

'Won't Go Back To Chain Gang'

Willie Reid Tells His Friends Why He Decided to Jump Bail

By George Lavan

Willie Reid is now a double fugitive. He is a fugitive from a Florida chain gang, and since Jan. 5 he has become a fugitive from New York.

That was the date on which the persecuted Negro agricultural worker was supposed to surrender himself to the General Sessions Court in New York. After two years in New York jails, while his lawyers appealed his case, Reid had been allowed out on \$2,000 bail which was posted by the national office of the NAACP. Then on Nov. 23, Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller in a sanctimonious statement about upholding the U.S. Constitution ordered Reid sent back to the Florida chain gang.

In the Jan. 6 New York Post, Ted Poston reveals Reid's reasons for jumping bail despite his fear that his action might not be understood by those who supported his fight against extradition.

Poston reports an interview with Reid two months ago, right after the U.S. Supreme Court had ruled that the fugitive could appeal only from Florida not from New York. This ruling meant that the only remaining legal recourse was Gov. Rockefeller's executive clemency. Reid apparently pinned little hope on this.

"A lot of people will be disappointed," Reid said. "They'll feel I let them down. But even they can't expect me to get myself killed just to prove I'm grateful. That's what I hope you can make them understand."

"Look, I was there [on the chain gang] for two long years. And I saw it happen there with my own eyes. Six of them got away before me. And all six was brought back. And not one of them was living when I hauled out of there. Aw, they don't kill you right away every time. It would be better if they did. But they let you know you're already dead. They play cat-and-mouse with you every minute. It's their fun.

"Three or four times a day, they'll say: 'Nigger, go bring me that shovel I stuck in the ground.' And they laugh as you brace your shoulders. But they know and you know that when they finally get tired of playing, you're going to get it — right between the shoulder blades. And then you're just another nigger who was crazy enough to try to escape (Continued on Page 2)

That \$5 Billion 'Loss' in Steel

When the steel strike ended, Associated Press estimated that "lost steel production totaled nearly \$5,000,000,000, based on pre-strike operations."

The fact is that commitments for steel use went down in 1959. Consequently the steel companies would normally have cut back production. Instead, to build a mountainous pre-strike stockpile, they stepped it up to as high as 171% of the 1947-49 rate.

Had the strike not been called, would the steel barons have added \$5,000,000,000 worth of fresh metal to the stockpile?

The companies forced the strike, used up the stockpile, and blamed the strike for lost production. The real blame for lost production belongs to the capitalists who bar the workers from producing the way they could under a planned economy.

Why Chandler Davis Took the Risk of Jail

By Harry Ring

Many experts in the field consider Dr. Chandler Davis a thoroughly competent mathematician.

I am not qualified to judge that appraisal. But after an evening with him I was sure that as a mathematics instructor he is the kind of teacher that serious students always hope for and rarely get.

By the time these lines appear, Dr. Davis may be on his way to prison. He was sentenced to a six-month term for contempt of Congress because he defied the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1954 while he was an instructor at the University of Michigan.

Yesterday he was in New York for two radio interviews on his case, plus an interview with the campus newspaper, the Columbia Spectator. William Price, co-ordinator of the Committee of First Amendment Defendants, arranged for the Militant to interview him as well.

The interview was a double one, and that's how I got my impression that Dr. Davis must

be a fine teacher. Participating for her own journal was Nora Roberts, associate editor of the Young Socialist. Nora had a special interest in the assignment because she is a college freshman and a mathematics major.

Nora and Dr. Davis talked about problems of mass and momentum, about the logic of modern mathematics, and about how two different theories give the same answers when mass approaches the speed of light.

I couldn't follow their discussion. But one thing was apparent to me. Nora was completely at ease in discussing these questions with Dr. Davis.

He followed what she said with serious interest. When she asked questions, I got the impression he sought to formulate the answers as simply and clearly as possible, but there was no trace of condescension. On several points he suggested reading matter encompassing differing views of the particular problem, some of which he said he disagreed with. He was clearly intent on stimulating deeper study of the kind that examines all serious opinions of a scientific question.

Later, Nora spoke with deep indignation that so stimulating a teacher should have to go to jail because he fought for free speech.

Dr. Davis was angry about going to prison for somewhat different reasons. Commenting on the state of the country and the world, he said, "The big thing is to get people involved in political controversy again. We have to start advocating ideas again. What I regret about this business I have been involved in is that I've had to spend more than five years defending the right to controversy and I have not been able to do much in the way of actually engaging in controversy."

Controversy is something that the 33-year-old scientist seems to thrive on. He was singled out by the House Un-American Activities Committee because (Continued on Page 2)

Berlin Youth March Against Nazis



"Nazis Raus" — "Nazis Get Out" — was the reply of 40,000 West Berlin youth to the vandals who smeared swastikas "Jude Raus" ("Jews Get Out") on synagogues and other Jewish buildings. The young people marched in a giant demonstration Jan. 8 called by the Socialist Falcons, Socialist Democratic youth organization.

On Tour

Denver Socialists Plan Early 1960 Campaign

Denver, Colo.

Editor: Three days of intensive working in this mile-high city have convinced me that socialists can look ahead to a year of progress in the Rockies.

The youth are stirring to a new degree; and they bring out the political arena that precious ability of the youth to challenge the old and boldly examine the new.

Events are in fact arousing political curiosity to a greater extent generally among workers, students, minority peoples, and in the professions.

Too much is happening in the great, wide world for inquisitive minds to be satisfied with political clichés from Washington, trick slogans from Madison Avenue and hymns to free enterprise from Wall Street. Socialist answers to the big questions of the day begin to receive a more open-minded hearing.

