

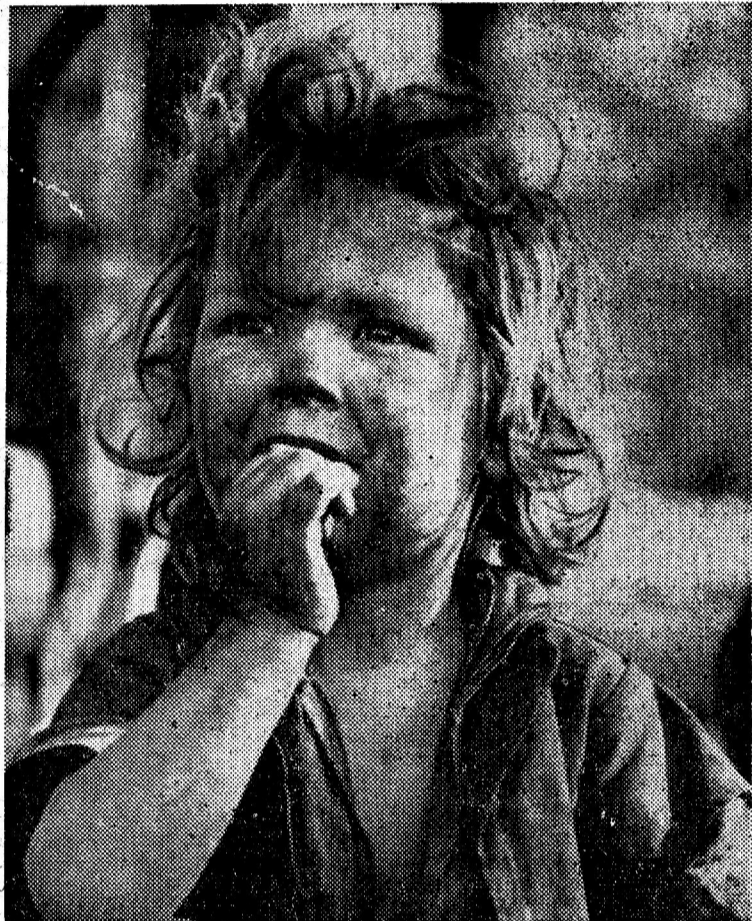
# N. Y.-N. J. Area Registers New Decline in Jobs

NEW YORK, March 10 — Heavy unemployment hit this area a little later than some other parts of the country, but when it did hit the blow was hard. According to a State Employment Service spokesman today, there were 448,900 people in the State drawing unemployment compensation as of Feb. 20. Of these 234,400 were in New York City. And that doesn't tell the full story.

During the week ending Feb. 27, 2,271 people exhausted their benefits without finding a new job. About the same number the week before got their final compensation check with no work in sight. This means that at least eight per cent of the labor force in the state is now jobless, as compared to six per cent nationally. During January 179,000 people lost their jobs throughout the state. Labor Department officials tried to pass off the heavy drop as "normal" post-Christmas layoffs. But according to their own figures, there were 77,000 more people laid off this January than last year.

Across the river in New Jersey, where a good number of New Yorkers have been working, the situation is even worse. Last week Gov. Meyner declared that a real state of emergency exists there. At the end of February 208,000 people were out of work in the state, almost nine per cent of the labor force. With unemployment heavy throughout 1958, he said, state jobless

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A famous picture of four-year old boy taken at scene of Virginia mine disaster in 1946. The disaster of unemployment now plagues mine-workers' families and little children go hungry.

## 'So the Children Weaken a Little'

By Alex Harte

"Their children exist on a skidrow diet of corn meal, rice and whatever else the surplus commodities warehouse has available. These children never have any meat, and have seldom seen a fresh egg during the past two years. . . . The parents told me that even today they only receive enough food for three weeks out of the month under all existing aid programs — that their diet contains only one third of the calories and proteins needed to sustain life. So the children weaken a little [and] shrink in vitality and hope, day by day."

"These are not the people of India or the masses of China I am talking about; these are Americans. . . . Their situation is not new, it has been growing cumulatively for several years."

That's part of the story of the desperate plight of unemployed West Virginia coal miners as described to the House of Representatives Jan. 29 by Congressman John M. Slack, Jr. (D-W.Va.)

"I don't know how I'm going to make it. I've been everywhere and I haven't been able to find nothing."

"We usually have gravy and oats for breakfast."

"An egg? When was the last time I ate an egg, I just don't know."

"We look across at the hills for entertainment."

Those were some of the things that heads of large families in the town of Highcoal told Rep. Slack when he recently toured the area, according to a report in the Feb. 2 Charleston Gazette.

Negro miners added these comments:

"No colored fellows are working in the mines. We don't get the same treatment as the white man, not since 1952."

"They won't hire no colored fellows."

Some 75,000 workers are jobless in the state. They represent 15% of its labor force. In the Morgantown area, 17.9% were out of work last October and the situation hasn't improved any since then. More than 300,000 persons in the state are at least partially dependent on federal surplus commodities for

substance. State relief checks — about \$32 a month — go to 117,211 persons.

A Wall Street Journal correspondent toured one mining area in the state and reported March 4 that he had found "stark poverty."

A family of four living on federal surplus commodities gets a monthly ration of 30 pounds of flour, a bag of corn meal, two pounds of rice and ten pounds of butter. State health officers say that a family living on this diet "would need to spend at least \$12 a month on carefully selected meats and vegetables to get the needed proteins and minerals; otherwise the commodity issue means slow starvation."

Charles J. Dunbar, who owns a small grocery in the town of Blakely, told the Wall Street Journal reporter: "My business is worse now than during the 1930's depression. I've got about 140 families on the books for \$56,000 in debts. Most I ever had during the 1930's was \$20,000. Sure I know I won't get most of it back, but these people are hungry."

The reporter visited the local elementary school. A teacher asked her class of 30 second graders: "Children, how many of your daddies have jobs?" Only 13 hands went up.

He talked to Mrs. George W. Fields, wife of one of the jobless miners. "Our kids are being carried on the school lunch program," she told him. "Sometimes we don't have a bite in the house."

"We had a good Christmas," she added. "The churches and people here gave us clothes. Until then the children hadn't had shoes."

District 17 of the United Mine Workers, which covers most of West Virginia and two counties in Kentucky, estimates that about 60 or 70 out of 200 mining communities in the area are deserted or partially deserted

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# AFL-CIO Sets Jobless Washington Meet April 8

## New Layoffs Hit Workers In Michigan

DETROIT, March 7 — The number of jobless workers here took another big jump in February and it looks like things are going to get even worse. There are reports of new layoffs coming up and the experts now say that car sales won't be as good this year as had been predicted.

About one worker in six is out of work in the city even though car production is at a seasonal peak. The Michigan Unemployment Security Commission said yesterday that as of Feb. 15 there were 229,000 jobless in the city, or 15.4% of the labor force. Twelve thousand have been laid off since Jan. 15. In the state, 364,000 people are now officially listed as unemployed, or 12.4% of the labor force.

The jobless figure will probably go up again next month, too. Edward T. Ragsdale, general manager of Buick, announced yesterday that 4,500 will be laid off by March 24, chopping off one-fourth of the company's remaining work force. Ragsdale said production at the Flint plant was outrunning sales.

To round out this gloomy picture, the Wall Street Journal reported yesterday that there is little prospect that car dealers will sell the 5½ million American-made passenger cars this year that manufacturers had anticipated. "I think it's generally true," one auto company economist told the paper, "that the real expectation now is in the neighborhood of 5 million, — perhaps as high as 5.2 million."

"Auto makers cannot continue indefinitely to produce more cars than dealers are selling, sooner or later . . . they'll have to cut output," the Wall Street Journal explained.

Meanwhile, Democratic leaders in Congress have announced that they favor extending the federal temporary unemployment compensation benefits which supplement expired state benefits for a maximum of 13 additional weeks. In a March 6 telegram to leaders of both parties, United Auto Workers president Walter Reuther pointed out that simple extension would "provide too little for far too few." There are now two million jobless not entitled to any state or federal benefits. Reuther urged passage of the Karsten-Machrowicz bill which would establish standards for increased benefits of longer duration.

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## Emergency Requires Program of Action

An Editorial

The AFL-CIO call for a mass conference on unemployment in Washington on April 8 constitutes a landmark in American labor history.

For the first time on a national scale, the top officials of the union movement have assumed direct organizational responsibility for initiating an action on behalf of the unemployed workers. As such, it is all to the good.

### Mounting Pressure

The call for a conference was reportedly a "compromise" reached at the recent AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting in Puerto Rico after a proposal for a "March on Washington" had precipitated a sharp conflict among the union heads.

Opposition at the AFL-CIO summit to any proposal for mass action should occasion no surprise — at least to those militants who have for years been advocating a policy of having the union movement take responsibility for organizing and championing the cause of the unemployed.

That there was a compromise and not a total "rejection" is testimony to the mounting pressure of the workers, especially in the hard-hit mass production industries, on the union officialdom.

In announcing the decision to call a Washington conference, AFL-CIO president George Meany stated that its purpose was "to effectively dramatize the desperate plight of millions of unemployed workers and their families and to petition the President and Congress to take immediate effective steps to get America back to work."

### Further Steps Needed

There is an obvious disparity here between means and end. To begin with, the compromise conference, to be held indoors, limits the scope of the gathering to the size of the hall and therefore cannot as "effectively dramatize" the plight of the unemployed as an outdoor demonstration.

Secondly, Meany neglected to indicate what provision, if any, was to be made to get the unemployed to Washington to participate in the conference.

Thirdly, the decisive question of program remains ambiguous.

If the AFL-CIO tops are genuinely concerned about effectively dramatizing the plight of the millions of unemployed and their families, they would call upon all central labor bodies and local organi-

zations to take the following steps:

(1) Provide transportation for representative delegations of unemployed unionists to attend the April 8 conference in Washington and participate in the deliberations of that gathering.

(2) Request all central labor unions and local organizations to call meetings and demonstrations in all industrial centers throughout the country on April 8 to give added weight to the national conference in Washington.

