen and was deeply impressed by it. All the Cubans who have read it are enthusiastic about it.

The pamphlet said that in 1960 Bohemia published a nationwide poll, and that in the city the rating of people that support the Castro government was 81.17 per cent and in the country it was 89.67 per cent of the people.

Today in the city, where the Urban Reform has been put into effect and the trusts of the Cuban Telephone Company and Electric Company have been nationalized, 90 per cent of the people agree with the Castro government.

The 10 per cent that does not agree are the monopolists and the imperialists and landlords who had to sell their buildings to the workers, although they did not lose their money since the houses are sold at a reasonable price. In the country, where the cooperatives are working with real success, 90 per cent of the farmers are with the government of Castro.

The Revolutionary Government is growing stronger day by day. We have the potential help of the USSR in case of aggression but that does not mean we are communists. Our doctrine is HUMANISM. It means to give to the poor what is necessary to live: clothing, medical care, dental care, shoes, food, literacy and a decent place to live.

The counter-revolutionaries say the government is planning to "collectivize" all the children. That is a big lie. In Cuba the government lives and thinks only for the children. New parks are being built like the one at Alameda where the Bureau of Investigation used to be and hundreds of our best young revolutionaries were tortured and killed by those who now say they are going to save Cuba from that "communist" Fidel Castro.

A big campaign is now being carried on to wipe out illiteracy. During the summer 1,000 high-school students went to Sierra Maestra for a special teacher-training course. They went with very high morale, because their only interest is to bring a bit of light to the lives of those who do not even know how to write their names.

My dear friends, I have called you friends because everyone that defends the Cuban government is our friend, we don't mind if they are black, white, yellow or Russian. You cannot imagine how much we appreciate the series of articles published in your newspaper. I think your paper is the most decent one published in the USA.

A.R.A. Havana

America Is Choking

Editor:

America is choking on its own abundance. America can produce abundance, but it cannot distribute it at a profit for the rich. So instead of production at top capacity, America has a policy of artificial scarcity to maintain profits.

The government pays farmers not to produce and pays for surplus foods to rot away in high-priced private warehouses.

The government allows the steel corporations to operate at only 50 per cent of capacity for more than six months to create a steel shortage and high profits.

The government is spending \$40 billion a year to keep our "surplus" wealth off the consumer market by turning it into bombs, tanks and missiles—and still the wealth pours out of the factories so fast that there is unemployment.

This is the basic issue facing the people — Is America going to continue to destroy its wealth to keep the profiteers rich? Or is labor going to take government control and use America's wealth for the benefit of its people?

J.B. St. Paul

3 One-Dollar Bills

Editor:

Enclosed find three one-dollar bills to cover my renewal to our paper, The Militant. Before the election, I wrote a number of friends and acquaintances enclosing our election material.

Our party surely has an asset in Frank Lovell. He spoke here a short time ago and gave one of the best talks I have ever heard. He is a powerful speaker and writer. I'm sure glad he's in our ranks.

It was pleasant and interesting to read all the responses in

the Militant from people who saw or heard our political program for the first time during the campaign. Well, the experience that the American workers will have in the coming period will stimulate and increase their attention as well as their reception to what real socialists have to offer them.

C. R. Hedlund Minneapolis

High Time Labor Acted

Editor:

Many citizens refrained from voting this year. These citizens were dissatisfied with the position of both of the dominant presidential candidates, but neglected to support candidates of the minor political parties, such as the Socialist Workers party.

It is regrettable that the many discontented voters have not long since expressed their revulsion with the capitalist candidates and their parties by effective independent political action.

It is about time that the wage workers of our nation should become more conscious of their own interests and refuse any collaboration with the agencies of the employing class that exploits them in the process of production by low wages and by high prices for the goods they produce. It is very shameful to the working people and it may be hoped that they will soon learn to do better by striking out forcefully in their own behalf.

Joseph Manlet Cleveland

Independent

Editor:

Enclosed is \$3 to renew my subscription.

You should give a great deal of credit to the comrades in Wisconsin, especially in Milwaukee, for being instrumental in getting Dobbs and Weiss on the ballot in the home state of Joe McCarthy and thereby giving the citizens of Wisconsin a real chance to cast a protest vote against the one party with two heads.

Both the Republicans and Democrats serve only a small minority of the people and make promises to the rest of the people to get their votes, thinking the people will forget the promises. But they will find that a few of us won't forget and we will be asking them some embarrassing questions.

One more point. If you disagree with a fascist, he will call you a Communist. If you disagree with a Communist he will call you a Trotskyite.

I don't agree with Dobbs 100

per cent. I don't agree with him on Hungary. I think the trouble there was started by Dulles and the Voice of Wall Street and the clerical fascists and the same crowd that backed Batista against Castro.

Now, since I don't agree with Dobbs 100 per cent, I'm waiting to see what he'll call me. Meanwhile, I call myself an independent.

C.T. Fond du Lac, Wis.

Two Kinds of War

Editor:

[We agree that name-calling is out of order. The difference over Hungary is a sharp one, but we are sure that it can be discussed in a comradely way. Have you read Peter Fryer's eyewitness report, "Hungarian Tragedy"? — Editor.]

Today the supreme issue before the people of the world — in the first place, before the people of the USA — is peace or war.

The plain people everywhere desire a peaceful world. They hate war. For the plain people, war means misery, degradation and want.

To have a clear position on the burning question of war or peace, it is necessary to understand the two chief types of war.

(1) What is an unjust war? (2) What is a just war?

It would be unjust for any country in the world to cross the border of another country with its armed forces to impose its will upon the invaded people.

The invaded country would have every right to use every means at its disposal to hurl back the invader. They would also be within their right to exact payment for all damage done by the invader. The conference table must be substituted for the battlefield.

A just war would be a war of the people of any nation against any tyrannical rulers or against an oppressive government. A just war would be a revolt of a colonial people against foreign domination and oppression. It would be just and proper for the people everywhere to support such a war. Our forefathers brought this great nation into being by throwing off the yoke of the British king. Would we deny others the same right?

The average citizen would not favor declaring war on another country to force others to bow to their will. That is why the people are never asked to vote on war.

H.S. New York