I found this to be true when I addressed a local socialist-sponsored meeting held at the AFL-CIO Labor Center. My presentation was listened to attentively and a lively discussion followed. As has occurred elsewhere on my trip, gratification was voiced from the floor for a stimulating political evening.

Several of those present expressed interest in helping to provide a local forum for Socialist Workers party candidates during the presidential campaign. Conversations with some after the meeting indicated efforts toward this end will be made in the unions and minority organizations, also among student youth and in intellectual circles.

Spearheading the SWP cam-

paign in this area will be young revolutionary socialists, fired with enthusiasm and capable of vigorous activity on a par with their strong political convictions. In discussing campaign plans with them I found they have set their sights considerably beyond the confines of Denver.

They are taking a page from the book of the young socialists (Continued on Page 3)

Scabs Provoke New Violence At Albert Lea

Violence flared again at the strike-bound Wilson meat-packing plant at Albert Lea, Minn.

Two scabs complained to the police that they were beaten while having breakfast at a local cafe. Other scabs also claimed they were hit, and four said their cars had been damaged. On Jan. 9 a strikebreaker told police that his home had been damaged by a gasoline bomb.

Over 1,100 members of the AFL-CIO's United Packinghouse Workers of America struck Wilson in Albert Lea on Oct. 31. Since then the company has brought in about 600 strikebreakers from outlying farm areas.

Last month, the strikers established mass picket lines around the plant. The governor declared martial law and closed the plant briefly. Then the plant reopened under National Guard protection. Last week local police and special deputies replaced the militia.

Japanese Socialists Call Antiwar Demonstration

TOKYO, Jan. 7 — On the eve of the departure of Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi for Washington to sign the new U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, socialists and communists are planning a protest demonstration. Kishi is one of Japan's war criminals, a political figure thoroughly hated by the workers in both this country and China.

The Socialist party in particular hopes that enough demonstrators will assemble at Haneda airport to give the prime minister some embarrassment in reaching his plane. Mass picket lines are projected at entrance roads.

Whether the demonstration can be organized on sufficient scale remains to be seen. Communist party leaders are raising doubts about the project and some of the unions have not yet made a decision. The important student federation, Zengakuren,

is also still discussing the question.

The initiative in proposing the demonstration was taken by the Communist League, which was recently organized by former members of the Communist party. The Antiwar Action Committee, a group of revolutionary-minded members of the Socialist party, joined in pressing for the airport demonstration. The SP Youth League is also actively giving its support.

After the prime minister signs the treaty in Washington, it is scheduled for discussion in parliament. Whether it will be approved there is not certain. It will in any case receive sharp criticism.

The Japanese people do not want another war and they are opposed to any steps, such as this treaty represents, toward an attack on China and the Soviet Union.

The Foul Symbols On Our Buildings

An Editorial

The anti-Semitic vandalism that began in Cologne on Christmas and then swept around the world now appears to be subsiding, although in the United States reports are still coming in about the daubing of Nazi symbols and slogans on public buildings like foul words on latrine walls.

Public opinion will greet the passing of this outbreak with gratitude. The problem remains, however, of accounting for it and of drawing what lessons we can.

One explanation that has been offered deserves severe condemnation, in our opinion. This is the contention that what we saw was "the resurgence of an obstinate and innate anti-Jewishness which seems to plague the German character like an ethnic cancer..." (Rabbi William Rosenblum of Temple Israel in New York.) This is nothing but an inversion of the Nazi view which holds the Germans to be a "master race." The logical conclusion is that the Germans must be exterminated. It would seem self-evident that the truth must be sought not in such mystical notions but in the field of economics, sociology and politics.

Part of the explanation is undoubtedly that the Adenauer regime has "not done enough" to eradicate the traces of Nazism. Part of the proof offered for this is that the government is honeycombed with former Nazis and that the history textbooks have not educated the youth against Nazism.

If you are to blame the Adenauer regime, then it is only consistent to take a look at the power which put it in office and which has kept it there since the end of World War II. That power is American imperialism. How guilty it is can be judged from a simple fact like this: On Jan. 12 the U.S. authorities in Berlin banned all information to the press about former Nazis. The U.S. Document Center in Berlin has complete records of the 10,000,000 membership cards in the Nazi party. The reason given for the censorship was that it might be embarrassing to the West German government to give out such information.

The big fact is that U.S. policy in Germany has been to put former Nazis in office and, even more important, to refurbish and restore to domination the capitalist backers of the Nazis such as Alfred Krupp.

Even this is obviously far from the whole explanation. The anti-Semitic outrages were not confined to Germany. They were virulent in America and in other countries which fought Germany in World War II.

A group of psychologists have attempted to account for this. They said that although it goes deeper, the outbreak was like the hoop craze, rock 'n' roll, and the scribbled saying "Kilroy was here." There is something to what the psychologists say, for the burst of anti-Semitism did spread like a passing fad.

But the anti-Semitic filth is qualitatively different. It is more like a wave of suicides, or murder, or cannibalism — a horror deep in our society that suddenly manifests itself at the surface in a way to shake every thinking person.

Anti-Semitism is endemic in capitalist society like a smoldering plague of the days before modern drugs. It feeds on the frustrations, the insecurities, the fear of the future which capitalism imposes on people. It is actively fostered by the hatred for everything but the sacred dollar that pours down from the top levels of society in a thousand forms.

If the anti-Semitic snallpox should jog us about anything, it is to get on with the job of putting capitalism on the scrap heap before social conditions ripen for another Hitler.

Analysis of Steel Pact Shows Only Few Gains

By Tom Kerry

Having won on the main issue — the defense of their union against the attempt of the steel corporations to smash it — the steel workers are now studying what was gained or lost on other issues in the longest steel strike on record.