Because of the desperate plight of millions of unemployed and their families the Washington conference takes on an emergency character.

Under the circumstances a program of demands should be advanced that would serve to rally the maximum support of all working people, employed and unemployed, to achieve effective relief. In view of the need for immediate relief, such a program should embody the following demands:

### Emergency Measures

(1) For a sliding scale of wages and hours.

In current trade-union terms, this means the demand for a 30-hour week at 40-hour pay. The benefits of constantly increased labor productivity have gone almost exclusively to line the pockets of the Big Business tycoons who rule this country through the agency of the two-party system. The recession year 1958 recorded the same level of production previously achieved in the boom year of 1953—but with two million fewer workers employed in production.

Under the prevailing 40-hour week a growing army of unemployed workers are being thrown on the industrial scrap heap while the youth of this country are once more being relegated to the status of a locked-out generation.

(2) For unemployment compensation at trade-union wages for the full period of unemployment.

Big Business is subsidized by government in a hundred different ways, both direct and indirect, to maintain the so-called "free enterprise system." Workers unemployed through no fault of their own are entitled to full compensation for the duration of their period of unemployment.

(3) For compulsory federal unemployment-compensation standards set at trade-union wage levels.

Remove all restrictive coverage and eligibility qualifications for unemployed workers.

## Detroit Unionists Charter Train to Transport 1,500 From Lines of Unemployed

Preliminary reports indicate that the National Guard Armory, reserved by the AFL-CIO for its national unemployed conference in Washington April 8, will be filled to overflowing. From Detroit comes word that the United Automobile Workers are planning to dramatize the critical unemployment problem in that city by chartering a special train to carry 1,500 jobless workers to the conference.

## Lop 25,000 More from Payrolls

MARCH 12 — Another 25,000 people were thrown out of work nationally in February, according to a report released yesterday by the Labor and Commerce departments. Meanwhile Democratic leaders of Congress indicated that they have worked out a deal with the administration to hold federal aid to the jobless down to a token gesture.

Yesterday's report said 6.1 per cent of the work force is now unemployed as compared to 6 per cent the month previous. The official estimate of people out of work is 4,749,000. The real figure is higher since the government doesn't count those who exhaust jobless benefits or who aren't registered at state employment offices.

The Labor and Commerce departments admit that whatever recovery has taken place since the peak of the 1957-58 recession was "largely compressed into a short span of months" in the second part of last year and that there has been "little change since last November." But don't get the idea that this worries the golf-playing President. At his press conference yesterday he said he didn't think the situation warrants continuation of emergency federal jobless aid.

While they don't say so publicly, the Democratic leaders in Congress act as if they agree with Eisenhower on this. The bill being drawn up by the Democrats to extend the emergency federal jobless benefits scheduled to expire April 1 is reported to contain a real joker.

This is a proviso giving the President the right to cut off the one-year extension on June 30 if he deems it appropriate.

"Thus, Congress would relieve itself of an embarrassing role as a hatchet man," explained today's New York Times.

Union organizations in various parts of the country are arranging to send special delegations to the conference. In New York the March 1 issue of District 65 News, published by the Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Union, carries a full page "special message" to its members on the conference. "As many of our unemployed members as is feasible will be there," says the union, "and our members will be asked for contributions to pay the fare."

The initial response to the conference call confirms the view that the "compromise" imposed by the more conservative union heads of an indoor meeting instead of an outdoor demonstration was intended to limit participation of the unemployed. As the object was to confine attendance primarily to union representatives with just a sprinkling of unemployed, no provision was made by the AFL-CIO tops to provide transportation for jobless workers. The initiative for getting unemployed workers to Washington will rest with the local union organizations.

The conference will be held against a background of growing unemployment, soaring profits, rising prices and mounting cost of living. The trend toward more production with fewer workers is creating a constantly increasing army of permanently jobless. "We're getting more work from fewer men and we're going to get even more work from even fewer men," says one spokesman of Big Business quoted in the Wall Street Journal.

How the conference meets this challenge will determine the fate of millions of unemployed workers and their families. Reliance upon so-called "friends of labor" in Congress is meeting with growing disfavor. In its "Special Message to Members," District 65 News puts it quite bluntly: "It is clear that reliance on our government officials to do the right thing is fruitless. Labor is suffering and labor must rely on itself — on the organized trade union movement — to correct the intolerable unemployment problem."

# Depression's Sharpest Effect Borne by Negroes

By George Lavan

The second-class citizenship forced on Negroes in the U.S. can be seen in its political and social forms by a glance at civil rights (or the lack of them) and such things as segregated housing. It takes only another glance at the unemployment figures to see the economic form of this second-class citizenship.

The unemployment rate among Negro workers is twice as great as among white workers. As the current issue of Fortune magazine puts it: "So far as Negroes were concerned, the 'recession' was a real depression. In March, 1958, over 15 per cent of male Negro workers were unemployed. White workers have not seen such hard times since the early 1930's; the recent recession never idled more than 8 per cent of white males in the labor force. . . . By November, 1958, only 4.8 per cent of white male workers were unemployed — vs. 11.4 per cent of Negroes."

Though one out of every ten workers in the labor force is Negro, at least two out of every ten of the unemployed are

colored. Joblessness in the Negro communities of the country is approaching that of the last years of the great 1929-40 depression.

### BUILT-IN FEATURE

Nor is this double-barreled blast of misery, fired at the Negro people by U.S. capitalism, accidental or transitory. It is a built-in feature of the economic system which has shown up in all the industrial dips since World War II.

Some of the disproportionate unemployment rate among Negroes undoubtedly can be explained by the race prejudice of bosses or foremen, who operate on the chauvinist theory that a Negro worker's children won't suffer from hunger as much as white children. When free to pick and choose in carrying out layoffs, these racists will see that the "first fired" are Negroes.

Even in auto, steel and other mass production industries in which union regulations on non-discrimination in layoffs and rehiring are strictly maintained,

Negro workers get more than their share of discharge slips.

This is not because of direct prejudice but because job discrimination against Negroes was institutionalized in these industries long before they were unionized; and the unions even where they sincerely tried, have at the best only mitigated the situation.

Firings, due to automation and layoffs, hit the unskilled and semi-skilled workers and the workers with the least seniority the hardest.

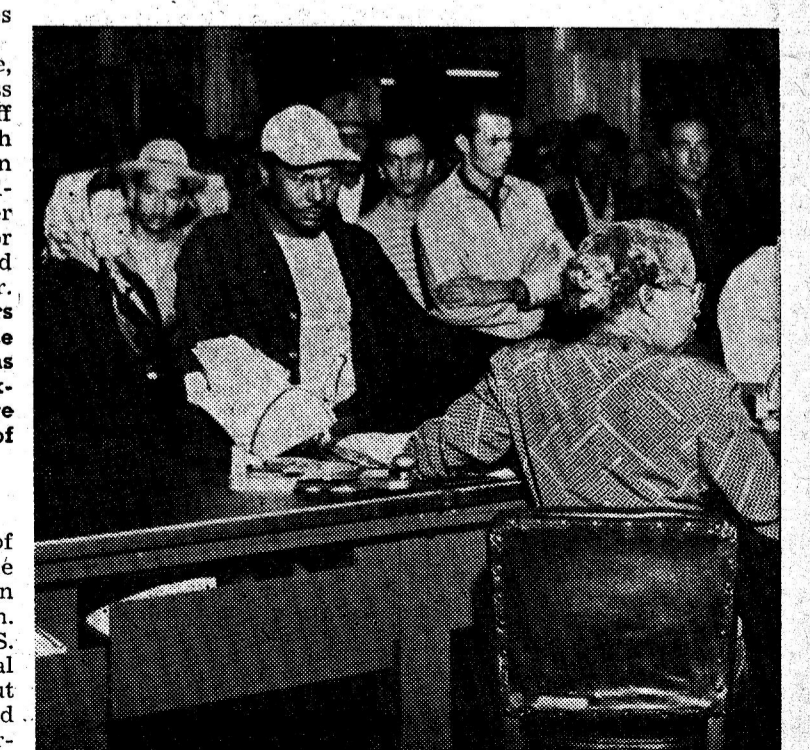
A greater proportion of Negroes are in both these categories than white workers. For example, only about 5% of the Negroes in the labor force are skilled as against some 14% of white workers. This is the result of the built-in discrimination of the U.S. economy which prevented a fair share of the Negro workers getting apprenticeship training in their youth and which put up color bars against their entry into better-paying, skilled jobs. Conversely, 35% of the Negro workers are unskilled or semi-skilled as against

an average of 22% for whites in the labor force.

To make matters even worse, Negro workers have much less financial reserves to stave off or cushion the misery which loss of a job soon brings. In 1954 the average wage or salary income of a Negro worker had risen to \$1,584 a year, or only half of the \$3,174 earned by the average white worker. Since landlords and grocers don't reduce their prices for the benefit of Negroes, this means that the savings of Negro workers, if any, are on the average much smaller than those of white workers.

### LACK PROTECTION

Finally, a vast number of Negro workers have neither the protection of unions nor even unemployment compensation. The Negro people in the U.S. constitute 11% of the total population but they fill about 33% of the domestic jobs and make up 17% of the agricultural labor force. Both of these fields are low-paying and without unemployment insurance.



Such scenes, at Detroit unemployment office, are now commonplace all over country as layoffs increase.



# Trotsky's Proposals on Fighting Unemployment

[The following extracts are taken from a program written by Leon Trotsky in 1937 for the Fourth International, the world-wide revolutionary-socialist party he founded in that year to carry on the tradition of Marxism. The complete program, called "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International," can be obtained by sending 25 cents to Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.]

Under the conditions of disintegrating capitalism, the masses continue to live the meagerized life of the oppressed threatened now more than at any other time with the danger of being cast to the pit of pauperism. They must defend their mouthful of bread, if they cannot increase or better it. There is neither the need nor the opportunity to enumerate here those separate partial demands which time and again arise on the basis of concrete circumstances—national, local, professional. But two basic economic afflictions, in which is summarized the increasing absurdity of the capitalist system: that is **unemployment and high prices**, demand generalized slogans and methods of struggle.