The successful resistance against the union-busting assault raised the self-confidence and morale of the workers. But new material gains were negligible. And gains won previously were surrendered. The new gains were in no way commensurate to the time and energy expended or the sacrifices made by the steel workers; nor did they approximate what could have been won under a more militant and aggressive leadership.

Commenting on the new steel contract, New York Times correspondent, Joseph Loftus, observed: "The total package's percentage increase is smaller than any in steel since the war." The Wall Street Journal, Jan. 12, quoted Labor Secretary Mitchell: "The steel companies and the steel union, in the present settlement, have cut the postwar trend by half." And, Mitchell added, the basic steel wage increase of 7 cents is less than the average wage boosts in recent months.

In his recent television broadcast, Roger Blough, chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, boasted that the new contract reduced by more than one-half the aver-

age rise in "hourly employment costs" over the past twenty years. That would make it the worst contract since the union was organized. At any rate, about the fact that it is McDonald's "worst" there can be no doubt.

If the facts belie the legend of McDonald's peerless leadership — so much the worse for the facts. Addressing a meeting of steel workers in Buffalo on the day the new agreement was announced, McDonald declared, "We emerge from these negotiations with the greatest contract, the best conditions the steel workers have ever enjoyed." What did McDonald give for what he got?

The issues of greatest concern to the workers are: wages, hours and working conditions. The basic function of a union, any union, is to fight for a more adequate share of the wealth produced by labor; to reduce hours of work as labor productivity rises; to improve working conditions. Fringe benefits, as the word clearly implies, are peripheral to the main goals.

The new steel contract runs for 30 months, expiring June 30, 1962. On the matter of wages: The rise in basic minimum wage rates will be 7 cents an hour. However, there will be no increase in basic wages until December 1960. Further, as the new contract was not made retroactive none of the benefits will be applied to the period since the expiration of the old contract on June 30, 1959.

The McDonald leadership

Enemy of Labor



John F. Kennedy, heir to the Kennedy millions and scion of a family of professional capitalist politicians, made it official Jan. 2 — he's reaching for the White House. One of the architects of the anti-labor Landrum-Griffin bill, the Massachusetts senator said he would turn down any offer for the second spot on the Democratic presidential slate.

Labor Papers Score Kennedy And Johnson

Union papers have strongly denounced two Democratic party candidates for president this month. The United Mine-Workers Journal and the Union News, publication of the AFL-CIO Oil and Chemical Workers Union, attacked Sen. Lyndon Johnson (Texas) as anti-labor; while the MESA Educator, monthly journal of the Mechanics Educational Society of America, scored both Johnson and Sen. John Kennedy (Mass.)

All three union papers printed the text of a letter Johnson sent to some 22,000 constituents last year prior to the passage of the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act.

In the letter the Senate Majority Leader said: "Throughout my public life I have favored strong, effective regulatory legislation... having voted for the Vinson Bill, the Smith-Connally

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Congress Jockeys on Civil Rights

Stage Annual Run Around

By Lillian Kiesel

JAN. 13 — When the eighty-sixth Congress reconvened for its second session Jan. 6, the bell sounded for the first round in the election-year bout between the Democrats and Republicans.

Both parties seek to win the Negro people's vote and recognize that for this they must champion civil-rights legislation. Accordingly, House Speaker Sam Rayburn and Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson, both Texas Democrats, decided to call up the token civil-rights measure authored by Johnson last year. The two Texas Democrats decided to bury the bill in committee during last year's session.

Last week, Rayburn advised House Democrats to adopt the "extraordinary" procedure of circulating a "discharge" petition that would bypass the House Rules Committee, headed by Howard W. Smith (D-Va.) in order to get the bill onto the House floor. One objective of this move was to claim the initiative in civil-rights legislation for the Democrats.

Of the 151 congressmen who have signed the petition (219 names are required) less than a dozen are Republicans. Emmanuel Celler, liberal Democrat from New York, charged: "This apparently is the political pay-off for Southern support for... the labor bill last year."

"The Democrats have an 8-4 majority on the Rules Committee... With the big majority they have on the committee and in the House, can't they run Congress?" House Republican Leader Halleck countered. In the Senate meanwhile, Sen. Javits sought to put Democrats further on the defensive by introducing a bill containing a provision for federal voting registrars.

Last year, the Civil Rights Commission recommended that federal officials be empowered to register Negroes disfranchised in the South. The Commission said that the 1957 civil-rights law rendered the government helpless to defend Negro voting rights.

However, Pres. Eisenhower said "I don't know — as a matter of fact, I don't even know whether it is constitutional," when asked at his press conference today if he favored the Civil Rights Commission's recommendation.

Southern Democrats have served notice that they "will use every parliamentary trick" to block "extreme" legislation — including a provision for federal registrars. As in 1957, Johnson and Rayburn evidently plan to enact a law that will not incur all-out opposition from the Southerners.

As for the Northern liberal Democrats, judging by past performance, most of them will be lined up with Johnson and Rayburn at roll-call time.

The Negro people can hope to win meaningful civil-rights legislation only when a labor party wins control of Congress from both Democrats and Republicans.

Racists Again Victimize Dr. Perry of N. Carolina

Ku Klux Klan elements in Monroe, North Carolina, are celebrating another blow dealt by state officials to the militant Negroes of Union County. This is the announcement by the State Board of Medical Examiners that it has revoked the medical license of Dr. Albert E. Perry.

Dr. Perry, former vice-president of the NAACP branch, has been a target of racists since 1957, when, along with local president Robert F. Williams, he spearheaded a fight to desegregate the municipally owned swimming pool. When KKK motorcades attacked Perry's home in Oct. 1957 they found a Negro defense guard entrenched there, which exchanged shot for shot and drove them off.

The white-supremacists then concluded that a legal frame-up of Perry would be less dangerous to themselves. Petitions were

circulated at the courthouse to order Williams and Perry out of the country. Then on the unsupported evidence of a white woman a Perry was accused of performing an abortion.

The state Supreme Court threw out the first conviction, but conviction by a lily-white jury in a second trial was allowed to stand though it was appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. Perry is now serving a two- to three-year sentence at North Carolina's Caledonia prison farm. From all over the country, Gov. Hodges has received letters urging that Perry be released.

Petitions on Perry's behalf by 4,480 residents in and around Union County were presented to the medical board hearing in vain. Racists are jubilant in the belief that even when Perry gets out of jail he will be unable to earn a living in Union County.

Why I Ran Away

By Bloke Modisane

(This article is reprinted from the British periodical, the New Statesman. The editor describes the author as an African journalist whose home was Johannesburg. Last summer he left South Africa to live in Britain. His explanation for this move offers, in our opinion, an exceptionally vivid insight into the emotions that are now giving power to the African revolution. Modisane was able to get away. Those who cannot get away or who, still more bitter and inflamed, have decided to stay, will presently constitute a new galaxy of revolutionary leaders whose names can break into the headlines of the world press with startling swiftness. — Editor.)

When all the facts have been examined, the motives analyzed, the rationalizations equated, I still have to face my guilty conscience, my color and the commitment to fight the prejudices against it. And nagging at the back of my mind persists this confrontation: Were you not running away in deciding to leave South Africa? The fact is, I ran away. I am a coward. False heroics and rationalizations are unnecessary.

South Africa is a pigmentocracy, dedicated before God and the whole world to the proposition that "South Africa is the white man's country: it shall never be ruled by Kaffirs, Hottentots and Coolies." White is right, and to be black is to be despised, dehumanized, classed among the beasts, hounded and persecuted, discriminated against, segregated and oppressed by government and by man's greed. White is the positive standard, black is the negative. Symbols of wealth, prestige and authority are allocated to the whites; and inferiority, humiliation and servitude are the lot of the black man. The society is divided into groups of "haves" and "have-nots." The "haves" want to keep on having and to see to it that the "have-nots" work for them.

The "Gradualists"

Although the whites have their ideological differences, they are united in the broader concept of maintaining white supremacy and the furtherance of that state. There is a vital, but small number, of liberal South Africans who believe in a shared society with more concessions made to the Africans, who contend that race legislations should be more humane, just and Christian. They believe in the gradual integration of "responsible" Africans into the social, economic and political life of South Africa.

Under normal conditions with a show of faith, this could be acceptable to the responsible Africans. But the responsible African is a despised figurehead, and the reality lies in the recognition and acceptance of the irresponsible African, who does not want his freedom on the never-never scheme, but wants it now. This irresponsible African is the one to be reckoned with — while there is still time.

He is impatient, militant and a revolutionary. He is obsessed with freedom, that it is his historical right. He resents being told that as soon as power rests in his hands the minority races, the whites, will be oppressed. This I find fascinating. Why do these minority races believe that they have a moral right to oppress the Africans, when they, in turn, fear oppression directed towards them? Do they hold a world patent? The African knows what it is like to be oppressed — he is preoccupied with cancelling it and stamping it out from the face of the world. Oppression is not an expression of his life.

Protest Is Subversive

During moments of bitterness I have been known to blurt out that white South Africans need to be made to live through the humiliation of oppression, to be made to realize its total inhumanity. But oppression is something that cannot be wished on even one's enemies. This is what is so terrifying about being black in South Africa, this maniacal desire to revenge, but even more terrifying is the reality that the white South African, who counts, is determined to maintain the system. Denying the African all the civilized means, not only to change the system, but even to protest against it in a democratic manner.

All the avenues of moral protest have been blockaded by legislation like the Natives (Prohibition of Interdicts) Act of 1956, by which the Governor-General can, by proclamation, order an African to leave a certain area. This the African must do, and no court of law may grant an interdict preventing such summary endorsement or an appeal for a stay or suspension of the removal order: this even if it is established

as a fact that the order was intended for someone else and was served in error. The provisions of the Natives Labor (Settlement of Disputes) Act of 1953, stipulate that it is unlawful for an African to go on strike. He becomes liable, on conviction, to imprisonment for three years, to a maximum fine of \$500, or a combination of the two. The Public Safety Act of 1953, empowers the Governor-General, or under special conditions the Minister of Justice, to authorize, by proclamation, any police constable to arrest any person and imprison him without trial. This state of emergency may be invoked whenever the authorities hold that the safety of the public is endangered and the ordinary law is inadequate.

Euphemistically there is freedom of speech in South Africa, enjoyed in equal measure by all, even the African, so long as it is not used to criticize the government's racial policy. The Suppression of Communism Act makes such criticisms a treasonable offense. This Act enables anybody to be labeled as a Communist who asserts that any form of government which withholds from a people the basic human rights is wrong and must be abolished. I believe that South Africa is a tyranny, that the system should be smashed, if not by moral protest, then by force. And so I have finally done it; I have committed treason against the legally constituted government of the state.

Life in South Africa

All these acts and prohibitions almost drove me to the point of being insensitive to oppression. I carried a pass because it was law, lived in a segregated location, used the "Natives Only" entrances into public buildings, used the "Natives and Goods" lifts, walked over to "Native Counters" in the post office and the bank, used the green "For Colored Persons Only" buses and allowed myself to be segregated and barely tolerated in the Indian-owned cinemas.