The Fourth International declares uncompromising war on the politics of the capitalists which, to a considerable degree, like the politics of their agents, the reformists, aims to place the whole burden of militarism, the crisis, the disorganization of the monetary system and all other scourges stemming from capitalism's death agony upon the backs of the toilers. The Fourth International demands **employment and decent living conditions** for all.

Neither monetary inflation nor stabilization can serve as slogans for the proletariat because these are but two ends of the same stick. Against a bounding rise in prices, which with the approach of war will assume an ever more unbridled character, one can fight only 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 consumer goods.

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 upon 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 working 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.

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 successes may be, the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery.

# Witch-Hunt Victims Ask Funds to Continue Fight

The U.S. Supreme Court refused March 9 to grant the Smith Act victims in Colorado a hearing on the validity of their 1954 indictment. Meanwhile the retrial of six of the defendants continued in Denver. (The case against Lewis Johnson, the seventh defendant, was dropped when the only government witness against him refused to testify a second time.)

This second trial was instituted by the government in complete disregard of the Supreme Court's 1957 reversal of the California Smith Act convictions. Only in Colorado and Ohio has the Department of Justice failed to drop Smith Act cases based on "organizing" since the California decision. Funds are needed by the defense and should be sent to Pat Blau c/o Correa, 2416 W. 36th Ave., Denver 11, Colorado.

In another key Smith Act case, that of Junius Scales of North Carolina, convicted solely on the basis of one-time membership in the Communist Party, the American Civil Liberties Union, on March 6 sub-

mitted a brief to the Supreme Court.

The brief charged that the conviction of Scales for what he believed in was a violation of the First Amendment. "Significant issues are presented [by this case], the resolution of which will have a vital effect on freedom of political discussion and association in America today," the ACLU stated. "The emphasis is on what the defendant thinks rather than what he does."

### POWELL-SCHUMAN CASE

The eyes of all concerned with American civil liberties have been fixed on the "treason" trial on the West Coast of the publisher of China Monthly Review, John W. Powell, his wife, Sylvia Powell, and his former assistant Julian Schuman. The unprecedented charges of treason were brought by the federal attorney on Jan. 31, when prosecution on three-year old "sedition" indictments ended in a mistrial.

The prosecutor then demanded that the three defendants be

held without bail until Feb. 11 when he hoped to secure new indictments from the grand jury. This demand was refused by the court.

On Feb. 12 the prosecution announced that it was beginning a preliminary briefing of the grand jury and might have indictments by Feb. 25. On March 2 the government again announced there would be a delay in getting the indictments.

The repeated stalling indicates the weakness of the government case. The Powell-Schuman Defense Committee calls this "one of the great cases of American jurisprudence" because of its ominous implications.

It asks: "Is there a dividing line between treason and the citizen's right to disagree with his government and put his dissent in writing?"

The Powell-Schuman Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1808, San Francisco, Cal., is urging letters to U. S. Attorney General Rogers in Washington, D. C., calling for the dropping of all charges against the defendants.

# Who Stands for Democracy and Socialism?

By Murry Weiss

In the debate I had Feb. 27 with David McReynolds of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation on "Socialist Electoral Policy," McReynolds voiced the Social Democratic charge that the New York State Independent-Socialist ticket was "pro-Stalinist" and that the SWP, by supporting the ticket, had capitulated to Stalinism.

At the same time the Communist Party has attacked the Independent-Socialist coalition as "anti-Soviet" because of the active participation of the Socialist Workers Party. According to the CP, the very presence of the SWP in the coalition, or in any committee or meeting for that matter, "proves" that the coalition, committee or meeting has an anti-Soviet taint.

For the CP leaders this kind of charge doesn't require evidence; the charge itself is sufficient proof for them. And if you dare to press the matter and question their authority, that becomes damning evidence that you too are "anti-Soviet."

If the CP legislative director, Arnold Johnson, had a sense of humor—and I certainly do not accuse him of that—he would readily see the grotesqueness of the charge of "anti-Soviet" in relation to the I-SP.

The I-SP was the only ticket on the ballot in the New York state elections that waged a campaign against the cold war and the two symbols of the bipartisan foreign policy, Harriman and Rockefeller. The I-SP candidates for governor and lieutenant governor, McManus and Rubinstein, and the I-SP candidate for U.S. senator, Lamont, devoted a great part of their campaign to opposing the U.S. State Department's anti-Soviet foreign policy; they fought the red baiters; they lashed the Democrats and Republicans alike for their war policy; they placed the blame for the cold war squarely on the American imperialists.

The CP, on the other hand, told the radical workers not to vote for McManus and Rubinstein and steered them instead to the anti-Soviet, cold-war witch-hunting Democrat Harriman. On top of that they had the gall to smear the I-SP as "anti-Soviet" because of its guilt-by-association with the SWP.

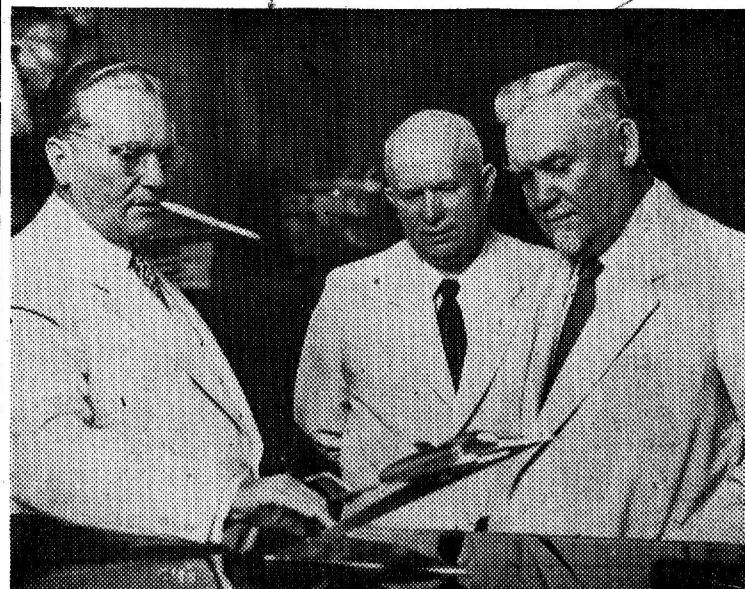
One would think that under these circumstances the CP leaders would dummy up about the I-SP, if not out of political discretion at least from a sense of shame. But no, they have neither a sense of shame nor a sense of humor. They go on chanting their "anti-Soviet" charge as if the election campaign had never taken place, and as if they had never covered their party with disgrace by their support of Harriman.

### EQUALLY GROUNDESS

The charge of "pro-Stalinist" against the I-SP, coming from the Social Democrats, is equally groundless. The main consequence of Stalinism has always been the foisting of class-colaboration policies on the workers' movement in capitalist countries—in the name of the alleged defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack. In fact, this was never in the interests of a genuine defense of the Soviet Union. It meant rather the scuttling of the class-struggle socialist policy in order to cement diplomatic alliances with one section of imperialism or another, or in order to seek out such alliances.

The price the Soviet bureaucracy paid for such dubious blocs with imperialism was to

## Apologizing for Stalin's Lies



Tito, Khrushchev and Bulganin, shown at time of Soviet-Yugoslav reconciliation in 1955. Returning from a "peaceful coexistence" tour of Africa and Asia March 6, Tito bitterly denounced as "slander," "lies," and "warmongering" the new anti-Yugoslav campaign of Eastern Europe Kremlin-dominated regimes.

"use its influence" to halt the revolutionary opposition of the workers to capitalism. The net result was that the real deterrent to the imperialist anti-Soviet drive—the revolutionary opposition of the workers to capitalism—was weakened and the capitalist world was able to step up its anti-Soviet war preparations.

The I-SP represented a real break with Stalinist class-colaboration politics. Within the I-SP grave differences existed over the question of socialism and democracy; but they were differences among socialists who had met the first test: readiness to oppose the imperialist ruling class and its political parties and willingness to run the gauntlet of CP slander attacks in order to do so. People who do that are not Stalinists, unless you are speaking from the standpoint of the State Department "socialist" Stalinophobes.

If the Social Democrats want to comment about the discussion on socialism and democracy within the Independent-Socialist coalition, that's OK, but let us understand from what positions they speak.

If for example, peddlers of dope participate in a discussion on the best method for eliminating drug addiction, it is best to be aware of the kind of "expertise" they bring to the issue. The same holds for discussions on eliminating crime; professional pickpockets participating in such a discussion tend to complicate matters.

We do not for a moment suggest that the Social Democrats are dope peddlers or pickpockets; in justice to the Social Democrats as well as the professions referred to in our example, this is not our point. The Social Democrats are, however, the kind of "socialists" who support U.S. State Department policies. Such "socialists" really have no business prattling about democracy for they have aligned themselves with the most undemocratic, reactionary force in the world.

The struggle for workers and socialist democracy has meaning only as a part of the struggle against capitalism and its imperialist war drive. As such, it has nothing in common with the hypocritical and deceitful clamor raised by cold-war propagandists for "democracy behind the iron curtain."

### TELLING ADMISSION

At one time, this same David McReynolds I debated with when he was still something of an "angry" young militant, understood that the 1957 merger of the Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Federation was based on this kind of "socialism." In a letter to the left-wing caucus in the SP, Nov. 3, 1956, McReynolds said, "You do not—ever—compromise socialist opposition to militarism and imperialism." And then he drove his point home, "But merger with the SDF means full support for the worst, most shameful policies of the State Dept. and John Foster Dulles."

The "Memorandum of Understanding," which provided the programmatic basis of the SP-SDF merger in January 1957 spelled out this support to the State Department:

"Such a crusade must not be based on any illusion that peace can be achieved by appeasement of the Communist imperialism that threatens the world's peace and freedom. . . . We realize that until universal enforceable disarmament can be achieved, the free world and its democratically established military agencies must be constantly on guard against the military drive of Communist dictators."