I locked myself up in my room to have that illegal drink, bowed to the Immorality Act of 1957, which lays down that sexual acts between black and white are illegal, immoral and un-Christian. I permitted my labor to be exploited because I had to live. I accepted the discrimination against my skin as a physical reality I had to live with; accommodated the humiliation of labels like "John" or "Jim" or "Boy" without strongly protesting. I stood by while a sidewalk bully pushed his finger into my nostril, spitting insults at me. Stood there suffocating with anger, afraid that any moment I was going to shout: "Go to hell!" Restraining my fingers from closing round his throat and squeezing.

Then against my impulses would rise the voice of discretion: "Don't do it! You must not lose your temper. It's not worth it, bide your time." I would know the wisdom of it, and in the face of the gathered crowd I would apologize appropriately, plead with the white bully not to strike me. Some white gallants would smile sympathetically and the women would be sympathetic and advise me to go home, John.

"I Indict the World"

I could not live with it any longer. I knew that I had to run or lose my temper and even my sanity. I was not a dedicated platform politician, not even a member of the African National Congress. I was blinded by the violence of the oppression and could not reconcile my feelings with the ANC policy of non-violence in the face of violence. The situation became unbearable to me as an individual. I felt stifled, unable to express and fulfil myself as an individual man. I felt the relentless inevitability of the clash, the direct immediacy of blood, in the resolving of the South African riddle. The prospect terrified me as I began to see this as the realism to which Africans are being driven. Because I am a coward, because I love humanity more than I hate oppression, I could not stay to face the possibility of slitting throats. I hate all violence, mental and physical, and no rationalization can cease its stark horror: I am a moral coward who cannot take a gun and go to war.

I know that the riddle of South Africa will have to be resolved in South Africa, perhaps without blood. But the possibility of bloodshed cannot be brushed aside; and I hope that through my writing I can yet make the world realize the danger gathering in the Union. That what will happen there will touch the rest of the world. For the world outside is responsible for the furtherance and continuance of the system. I indict the world. Every investment, every gold bar bought from South Africa helps to pay for the machinery of apartheid.

Can Social Democrats Stop Nazi Vandals?

By Alex Harte

Anti-Semitic vandalism again serves to remind the working class of the menace of fascism. The West German working class is certainly powerful enough to stop the growth of the fascist movement in that country. But what are the Social Democratic leaders doing to eliminate the neo-Nazi threat?

The Social Democratic party has voiced strong criticism of Chancellor Adenauer's refusal to carry out a purge of Nazis in the government.

In West Berlin, the Social-Democratic administration has arrested a score of individuals involved in swastika-smearing. The West Berliners also call for a revision of history textbooks used in the schools. They want the books to tell about the Nazi atrocities against the Jews. Most history texts, in West Germany today soft-pedal the horrors of Hitler's regime.

These measures are good as far as they go. The trouble is they don't go to the root of the problem.

The German neo-Nazi movement, to be sure, represents as yet a tiny minority of the population. The German Reichs party, led by former members of Hitler's murder machine, has an estimated membership of 20,000. Neo-Nazi youth movements in Germany are said to have some 40,000 members.

But a recent study conducted by the German socialist youth movement expresses concern that, though these fascist youth groups are small, they have succeeded in consolidating their forces during the past two years.

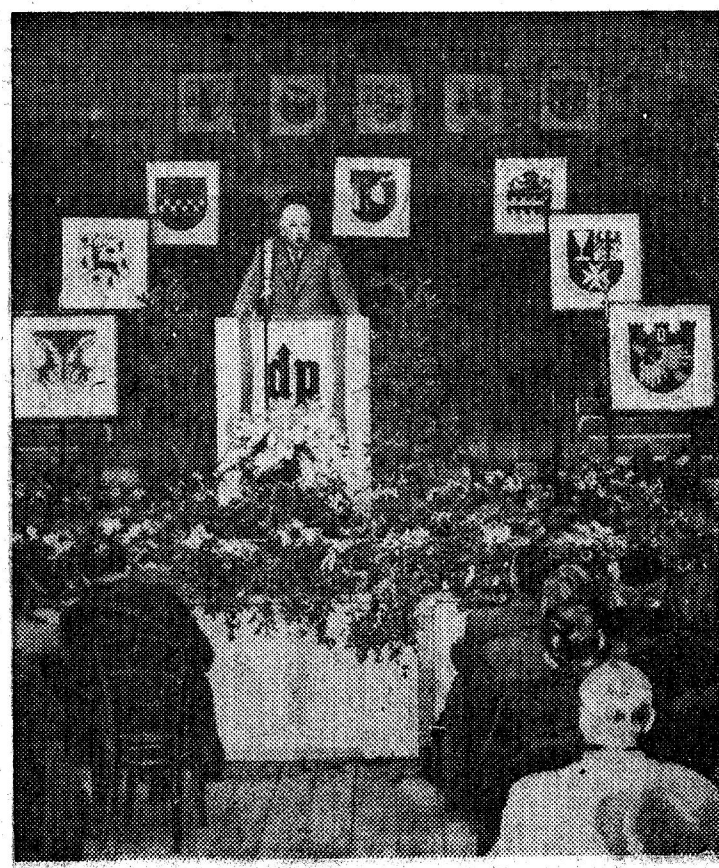
What is it that attracts young people to the fascist movement and leads them to participate in anti-Semitic vandalism? A psychologist recently observed that anti-Semitic incidents showed "a great deal of resentment and hostility" against the whole social order. In other words, the Jews are still the scapegoats for the ills of capitalist society.

Fear of War

The postwar status of West Germany certainly breeds much social discontent. Though the economy is booming, the country remains divided and occupied by foreign troops. Furthermore, Germany is one of the areas of greatest strain in the cold war.

The insecurity in which the German people live will drive an even greater number of

Hitlerite Meeting



This meeting, with all the familiar Nazi trappings, was held in West Berlin in 1954. Veterans of Hitler's SS (Elite Guard) were cheered wildly. Two students mistaken for Jews were beaten when they refused to stand for the singing of Deutschland Ueber Alles. The speaker was Hans Seeborn, Adenauer's Minister of Transport.

young people to the fascist side unless they are won to the socialist alternative.

But the Social Democrats don't offer this alternative. In fact, like the Social Democrats in most other Western countries, they have been moving to the right. At the congress of the German Social-Democratic party last November, the party leaders voted by an overwhelming majority that the party program should no longer offer socialism as a solution for Germany's problems. They also committed themselves firmly to the imperialist cold war against "Communism."

[In this country, the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation has not yet taken a stand on the liquidation of the socialist platform by their West German comrades. An SP-SDF spokesman told a Militant reporter over the telephone that the organization was studying the matter.]

The German Social Democrats adhere to anti-Communism even in their present campaign against the neo-Nazis.

Thus a Jan. 5 Berlin dispatch to the New York Times reports that "This afternoon policemen broke up three demonstrations at busy intersections in which Communist agitators carried banners with the inscription, 'An end to anti-Semitism and its instigation among majors.'"

On Jan. 8, when 40,000 West Berlin youth marched in a torch-light parade in an anti-Nazi parade organized by the Socialist Falcons, the West Berlin police "detained and later released a number of persons thought to be Communist agitators who tried to hand out propaganda sheets in various parts of town," says the Times.

These acts of political reprisal against the small West Berlin Communist party provide a grim reminder of the role played

by the Social Democratic leadership prior to Hitler's rise to power.

While the Nazi gangs conducted armed attacks against the workers' movement, the Social Democratic officials refused to form a united front with the then strong Communist party to throw back the fascist attack. It is true that the CP leaders helped the Social Democratic chiefs get away with their divisive policies by pursuing disruptive tactics of their own.

The CP baited the Social Democrats as "social fascists" and said they were a greater danger to the working class than the Nazis. But, the CP's insane course does not lessen the magnitude of the Social Democratic betrayal in the slightest degree. The German working class needs a militant, socialist policy in the fight against incipient fascism. Unfortunately, they cannot count on their Social Democratic leaders to supply such a policy.

Today's Pro-Nazism Nurtured at Potsdam

By Herman Chauka

The rearming of West Germany is a key plank in Wall Street's program for eventual war against the Soviet Union. The U.S.-sponsored remilitarization of that country has been a prime factor in the rehabilitation of former Nazis and in creating political conditions favorable to a resurgence of anti-Semitic vandalism there.

The Soviet Union's propaganda apparatus has been quick to seize upon the anti-Semitic flareup and to correctly point out that it is a product of the reactionary U.S. policy in Germany. But the solution to the problem offered by the Kremlin boils down to a repetition of the deal between Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill which led to the present situation. The Soviet view is echoed in this country in the Jan. 10 issue of the Worker.

Izvestia declares: "These events are neither unexpected nor accidental. They are the bitter fruits of what was sown by the Western powers themselves. They are the result of rejecting the reasonable course of eradicating the remnants of fascism and militarism in West Germany."

Joseph North makes the point a bit more explicit in the Worker. He writes that the events are "fruits of the terrible policy that negated the Potsdam agreement to denazify and demilitarize the fascist enemy."

"Collective Guilt"

But the fact is that the remilitarization of West Germany and the boost this gave to Nazi trends was the inevitable outcome of the Potsdam agreements.

At Potsdam, in 1945, the U.S., British and Soviet governments carved up Germany. The capitalist powers occupied the Western zone and the Soviet forces occupied the Eastern zone. Stalin sought to justify the dismemberment of Germany by repeating the lie that the entire German people bore "collective guilt" for the rise of Hitlerism and for World War II and should therefore be collectively punished.

According to the Potsdam agreement, the shattered economy was to be rebuilt only within rigidly controlled limits. The impoverished German people were to pay reparations and to bear the cost of maintaining the occupation armies.

An official communique from Potsdam, Aug. 11, 1945, declared that "payments of reparations should leave enough resources for the German people to subsist without external assistance." (Emphasis added.)

War Preparations

Soon afterwards, however, the Western powers changed their course. They began to prepare for war against the Soviet Union, and this dictated rebuilding the West German economy. The imperialist threat then compelled Stalin to scrap the commitment he had given the imperialists to preserve capitalist property relations in East Germany and the rest of Eastern Europe. Germany became a

major battleground of the cold war.

This development was predicted by the Militant of Aug. 11, 1945, which declared:

"It can be said with certainty that the carving-up of Germany carried out by the 'Big Three' in the name of 'peace,' will sow the dragon's teeth of more wars, just as did the Treaty of Versailles."

The rebuilding of West Germany brought back to power the same German capitalists who had supported Hitler. Many Nazi officials obtained important posts in Adenauer's government.

To the degree that Nazi and anti-Semitic views have gained a hearing among German youth, this was facilitated by the continued occupation and division of the country. A central propaganda theme of the neo-Nazi German Reichs party is the withdrawal of foreign troops and the reunification of the country.

Such a demand is bound to find a response, since the German people deeply desire German unity. But a status-quo deal for Europe, such as Khrushchev seeks in his summit diplomacy, would perpetuate the country's division. On the other hand, the imperialists have not abandoned their aim to "reunify" Germany through war.