The SP-SDF also endorses the Second International's program which states, "Democratic socialists recognize the maintenance of world peace as the supreme task of our time. Peace

can be secured only by a system of collective security. This will create the conditions of international disarmament."

"Collective security," is the language of the U.S. State Department for the Western capitalist "democratically established military agencies" like NATO and SEATO.

Back in 1956, when he had his militant, left-wing fling, David McReynolds understood that "there are some things you do not compromise. 'You do not—ever—compromise socialist support of democracy,'" he said. And then he drove his point home, "But the merger with the SDF, which has given silent (and at times active) support to the totalitarian liberals, means just such a compromise."

The SP-SDF subscribes to the Second International program which states, "Democracy requires the right of more than one party to exist and the right of opposition. But democracy has the right to protect itself against those who exploit its opportunities in order to destroy it." This is the language of those "totalitarian liberals" who have tried to outlaw the Communist Party through the Smith Act and the Communist Control Act of 1954.

McReynolds has since made his peace with those who give "support for the worst, most shameful policies of the State Department." But that hardly gives him the right to carry the banner of democracy and socialism.

### ISSUE OF DEMOCRACY

The SWP believes that the socialist movement should open a new, vigorous and self-confident campaign to restore the truth about the profoundly democratic character of the socialist program, the socialist movement and the socialist goal for America.

It is necessary in our opinion to elaborate and popularize a socialist program for the extension of democracy in every sphere of American life: to work out a detailed program for democracy in the unions, in the factories, in the educational institutions, and to spell out in a Bill of Rights the democracy that socialism would guarantee in the United States.

American capitalism has utilized the crimes of Stalinism to present a hideous distortion of socialism to the American people. The Social Democrats and the labor bureaucrats have eagerly assisted the capitalist propaganda machine in this campaign.

And Stalinism has played right into the hands of these falsifiers of socialism by propagating the myth that the Soviet Union is a socialist society where democracy flourishes, rather than a society in painful transition to socialism which has suffered bureaucratic degeneration as a result of inherited backwardness and the pressure of capitalist encirclement. The tremendous advances of Soviet economy and science stand out in even bolder relief when it is frankly acknowledged that they have been won despite these onerous difficulties. And the struggles of the Soviet workers for socialist democracy take

their rightful place as an integral part of the fight for a socialist society.

In order to combat the lies about socialism spread by the capitalist propagandists; in order to make it impossible for the Social Democrats to get away with the fraud of parading as defenders of socialism and democracy; it is necessary for the socialist movement to free itself once and for all from the pernicious influence of Stalinism.

The socialist movement must stand clearly in favor of the socialist struggles of the working class for democracy in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China. The socialist movement must not allow itself to be put on the defensive concerning the legitimate aspiration of the Soviet workers to rid themselves of bureaucracy and reestablish the workers democracy of the early years of the revolution.

These are not struggles to reestablish capitalism, as the imperialist propagandists contend and as the Soviet bureaucracy falsely proclaims. The struggles for workers democracy in the Soviet orbit are deeply anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist in nature. Far from providing aid and comfort to imperialism, these struggles are part of the continuous process of the world socialist revolution which will ultimately destroy capitalism and its war drive.

### "IPSO FACTO"

The CP calls this position "anti-Soviet," presumably on the assumption that an opponent of the Soviet bureaucracy is ipso facto an enemy of the Soviet Union. For this they have only the authority of the Soviet bureaucracy itself which readily "admits" that it is the Soviet Union and acts accordingly. But the Soviet bureaucracy is no more identical with the Soviet Union than Hoffa, Meany and Reuther are identical with unionism—unless you want to identify a cancerous growth with the organism it feeds on.

The CP goes still further: not only are the Trotskyist opponents of the Soviet bureaucracy smeared as "anti-Soviet" but anyone who associates with them is immediately suspect of the same crime. During the 1958 election campaign we saw some ugly examples of this.

Last June the National Guardian, whose long record of advocating friendship and sympathy for the Soviet Union and opposition to the cold war is beyond question, editorially condemned the execution of Imre Nagy as a "shocking and appalling act." The position of the Guardian on this question was far from that expressed by the SWP and the Militant. The Guardian simply stated: "The plain fact is that injustice anywhere is a universal concern; and any man or woman who feels that a life has been taken unjustly has the right—and the duty—to speak up." It was clear that the Guardian didn't want to wait until some future Khrushchev revelation "exonerated" Nagy, as was the case with Rajk.

The General Manager of the Guardian was John T. McManus, the I-SP candidate for governor, which, of course, meant that he was in the same electoral coalition as the SWP. Accordingly, the Communist Party and the Worker attacked McManus and the Guardian. On July 27 the Worker said:

"The Guardian, until its recent collaborative relations with the rabidly anti-Soviet Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, has followed a policy of friendship for the lands of socialism."

McManus protested in a letter to the Worker Aug. 17: "This statement invites the erroneous conclusion . . . that the Guardian has, somewhere along the line, ceased to follow a policy of friendship for the lands of socialism. Nothing could be adduced from the columns of the Guardian . . . to substantiate this conclusion."

The Worker editors replied with vituperation saying among

other things, "The Guardian has permitted itself to be steered off by the high-powered propaganda around the Nagy execution and Titoist revisions. Do we not have the right to even suggest that collaboration with the Trotskyites had some influence?"

The Worker attacks on the Guardian were also meant for the I-SP candidate for U.S. Senate, Corliss Lamont, who at his first press conference July 18 announcing his candidacy, said, "As you know, I have been critical of civil liberties in the Soviet Union and I have criticized the execution of Nagy. But despite the dictatorial aspects of the Soviet regime, in international affairs I think we can work out agreement."

The hue and cry raised by the CP against the alleged "anti-Soviet" character of the SWP was aimed at counteracting and silencing such independent socialist voices as the Guardian and Lamont who obviously do not hold the Trotskyist position but do insist on their right to criticize and condemn the violation of democratic rights in countries they regard as socialist.

But the CP campaign did not succeed. The I-SP candidates, and for its part the Guardian, continued to call the shots as they saw them, without yielding to the CP's pressure. At an August 27 I-SP rally, in the midst of the most grueling period of the petition battle against the De Sapio machine, McManus publicly answered the CP with a simple and forthright statement. "I'm making this personal statement," he said, "because we have for too long fobbed off attacks on our comrades-in-arms [of the SWP]. While we have disagreements, we have brought in a platform on which we all agree."

### SOUGHT AGREEMENT

In reference to the CP charge of SWP "domination," McManus said that if the SWP viewpoint had dominated, the Platform would have been different. He pointed out that the SWP spokesmen sought to win agreement rather than win a majority vote for its own viewpoint. "The SWP, in my opinion," he said, "has been an exemplary member of the coalition. They have stated their point of view forcefully where they have disagreed. But they have also listened to others. We have a good fruitful hardworking coalition."

In regard to the CP charge that the SWP was "anti-Soviet," McManus said, "I have not found them 'anti-Soviet.' They were the most determined to get to the electorate with the voice of peace—of opposition to the drive against the Soviet Union. If this is 'anti-Soviet,' I say let's have more of it."

The I-SP experiment certainly did not resolve the differences among socialists in attitude toward the Soviet bureaucracy and socialism and democracy. But it did show how socialists who are united in basic opposition to American capitalism, its domestic and foreign policy and its two parties can work together, refuse to allow either the Communist Party or the SP-SDF to dictate to them, pursue their discussions while fighting a common battle, and break ground for a revolutionary socialist regroupment in the United States.

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# Notebook of an Agitator



"Debs was no colorless saint standing above the battle. He was a warm and passionate partisan, and his whole life's activity is a record of unceasing devotion to the cause of the workers in the class struggle. His great love for the masses cannot be understood if it is separated from the movement whose struggles and ideals he incarnated. . . . He saw always the golden future which will follow the final victory of the workers and he was able, in the fight for that future, to conduct his personal life according to its nobler and higher standards." When Eugene V. Debs died, that's what James P. Cannon jotted down in his notebook. Read his balanced tribute in "Notebook of an Agitator." \$4 clothbound, \$2.50 paper.

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Monday, March 16, 1959

**Labor Needs a Voice in Congress**

"No Help Wanted" signs are a gloomy sight for five million Americans pounding the pavements in search of jobs. But for the Democratic Party high command the same signs point encouragingly to a new four-year lease on the White House. That's why the Democrats in Congress are making a play for labor votes by proposing to do something for the unemployed.

But they don't propose to do very much. As political operators for the capitalist class, they have no intention of giving anything which they are not forced to give. And since the unemployed are ill-organized and have no political representation of their own that's not much.

The leaders of the AFL-CIO would like to pretend that their Democratic friends in Congress, whom they introduce as "friends of labor," are really doing something for the jobless. They would like to be able to show something for the policy they have followed for decades of asking people to vote Democratic.

But the Democratic "friends" aren't doing anything to boast about. This was so clear that Reuther and Meany found it necessary to hold a meeting in Washington on April 8 to dramatize the plight of

the unemployed for the benefit of their political friends in Congress.

When the delegates meet, it will doubtlessly occur to many of them that they do not have a single solitary political representative in either the Senate or the House. If even one were there to stand up and call the attention of the two bodies to demonstrators outside with their message from the millions of unemployed, how much greater impact and meaning it would give to the demonstration! The plight of the jobless would begin to gain some of the national political weight that is its due.

Labor doesn't have a congressman; we have to put whatever pressure we can on the representatives of the industrialists, bankers, landlords and big farmers through rallies, marches, protest meetings and petitions.

These, however, would be much more effective if they were tied in with the question of organizing labor's power for independent political action. Even the modest start of singling out congressional districts in which to run labor's own candidates against the Democrats and Republicans would get action for the jobless like nothing else the unions could do.

**Got to Balance the Budget**

Eisenhower's opposition to even the meager extension of jobless benefits proposed by Democrats looking ahead to the 1960 elections is ascribed to his interest in "balancing the budget." This is a difficult operation, for out of each dollar that Eisenhower puts in the scales, 59 cents go to the military (the Democrats think that's too low), 10 cents to the bankers for interest, 7 cents to the veterans and 8 cents to agriculture. That leaves only 16 cents for all other expenditures.