The slogan of a united socialist Germany, voluntarily affiliated to a socialist United States of Europe could have tremendous appeal to the German working people and enable them to take the lead in the reunification of their country. Such a slogan can enlist them firmly as Soviet allies against the imperialist warmakers.

But the Soviet bureaucracy does not shape its foreign policy so as to facilitate the winning of workers in other countries to socialism. Their maneuvers with imperialist policies — have tended in particular to alienate the German workers from the USSR.

Indeed, so far are the Communist party leaders from seeking to win the German people's confidence that they cannot even bring themselves to state the simple but essential truth that anti-Semitism is not of German origin but is the product of a declining world capitalist system. If this were not the case, the outbreak of anti-Jewish acts in Germany would not have provided the signal for anti-Semitic outrages elsewhere in Europe and in the United States.

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... Why Chandler Davis

(Continued from Page 1)

of a pamphlet calling for the abolition of this witch-hunting body. The pamphlet was widely circulated by the Michigan Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions and by the Civil Liberties Committee at Michigan University in preparation for the congressional committee's "probe" of the campus.

When he appeared before the House committee, Dr. Davis refused, on First Amendment grounds, to answer any questions. Why?

"I hate to be put in a position where I have to do something I don't believe in. And I certainly don't believe in furthering the functions of the Un-American Activities Committee. By invoking the First Amendment, I was challenging the legality of the House committee."

"Besides," he added, "I believe there is harm done by people knocking under to threats. I don't think people should give in so easily. Personally, I get satisfaction from not yielding to threats."

Because Davis took this stand, the authorities at the university disregarded the fact that he was under contract for another year and fired him. "Believe it or not," he said, "the committee that made the decision to fire me is called 'the Senate Committee on Academic Freedom and Integrity of the University of Michigan.'"

"They did get one rude shock at the hearing," he added. "They called in two professors from my department to solicit their opinions. Both of them said that if they had been in my position they would have done the same thing."

The dismissal for "lack of candor" sparked a strong protest from the faculty and students. The faculty executive committee unanimously protested the firing. Students organized protest actions. The Association of American University Professors condemned the breach of contract and the American Civil Liberties Union issued a pamphlet on the case.

Wrote Science Fiction

But for ten months Dr. Davis was jobless. His wife was bearing their second child. He earned some money writing science

fiction stories. "They've been a passion with me since I was 14," he explained. "Serious science fiction offers something that should be generally available in society, the freedom to examine all aspects of a problem without restraints. It's the freedom to speculate and discuss that I enjoy."

Part of the financial problem was alleviated by a wonderful demonstration of solidarity. His fellow faculty members raised a purse of \$2,000 for him.

"They said they felt I should be paid somehow for the unexpired term of my contract. I told them the money should be used for my court fight, not my groceries. They smiled tolerantly and said if I wanted to be an idealist I could give some of it to my lawyer."

Two other sections of the academic world decided to ignore reactionary pressures too. Dr. Davis was invited to attend the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton. Then he was offered the associate editorship of Mathematical Reviews, journal of the American Mathematical Society. He holds that position now and will go back to it after his release from prison.

He hopes to do some research while in prison and to widen his knowledge of other languages. He also plans to play chess by mail with his son, Aaron, who is six years old. Aaron began playing chess when he was four.

Dr. Davis is a typical proud parent. Judging from what he had to say about his children, he has a right to be. "All on his own," he said, "Aaron stood up in class Dec. 15 and announced, 'Today is the birthday of the Bill of Rights. That's why we're free.'"

"The next day we provided him with a copy to take to class. He said they had a good discussion, but so far I haven't been able to get a satisfactory report of what was said."

"All of our three children are named after civil resisters," Dr. Davis added. "Aaron Bancroft was an ancestor who was a Unitarian minister who fought for freedom of thought. Hannah was named after another ancestor who was a Quaker and an abolitionist before the civil war. She, too, was able to resolve the contradiction between her belief in nonviolence and the fight

... Willie Reid Tells His Friends

(Continued from Page 1) again. I know. I saw it happen six times."

Reid, a migratory agricultural worker, was arrested in 1950 after a fight in a Jim Crow gambling hall in which he knifed, but did not seriously injure, his assailant. Gambling halls operate under the protection of sheriffs in many areas of the South and, along with moon-

shine liquor sales, provide the sheriffs with a large share of their "extra-legal" income.

Reid happened to be a heavy winner at the dice table — had won over \$400 — when another Negro, believed to be working for the hall, assaulted him. Reid escaped and his assailant was out of the hospital in a week. However, Sheriff Willis V. McCall arrested a woman friend of Reid's, who had not even been present, as a hostage. Accordingly Reid surrendered to the authorities. Though he paid all his gambling winnings to a "lawyer" presented by the jailer, Reid had no counsel when he came up for indictment and trial. The two legal processes were telescoped into a few minutes in the courtroom and Reid was not even allowed to plead not guilty.

Instead of a charge of assault with a weapon, for which the maximum under Florida law is two years, Reid was charged with assault with premeditated intent to commit murder and sentenced to fifteen years.

Further victimization of Reid occurred on the chain gang. The guards had a racket of cutting state-owned timber and secretly selling it to saw mills. Reid had the misfortune to be loading

such timber on a truck the day a state investigator came along. Though he played dumb about the lumber's destination, the investigators questioned him in private. The firing of eight guards led the others to suspect Reid of having "talked" and they began a concerted campaign of persecution.