Understandably, the administration is reluctant about earmarking even 1 cent or 1 1/4 cents for the unemployed. Such outlays, to unexpected numbers of claimants, must be weighed against really pressing necessities that come out of the 16-cent portion of the budget dollar. For example, White House state dinners. These can be appreciated from an Associated Press description:

The setting is elaborate—a 1,700 piece etched gold and teal green service with

the Presidential seal. Five glasses of "elegant crystal" stand at each place along with gold-dipped silverware. Gold soup spoons bear the legend "The President's House."

Menus are "top secret," but a recent one included "cubed pineapple, tomato soup, bass sauteed with grapes, turkey stuffed with oyster dressing and garnished with sausages, whipped potatoes, spinach souffle, cranberry sauce, salad, hot cheese sticks and raspberry sherbet." Four wines are usually served.

Later in the evening more officials, diplomats, justices, congressmen of both parties and their wives show up. A half-hour musicale goes on. For those who are still hungry a buffet is served including champagne, coffee and tiny sandwiches.

On such fare is it any wonder that top Washington circles can see only "a rising prosperity curve" and a budget that just can't be permitted to get out of balance.

**"Pre-emptive" Suicide**

In testimony before the House Space Committee March 2, Secretary of Defense Neil McElroy said that the "present" policy of the government in relation to World War III is not to strike the "first blow" but "whether that always will be true is another matter."

McElroy implied in this way that top Washington circles are debating the advisability of launching a surprise attack on the Soviet Union the way Hitler did.

At his press conference two days later, Eisenhower was asked about this. The Commander-in-Chief responded that he did not foresee any circumstances where the United States might strike the first blow. Nevertheless he backed up McElroy by adding that while only Congress has the power to declare war, if "enemy" missiles or planes were discovered "coming in our direction, then we have to act just as rapidly as humanly possible to defend ourselves."

The reactionary columnist David Lawrence gave a further tip-off on Pentagon thinking when he commented on McElroy's remark, "America . . . might conceivably strike first in what has become known as 'pre-emptive' rather than 'preventive' war."

"A pre-emptive" war is not a preventive war—God forbid. America, as Pentagon propagandists have repeatedly insist-

ed, is morally incapable of anything like that. So what is a "pre-emptive" war?

Lawrence quotes Capt. W. D. Puleston, retired U.S. Naval officer: "If the enemy should persist in its preparations to attack, we could—with honor—attack first, and thus gain the initial advantage instead of conceding it."

Here's how it would work out. A general in Washington decides that the Soviet Union is getting ready to strike the "first blow." So the general pushes the button for a "pre-emptive" blow. That kind of blow beats a "first" blow. Thereupon American planes loaded with H-bombs set off for the kill.

What happens next? Having been attacked, the Soviet Union, it may be supposed, will respond with intercontinental nuclear weapons, some of which, presumably, have escaped the "pre-emptive" U.S. assault. When these land some 15 minutes later, U.S. casualties would include possibly half the population or more.

The ensuing radioactive contamination might wipe out all life on this planet. But of course it is a satisfaction, looking forward to this prospect, to know that the Pentagon has finally worked out how the U.S. can launch the kind of Pearl Harbor attack that will successfully precipitate World War III, yet keep its "honor" by refraining from striking the first blow.

**Of Cables and Trawlers**

On Feb. 26 the U.S. Navy boarded a Soviet fishing trawler off Newfoundland under excuse of "investigating damage" to five trans-Atlantic cables. The American press was immediately filled with dark stories about "sabotage" and "cutting" of the underwater lines.

They disregarded the fact that trouble with trans-oceanic cables is fairly common due to corrosion, sperm whales, mud slides and so on. Slides in deep sea-canyons are sometimes so great as to break a series of cables miles apart.

Then came another spectacular move. Two days after the lone trawler had been boarded in the Atlantic, the Philippine Navy took five Soviet trawlers "under surveillance."

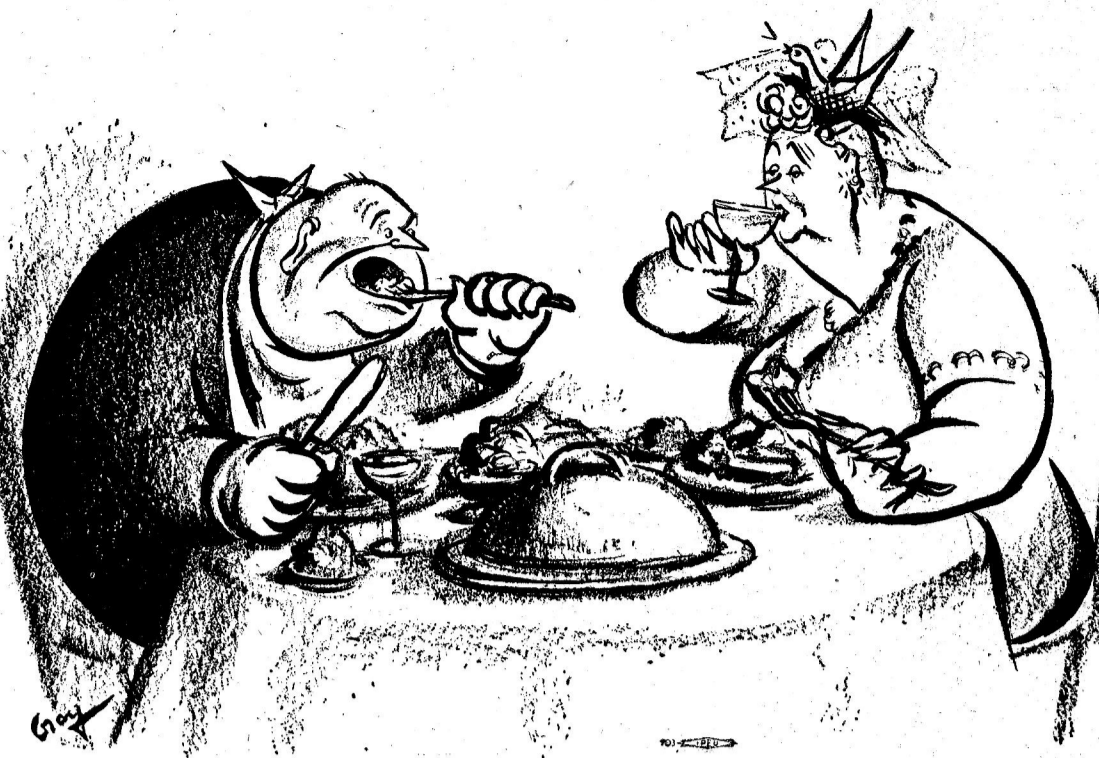
How these five trawlers in the western Pacific might have given a hand to the lone trawler near Newfoundland in

"damaging" cables in the North Atlantic remained an impenetrable mystery. They were finally ordered released March 6.

The real motive in this case of international intrigue and espionage on the high seas can be gathered from the following sentence in a Washington dispatch printed in the Feb. 28 Christian Science Monitor: "The Pentagon has wondered for some time whether or not the Soviet trawlers had their nets out for useful military information as well as fish."

The answer the Pentagon got was included in the same report: "The most the Navy has said thus far is that there was no evidence found by the boarding party that the trawler intended to do anything other than fish."

Meanwhile the Pentagon's fishing expedition did succeed in providing fresh sensational material for all those interested in keeping up the cold war.



"Consume more! That's the answer to recessions." "Yes, dear. And it helps out the Slenderella people, too."

**U. S. Permits Japanese Trusts To Rebuild Pre-War Power**

By Flora Carpenter  
"Mitsui" and "Mitsubishi." A few years ago these Japanese family capitalist empires were still the symbol in this country of the aggressive force behind the attack on Pearl Harbor. At the end of the war the U.S. set out to break up the giant Japanese financial and industrial combines. Today they are on the road back to their old power with American aid and blessings.

Just as the program to "de-concentrate" Krupp, the German "cannon king," was abandoned for the sake of the imperialist drive against the Soviet Union, so the dissolution of the Japanese trusts has been reversed for the sake of the U.S. drive against revolutionary China.

Thirteen years ago, American occupation authorities dissolved Japanese holding companies, split manufacturing firms into smaller units and purged thousands of top executives. But with the development of the cold war, "an American policy shift finally halted the program," declares a detailed report from Japan in the Feb. 18 Wall Street Journal.

"Former members of the old family combines are coming together again. The new alliances generally are informal, but they're held together by common economic interests and old loyalties and, in many cases, function in much the same manner as the old family combines," the Journal reports.

Last month, Mitsui and Co., Ltd., once one of the largest business outfits in the world, was formally reestablished. Before the war 336 companies with three million employees in Japan and abroad were part of this zaibatsu, or trust. Its holdings included banks, industrial equipment plants, chemical companies, shipyards, trading

and shipping firms and a host of other enterprises. Mitsui and nine other family combines like it dominated the entire Japanese economy.

The new Mitsui company, formed by a merger of two offshoots of the old family empire, begins as a more modest operation than the pre-war giant. In form it is only a trading company that handles the products of Japanese manufacturing companies, including some former members of the old Mitsui empire. The trading company has but 5,300 employees but it anticipates that it will start out with annual sales of some \$1.3 billion at home and abroad.

"This merger will finally restore the old name of Mitsui," Tasuzo Mizukami, vice president of the new firm, told a WSJ reporter. "And now we will have tighter relations with members of the old Mitsui group," he added.

Mizukami sees some advantages to the U.S. bust-up of the old trust. He thinks they had too many aged and inefficient employees around. "In the old days we had big assets and it didn't matter so much whether there were some losses, but now we have to be on our toes," he comments. (The purge of former executives cleared the way for his rise to power.)

The "tighter relations" Mizukami refers to will operate between 15 former members of Mitsui, including a bank, a rayon manufacturer, a chemical company, a mining outfit and a dozen other associated firms.

Last year these 15 companies racked up \$2.4 billion in sales and \$76 million in profits. They produced 37% of Japan's paper, 35% of its automotive equipment, 26% of its coal and 81% of its rayon.

Mitsui has also found an added source of profit by representing several dozen foreign firms in Japan, including Lockheed Aircraft, Cities Service Oil Co., United Engineering & Foundry Co. and California Packing Corp.

American business men who took a beating from the flood of low-priced Japanese goods during the 1930's, were given something to think about by the head of the rejuvenated Japanese firm. "We hope the U.S. will buy more from Japan to reverse our present adverse trade balance," he told the Journal. Last year \$850 million of American goods were sold in Japan and Japanese sales in the U.S. amounted to around \$700 million.

Next year Mitsui plans stepped up sales in the U.S. of optical instruments, electrical products such as transistor radios, plastic products, sporting gear, sports clothes and other consumer items.

The Wall Street Journal reports that the current development of Mitsui is being paralleled by the Mitsubishi Trading Co., which is re-welding its former 200-company trust of machinery factories, shipyards and other enterprises.

"But the biggest reversion to past business ways," reports the Journal, "lies in the cartels—business associations that link the various zaibatsu in rigidly enforced price-fixing, market-splitting agreements. In the past six years 225 cartels have been formed, leaving only a small segment of Japanese business untouched by these organizations."

An American government officer commissioned to guard against the re-emergence of Japanese monopolistic practices, sympathetically explains: "Japanese businessmen like cartels because this is the easiest way to trade. They'll tell you their main aim is to stabilize domestic and foreign markets, iron out the ups and downs, and

they believe the best way to accomplish this is by agreements among producers." Indicating that the Madison Avenue slogan of "togetherness" is not unknown to Japanese capitalists, the same U.S. spokesman adds, "Traditionally, the Japanese have viewed individualism as a selfish sin. So real competition is shunned. Instead they prefer to be part of a group effort."

What was the "magnetic force" that drew the splintered empire back together? During the post-war money shortage, the Bank of Mitsui kept on loaning to the old firms. Outstanding debts have added cement to the "old family ties."

**NOT ENOUGH WATER**  
At a hearing of the House Atomic Committee on waste disposal, Chet Holifield (D-Cal.) said that if its use continues to increase at the present rate there won't be enough fresh water on earth in another 40 years to safely dilute all radioactive material.

**Headlines in Other Lands**

**Iraqi Masses Back Crushing of Military Clique Rebellion**

A revolt of "anti-Communist" Iraqi Generals, based in the Northern oil fields area, has been put down by the Kassim Government. Kassim called on the Popular Resistance Forces, the armed people's militia, to help crush the rebellion.

An April 11 AP dispatch from Baghdad reports a demonstration in support of Kassim and denouncing Nasser, who supported the rebellion of the military clique. "Foreign correspondents estimated," the AP said, "150,000 marchers took part in the procession strung out for miles through the city's streets. Many thousands more—probably two-thirds of the city—lined the route."

**Communists Gain; Gaullists Lose in French Elections**

Out of the incomplete total of 3,058,663 votes cast in the March 8 French municipal elections, the Communist Party made a significant comeback with 829,493 votes. The Gaullist UNR suffered a setback, getting 555,058.

As of March 9 returns the CP appears to have regained 25% of the popular vote after an ominous decline to 18% during the Gaullist sweep in last November's national election.

The Gaullist UNR, on the other hand, fell from the November 25% to below 20% of the votes. De Gaulle's "truth and austerity" program in the two months since he was inaugurated brought price rises from five to ten per cent and mounting unemployment. CP gains were particularly heavy in the working-class areas.

Meanwhile, the sinister fascist forces centered around the clique of generals in Algeria, continue to pose a mortal threat to the French working class. Last summer this fascist gang threatened to seize power Franco style and blackmailed the French parliament into ushering De Gaulle into power.

Neither the Communist Party or the Socialist Party could provide leadership for the struggle against the fascist menace, remaining paralyzed and hopelessly entangled in bourgeois parliamentary ma-

**Congressmen At Work**

Randall S. Harmon, a tool-and-die worker in Muncie, Ind., figured that one way to get ahead is through study. He studied to be a congressman—a perfect congressman. And after 17 years of observing their ways and customs he finally made it.

The big obstacle was getting elected. He knew that in the Republican-Democratic racket you have to forget about principles. That wasn't too hard. He ran in the Republican primaries five times and then three times in the Democratic. In the last election, the machine opposed him and that helped enough to win the coveted job.

Then he did what every congressman does; he reached for the gravy. You're allowed \$1,200 for district office space if none is available in a federal building. Harmon turned down a "damp" basement cubby hole in the local post office and rented his own front porch for \$1,200 a year.

It wasn't much, just a little screened-in porch that the Harmon had been figuring on remodeling for some time. So they had it glassed in, and put up a masonite partition to make a waiting room.

This, apparently, is where his political foes decided to give him the works. The reporters came down, and the front-porch office made national news.

**UNDERPAID**  
But Harmon was ready. He hadn't studied to be a congressman for 17 years for nothing. His salary was only \$22,500 a year, he pointed out, and "a congressman should be getting three times as much as that."

The job is a dangerous one. He himself might have to carry a revolver for protection. It's perfectly legal for a congressman to carry a gun without a permit, he said, "since that time those people [Puerto Rican nationalists] shot up Congress."

Besides, it "doesn't matter how big the office is, or anything," said Harmon. "I'm entitled to that money. . . . You act like we're stealing the taxpayer's money. That's not so. My wife made the arrange-

ments for the office and it's a convenient place for it." Moreover, "it's nobody's business but my own."

"To clinch his point, he brought in as additional evidence the testimony of his wife: "We just had to have this added space," she said. "It upset the house too much to have those telephone calls and people coming in." Then too, "these people want someone to talk to instead of just writing to Randall's office in Washington. That's what I do," she added, "I listen to them, take down all the information and send it on to Randall."

The foes of the Democratic congressman then tried another angle. Wasn't it going a little too far to put his wife on the payroll at \$4,424.16 a year? What did she know about office work?

Again Harmon demonstrated how well he had studied the ways of congressmen. She is "next to the lowest paid" of all the wives of freshmen members of Congress. Some representatives are paying their wives the maximum for clerical help—\$13,345 a year.

Mrs. Harmon chipped in, "When I saw how much other people in congressmen's staffs are getting, I certainly feel I deserve more money." And so far as knowing the job is concerned, she may go to Washington for a while "to learn office procedure."

As a crushing rejoinder to all the stories about putting his wife and front porch on the government payroll, Rep. Harmon stated: "I don't care what you write about me, anyway. I don't read the newspapers. I do have the home town paper sent here, but I don't read anything in that except the funny papers."

On top of it all, he doesn't mind criticism. "A smart, intelligent congressman will never admit he's wrong. If he did, he'd be stupid."

—Reba Aubrey

**Africans Massacred By British Rulers In Nyasaland**

The "free world" concept of democracy was in full operation in Nyasaland this month where the 1% white minority is teaching the 99% African majority how the white man's burden is carried with the help of the truncheon, tear-gas shells, the rifle and airplane. Dr. Hastings K. Banda, leader of the Nyasaland African Negro Congress was arrested by the Security Police of white Prime Minister Sir Roy Welensky.

To date 44 Africans have been murdered and over 750 leaders arrested and sent to detention by the British imperialist regime. In London, Colonial Secretary Lennox-Boyd claimed the slaughter was necessary to prevent a plot of the African Negro Congress to "massacre whites." Laborite MP's demanded concrete evidence of such a plot and called for an independent inquiry into the Nyasaland situation. The government refused to grant either demand.

The recently formed left wing Labor Party group, Socialist Labour League, in its paper The Newsletter, exposed the "massacre plot" charge: "Not a single white settler has been killed by the Nyasaland African Congress. The only conspiracy in Central Africa is the conspiracy of the Tories in Southern Rhodesia and their allies to ram Federation and white dictatorship down the throats of the seven million Africans in the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland."

**Bolivian Miners Continue Strike**

Some 24,000 Bolivian tin miners continued the strike begun March 3 against a background of mass demonstrations throughout the country denouncing Yankee imperialism. The miners, getting starvation wages, demand that the government continue to subsidize relief from inflated prices. The U.S. State Department has been exerting pressure on the Bolivian government to halt these subsidies. But the government has been unable to end the strike which has paralyzed the main industry of the country.

**Socialist Labour League Formed in Great Britain**

The Editorial Board of the left-wing Labourite Newsletter decided Feb. 28 "to set up an organization to carry forward the fight for socialist policies inside the trade unions and the Labour Party. The organization will be called the Socialist Labour League, and it will be open to all who want to see the vigorous prosecution of the class struggle and the achievement of working-class power."

The League's provisional National Secretary, Gerry Healy, said the organization is not a new party. "It is an organization of Marxists within the Labour and trade union movement, dedicated to fighting for socialist policies in place of the present policies of class betrayal."

The formation of the SLL is an outgrowth of the militant left-wing struggles within both the trade unions and the Labour Party, a struggle which has been subjected to a witch-hunting, expulsion campaign by the right-wing Laborites.

Newsletter reported over 40 delegates from wards and trade-union branches at East Salford Labour Party's annual general meeting unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"We protest at the expulsion of Councillors Finch and Taylor from the Birmingham Labour Party. We view this as part of an attempt to silence left-wing critics and advocates of militant socialist policies in the Labour Party and trade unions. We urge Birmingham Labour Party to rescind the expulsions."



Capitalist Power Is In Labor Fakers

Editor: I was very pleased with the recent article by Murry Weiss, also the Dobbs-Browder debate. It is good to see a firmer stand against the role of labor fakery in unions. These are really watch dogs of the employing class. Browder is now praising the fakery instead of exposing them.

The Militant is very interesting to me, and I hope there will be more about the labor-faker problem. There are many in the unions who are afraid to speak because they would lose their jobs.

Sees Main Enemy In the Three "P's"

Editor: I noted in the Militant of Feb. 23 where O. T. Road of New York takes exception to my letter referring to the continuous hounding of Jimmie Hoffa by the McClellan Committee.

I am much more concerned about the continued discrediting of organized labor through anti-labor propaganda from the press, pulpit and politicians, the three prostitutes of capitalism, than through any labor pie-card artist.

Have been a continuing member of organized labor, starting as an apprentice union member of the Knights of Labor, member of the IWW and the United Garment Workers, A. F. of L., and now at 84, retired.

Have worked on IWW defense and think I know the score in the class struggle.

It's an old, old story of labor persecution; and labor leaders are continuously pictured as having horns, when in reality it's just a ruse for attacking labor.

The starving Negro slave was pictured as a thief if he dared to help himself from the smoke house of his owner.

Haywood was a "monster," Debs a "traitor." If comrades and fellow workers could only see that all of this is a determined effort of capitalism to destroy labor's solidarity and divide the working class, capitalism would end, and in its stead there would be a cooperative society beginning and ending from the point of production.

I have found the solution to labor's troubles as a member of the Socialist Workers Party and worked at it seriously in Detroit's Debs Hall.

Paul Dennis San Antonio, Texas

Hospital Workers Hold Celebration On Negro History

Editor: Last night I attended the first annual Negro History Week celebration of the hospital workers division of Local 1199, AFL-CIO. It was an exciting evening. Last December the union made its first breakthrough by winning a contract at Montefiore Hospital where the workers, mostly Negro and Puerto Rican, have been getting as little as \$34 a week. Now a drive is on to organize some 30,000 equally underpaid hospital workers throughout the city.

Most of the people at the affair were from Montefiore, but other hospitals were represented too. Many of the workers are new to unionism, but their pride in their union and the fact that it was holding a Negro History Week celebration was apparent. There was a spirit of warm friendliness that you don't see too often these days, even in a union hall.

There was some fine professional entertainment, and a speech by Congressman Adam Clayton Powell. The highlight of the evening was an excellent dramatic presentation of the fight to organize Montefiore. The audience reaction was as good as the performance. Humorous episodes were woven in that obviously were from real life. One performer commented on how the workers had to be careful about talking unionism on the job, but the Puerto Rican workers in the kitchen could discuss freely in Spanish and the supervisors "didn't know what the hell they were

talking about." The hall rocked with laughter.

There were speeches about the organizing drive. Every militant note brought a response. Everybody joined in singing the union organizing song. The whole evening reminded me of the enthusiasm and fighting spirit of the early CIO days. Other old-timers in the hall felt the same way.

New York J. B.

Japanese Students Turn to Socialism

Editor: Let me tell you in brief about the radicalization of the student movement in Japan. The following figures will give you an idea. Out of the new high-school graduates (the school year ends in March) about 650,000 boys and girls will fight for the 120,000 places available at colleges and universities. The contest among college graduates for jobs will be even more desperate.

Zengakuren (the national federation of all student self-government organizations) with a membership of about 450,000 used to be controlled by the Communist Party of Japan. Students formed the most active left wing of the CP and were always critical of the Stalinist leadership. After the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and the Hungarian Revolution they lost all confidence in the CP and revolted against it.

Last June CP leaders specially commissioned to pacify the angry students summoned them to Yoyogi, the party headquarters in Tokyo. But they could not answer the serious questions and criticisms advanced by the students. Some submitted to the students' demands and confessed their own mistakes. Others were roughly dragged back by the students when trying to escape from the room and were hurt.

Since then Zengakuren has been playing a most active role in every mass struggle with independent, revolutionary policies. Within it a contest for leadership is taking place between centrists and revolutionary socialists. Both are violently anti-Stalinist.

C. Y. Tokyo

Children

(Continued from Page 1) as a result of shutdowns and layoffs.

The decline didn't begin with this recession. In 1947, W. Virginia produced 176,157,000 tons of bituminous coal. By last year total production had sunk to 117,928,000 tons. Recessions, substitute fuels and curtailment of the European market all contributed to the drop.

But employment has dropped even more sharply than output. There were less than 70,000 miners working in W. Virginia pits last year as compared with 124,952 in 1948.

As in other industries, machines are replacing men.

Mine operators can now install a large coal-cutting and conveyor-loading machine for about \$100,000. It requires a crew of four to six operators and produces twice as much coal as a 60-man team did a decade ago. Those remaining in the mines are the target of steadily increased speedup.

"Most of our workers are middle-aged; the average is 46," one mining executive told the Journal reporter. "Our payroll is about 200 now. We allow it to go down through normal attrition. When men quit or retire we don't fill the job. The answer is efficiency. Today we get twice as much production out of the same machinery we had five years ago."

Talk is cheaper than coal, and the executive expresses sympathy for the men involved: "It's the older fellows I feel most sorry for. The men who are laid off when they're between 50 and 60 years of age. They're too young to retire — and they're employable — but who's going to give them a job?"

Representative Slack told his fellow Congressmen: "We cannot stop progress, and those of us with business experience know that mechanization is necessary for competitive reasons." But, he added, something must be done for these miners who "have received nothing but the right to starve and see their children die before their eyes."

"What is necessary to stir us into action?" he asked the House. "Is it necessary to fill the gallery with half-starved men and women? Is it necessary to have a repetition of some dreadful enterprise like the depression bonus march on Washington? Will we not take forthright action until the pot boils over and the starving thousands descend upon us to parade the coldheartedness of their government before the leaders of the world?"

The Congressman reiterated his warning: "The conditions that exist, left unattended, will brew the devil's broth of disloyalty and furnish fertile grounds for the disease of disbelief in our way of life."

LATIN AMERICA FIRST

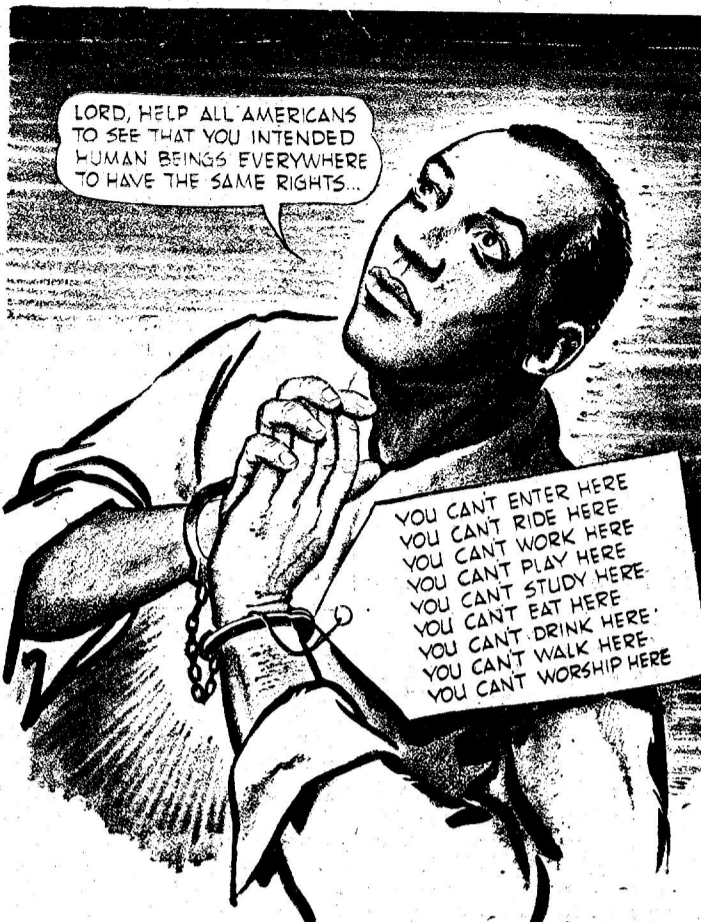
Latin America has the most rapid population growth of any major region of the world today. In 1956, the United States and Canada combined had 184 million people; Latin America, including the West Indies, had 187 million. If current growth rates continue to the end of the century, Latin America will have 593 million people; the United States and Canada 312 million.

Locked Inside a Reformatory That Gov. Faubus Found 'Fine'

By Herman Chauka In a daily press that lives on horrors, this was a horror they preferred to play down. Perhaps they felt that way because it was "only" Negro boys who were burned to death, and who in the world of capitalism is interested in that? The 21 Negro boys who died in the fire at Wrightsville Training School, just outside Little Rock, Ark., March 5, were given headlines for two days and then the editors considered it no longer news.

The boys, 14 to 17 years old, were trapped behind locked doors and barred windows in the penal institution that parades as a "training school." Contrary to regulations, no adult was in the dormitory when the blaze struck. The man supposed to be in charge with a key had been ill for a week and no one had bothered to have him replaced.

Some of the boys managed to break open a few of the heavily screened windows and get out. But, one of the survivors said,



"Hands That Still Can Pray" was the original caption on the above cartoon in the Dec. 26 Call, a Kansas City Negro weekly. For daring to reproduce this "inflammatory" cartoon, Alabama union organizer Asbury Howard was sent to a chain gang.

Chain Gang Sentence For Cartoon on Vote

By John Thayer

The cartoon above cost Asbury Howard, Alabama Negro leader and union organizer, a fine, a brutal beating in the courthouse and a sentence on the chain gang.

In addition to being an organizer of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, Howard is president of the Voters' League in Bessemer, Ala., a city in which he has lived for 42 years. The Voters' League has the object of getting Negroes registered to vote. Howard saw the above cartoon in the Dec. 26 Call, a Negro weekly published in Kansas City, and decided to use it in the registration campaign.

He took the cartoon to a sign painter and asked him to make a reproduction of it with the caption, "Vote Today — For a Better Tomorrow."

A white supremacist saw the almost finished poster in the sign shop, found out who had ordered it, and notified the police. That day Bessemer Chief of Police George Baron arrested Howard without a warrant, had the sign seized and the white sign painter arrested.

Only the next day did Howard learn that he was being prosecuted under an ordinance prohibiting publication of "intemperate matter tending to provoke a breach of the peace or any matter prejudicial to good morals."

On Jan. 24 when he left the courtroom, which is on an upper floor of the Bessemer City Hall, and descended the stairs he found over 40 white men lined up against the corridor walls waiting for him. While 15 city policemen stood by and watched, the white supremacist gang jumped him and gave him an unmerciful beating. Howard required hospital treatment and

"No Prospect Of Being Called Back to Work"

DETROIT—When a Senate Banking and Currency subcommittee held a one-day hearing here, March 2, on the Douglas-Cooper aid-to-depressed areas bill, UAW

president Walter Reuther, Gov. Mennen Williams and Mayor Miriani appeared and made statements favoring the bill. Also put into the subcommittee's record was an authentic voice of the unemployed themselves, the statement of Wesley Wilkens, co-chairman of the UAW Production and Skilled Workers Unemployed Committee, which is a city-wide coordinating body of unemployed committees. Here is the major part of the statement:

"My name is Wesley Wilkens. I have worked at the Chrysler Mack Avenue Plant for ten years and have been laid off for eight months. I have no prospect of ever being called back to work. On March 31 I will be cut off compensation. I have a wife and five children—three to 15 years old. The oldest is in her first year of high school. When the Federal Temporary Unemployment Compensation Emergency Program dies at midnight, the end of this month, my entire family must become a burden to city welfare. Our city welfare has already run out of funds, the food allotment has been cut. In the richest country in the world, we face permanent dole.

"We don't want welfare. Permanent dole is not the answer. I want a job, I want the right to support my family with at least a small measure of security.

"The proposal of Gus Scholle and the Michigan State AFL-CIO for extension of compensation for the full period of unemployment has met a cold response in Washington. But at what week does a man, tell his family to stop eating, to stop needing security? How can anyone decide when is the time to tell a person who is laid off and has exhausted his compensation that he can now lay down peacefully and die?

"I and 400,000 people like me in 17 different states in our country will exhaust all compensation at the end of this month. We don't intend to die or stop eating.

"The International UAW has taken steps to organize unemployed committees in all its locals for a fighting, constructive program. Our Committee will cooperate wholeheartedly in the formation of these committees. "The UAW has proposed a march on Washington to dramatize our desperate plight. Our bags are packed and we are anxious to thaw out some of that cold indifference in Washington . . .

"The facts are clear and unmistakable in regard to the present crisis. We are told not to expect a pickup in production in the foreseeable future. We are told that a core of the presently unemployed will remain a 'hard core' of permanently unemployed." These are the predictions of the economic experts from government and industry. None other than Ewan Clague, U.S. Commissioner of Labor Statistics, predicts that there will be no improvement in employment until the end of the year.

"I am sure that you are familiar with the facts and I needn't take up the time of this committee to restate data that you are familiar with . . .

"We are getting desperate, we need help and we need it now! "We also ask that you do everything in your power to get

'Let's Build Homes Not Atom Bombs,' Socialist Urges

DETROIT, March 8—Evelyn Sell, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Regent of the University of Michigan, today addressed the members of Plymouth Local 51, United Auto Workers. Recalling that working people in America's early history had fought for tax-supported schools, she urged unionists to put workers' representatives on the directing bodies of schools and in all organs of local and national government.

Contrasting the shortage of funds for education with the \$40-billion arms budget, Mrs. Sell said: "Take these funds and use them to build schools, to pay adequate unemployment compensation, to construct needed homes and hospitals and other socially useful projects."

action for emergency extension of compensation beyond the March 31 deadline. But most important of all, that you support the fight for a shorter work week. We cannot look for jobs on the horizon. We need jobs now. Productivity unemployment can only be solved through shorter hours.

"We urge that you use the powers of your offices in Washington for the adoption of the following program: "(1) Support the McNamara Bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act for a reduction of the work week to 35 hours and urge Senator McNamara to amend the bill for a further reduction to 30 hours within a period of a year.

"(2) To extend unemployment compensation for the full duration of unemployment.

"(3) That a vast public works program be initiated to build schools, hospitals, homes and roads that the American people need and thereby create additional jobs."

Calendar Of Events

SEATTLE Clara Kaye will review Annette T. Rubinstein's book, "From Shakespeare To Shaw," Sat., March 21, 8:30 p.m. An open house will follow. Seattle Forum, 1412 18th Ave. Admission free.

CLEVELAND Dr. Annette Rubinstein discusses "Conformity and the Writer"; "Doctor Zhivago"; etc. Saturday night, March 28, 8:15 p.m. at the Unitarian Society of Cleveland, 8143 Euclid Avenue. Contribution \$1. Auspices Cleveland Guardian Club.

NEW YORK Harold Robins, veteran trade unionist, will speak on "The Need For The Six-Hour Day." Fri., March 20, 8:30 p.m. Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. Contribution 50 cents.

Local Directory

- BOSTON Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200. Every Sunday night, round table discussion, 8 P.M. ROOM 200. CHICAGO Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736. CLEVELAND Socialist Workers Party 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Friday nights 7 to 9. DETROIT Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Temple 1-6135. LOS ANGELES Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or AN 3-1533. Book Shop open Mon. 7-9 P.M.; Wed. 8-10 P.M.; Sat. 12-5 P.M. MILWAUKEE 150 East Juneau Ave. MINNEAPOLIS Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon to 6 P.M. daily except Sundays.

Notes in the News

WORKING WOMEN — If present trends continue, nine out of ten young women will spend 25 years of their life as wage earners. Dr. Henry David, director of the National Manpower Commission, told a Young Women's Christian Association March 4. With the country needing a larger labor force and most families needing extra income, he said that the idea a woman stops working for a living after she marries and has children has gone out the window. Some 28,000,000 women now hold jobs, he declared. About 30% of them are married.

PUERTO RICANS IN CONNECTICUT — Puerto Rican migrant workers took a real beating from truck farmers and nurseries in the New Haven, Conn., area, according to a study released March 5 by the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor. They were brought in by unlicensed, out-of-state contractors because wages were so low and hours so long that none of the local unemployed would take the jobs. Of 186 Puerto Rican workers surveyed, about 80% were paid 65 cents an hour or less, with some getting as little as 51 cents. Most of them worked 75 hours a week.

GOING, GOING — For long years the Singer Sewing Machine Co. was an important source of employment in and around Elizabeth, N.J. But automated equipment has been steadily whittling down the payroll. In 1951 there were 9,600 jobs at Singer. Now the figure is about 4,800. On March 6 the company announced that all production will soon be transferred to a new one-story building better equipped for automated production. A spokesman said production would continue at present levels but declined to say if more layoffs are anticipated.

FULL, YET PARTLY EMPTY — Dr. Beryl W. Sprinkel, a Chicago bank economist, was quoted in the Feb. 28 N. Y. Times as seeing "full employment by the end of the year." The Times explained this rather startling prediction: "His definition of full employment was an economy with no more than 4,000,000 unemployed. By recent count unemployment approximated 6,000,000."

MODERN NECESSITY — A device has been patented on behalf of the Atomic Energy Commission which sounds a warning when a telephone is being used to pick up conversations in a room even though the receiver is on the hook. Use of a special method of energizing the phone mouthpiece so that it acts as a hidden microphone is said to be widespread. The new device to combat this practice was described as useful for government agencies subject to eavesdropping from other government agencies. Executives were warned to be suspicious of silver paint or ink on their phones as this could indicate that they had been "bugged."

FAUBUS FOR FUEHRER — To express his disapproval of a bill in the Arkansas legislature giving Gov. Faubus control of the local school board, Rep. Gayle Windsor of Little Rock introduced one of his own to abolish the legislature and the courts and give the racist governor full dictatorial powers.

Windsor said: "It has become the vogue to flatter the Governor. I thought I would get in on the act."

MOUNTAINS OF WHEAT — At the end of 1958, 2,300,000,000 bushels of wheat were stored in the United States. That's about a bushel of wheat for every man, woman and child on earth. The government has \$3 billion invested in this wheat through subsidies designed to keep prices up. The storage bill is \$700,000 a day. Yet Democratic and Republican leaders refuse to offer this food to hungry people abroad.

TAMMANY NOTES VILLAGE ART — Street-corner artists in New York's Greenwich Village who do portrait sketches may get an unexpected break; namely, an opportunity to help the world's richest city solve its budgetary problems. City Councilman Stanley Isaacs has introduced a bill to rent artists sidewalk space at \$2 a location. This payment would also free them from harassment by the cops.

NOBLE PRIZE WINNER — When Gordon Conyers-d'Arcy, a \$33-a-week London truck driver won \$210,000 in a soccer pool, he was notified by a genealogy expert that he may be a baron descended from William the Conqueror. If the surmise proves correct he will be entitled to display as coat of arms three lions rampant over a tiger and a black bull. D'Arcy, who intends to keep working, commented: "That would look very nice on the side of me old truck."

CONTRACEPTIVE BAN — A court test of New Jersey's 90-year-old ban on the sale of contraceptive devices was filed in Newark March 5. An appeal will be made of the conviction of two Newark drug clerks convicted under the law Oct. 27. The Planned Parenthood Centers of Montclair announced intention to file a "friend of the court" brief in support of the appellants. A similar brief in support of the prosecution will be filed by the New Jersey Roman Catholic Conference, consisting of the bishops of four dioceses. New Jersey is one of 18 states banning contraceptives. In some states certain types of the devices are sold in restroom vending machines.

PARKING METER TEMPTATION — In depressed West Virginia parking meters have become a tempting target for the hungry and jobless. In a six-month period, Charleston police reported 1,500 meter robberies. Average cost of repairs is \$10 a meter, but a culprit who admitted prying open 40 of the gadgets said they were good for only about \$4.50 in coins each.

NEWS FOR YOUR GREAT-GREAT-GRANDCHILDREN — Rep. James Wright (D-Tex.), who wants to start paying off the federal debt, has come up with some figures that should be of interest to your descendants: "In 100 years we could completely retire the debt by paying \$495 billion in interest and \$283 billion of principal, a total of \$778 billion. But if we pay nothing on the debt itself, the interest alone for 100 years would be \$980 billion, and we will still owe the debt of \$283 billion, or a total of \$1,263 trillion."