On one pretext after another he was thrown into the sweatbox — a torture device in which the victim can neither stand nor sit but is kept in a crouching position — for as long as two weeks at a time, with only bread and water. Then he was put back on heavy labor, picked on for "shirking," and thrown back into the sweatbox. His health rapidly failing, Reid figured his only chance of survival lay in escape. In broad daylight and in chains, under the shotguns of the guards, he jumped from a moving truck and with the strength of desperation got away.

Awaiting Reid in Florida is an unfinished sentence of thirteen years plus at least five years for escaping. But he, and others familiar with Florida's Jim Crow penal system, are certain that he would not long survive. This is the "justice" from which Willie Reid is a fugitive.

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Cuba at the Crossroads

The Cuban revolution has reached the crossroads. In one direction lies nationalization of industry and still more sweeping measures of progressive character. In the other, counter-revolution.

This is our estimate. It is also the estimate of other forces. Here is a report that appeared in the Wall Street Journal: "Businessmen, many of them already convinced that almost complete nationalization of Cuba's basic industry is in the offing, now have a new worry: The possibility of counter-revolution."

According to the same source, "opposition groups are busy collecting funds to buy arms and . . . the wealthy and middle-class Cubans, who have suffered the most under Castro, are ripe for revolt."

An American businessman in Havana told the Wall Street Journal, "Now I have reason to hope Castro will be overthrown. . ."

The Lesson of Guatemala

It is the hope for a successful counter-revolution that has inspired the screaming in our native American capitalist press against the Castro regime. America's capitalist rulers recall how they succeeded in 1954 in overthrowing the Arbenz government of Guatemala to which the Castro government bears some resemblance.

A crew of adventurers was put together under a Lt. Col. Armas. They were a miserable lot, but they enjoyed powerful support; behind them stood the banana kings of United Fruit and — the State Department. The American embassy was directly involved in the conspiracy that succeeded in overthrowing the Guatemalan government by force and violence.

Can an overturn like the one in Guatemala now be engineered in Cuba? Our imperialist masters seem to hope so. While the Cuban counter-revolutionaries collect funds in the skyscrapers of Manhattan to buy arms, the State Department is utilizing its world-wide influence to cut off sources of modern arms to the Cuban government. In one scandalous instance that came to light, British spokesmen acknowledged that their government had bowed to Washington's wishes.

True enough, the Wall Street plotters may decide to keep their Cuban Armas under wraps for a time. Tad Szulc, in an informative series of articles in the New York Times, explained that those who determine State Department policy are afraid that any "drastic United States action" today would arouse all of Latin America. So they are taking it on the slow bell. "They feel it is necessary to let the winds of extremism blow themselves out."

Behind the Plotters

To take such diplomatic delay as signifying an indefinite extension of time would be about the worst mistake the Castro forces could make. Evil as it is, the baleful gaze which the press has turned on Cuba gives little indication of the true fury and malevolent intent with which the world center of imperialist capital is measuring the revolution that broke out on its Latin-American doorstep.

Yankee investments in Cuba are estimated by banking circles as worth somewhere between \$800 million and \$1 billion. That's not a philanthropic fund set up for the benefit of the Cuban people. It represents an intricate network of economic control threading the rich Caribbean island like the gray mycelium of a monstrous parasite.

How powerful the forces are to which the counter-revolutionaries look for support can be judged from the following partial list of companies holding property in Cuba: Abbott Laboratories, American & Foreign Power, Atlantic Refining, Bethlehem Steel, Chase Manhattan Bank, Chrysler, Esso, First National Bank of Boston, First National City Bank of New York, Freeport Sulphur, Gulf Oil, International Harvester, International Telephone & Telegraph, Lykes Bros. Steamship, Pan American World Airways, Shell Oil, Standard Oil of California, Texaco, United Fruit.

Besides that the Catholic Church has begun to organize "action groups" in each of Cuba's 66 parishes.

The Revolutionary Forces

The Cuban revolution, however, cannot easily be "contained," no matter how intense the wish in the countinghouses of New York.

The power of the Cuban landlords and capitalists, who acted under Batista as vernal agents for the foreign masters, lies shattered.

The class forces pressing the Cuban revolution forward are of great scope and depth. The peasantry wants a clean sweep of the feudal-like estates. The workers, elated by the victory over Batista, have already begun to reorganize, foreshadowing their entrance in the arena as the

socialist force needed to assure the final success of the revolution.

Despite a rightward swing in many countries, the international setting favors the Cuban revolution. It is part of the world-wide upheaval which began at the close of World War II and which is now shaking the Mideast and Africa. From China to Cuba the revolutions tend to strengthen each other as they weaken capitalism.

The Castro Leadership

The main danger to the Cuban revolution is in its own leadership. The class background of the Castro forces is petty bourgeois. From university circles these revolutionaries moved into rural areas where they gathered strength as guerrilla fighters dedicated to agrarian reform. Their aims were nationalist and equalitarian — independence from foreign domination, an end to government corruption, reduction of special privileges, improvements for the poor.

These aims coincided with those of small business and therefore attracted support from sections of the Cuban bourgeoisie smarting under the Batista dictatorship.

When Castro's peasant forces moved into the cities, the bourgeois wing of the leadership sought strategic government posts where they could best influence economic and financial policies. Wall Street viewed these figures favorably.

The more revolutionary-minded elements projected far-reaching reforms, especially against the big landholders. But they procrastinated. And they failed to consider such fundamental measures as nationalization of industry, government monopoly of foreign trade, and the expropriation of the capitalists.

Turn to the Left

The result was a relative decline in Castro's strength and popularity. Emboldened by this, the bourgeois wing of the leadership began to differentiate a rightward position. The counter-revolutionaries plotted bombing expeditions. The weakening of the revolution culminated in the October crisis.

In this Castro turned leftward. He ousted the most suspicious figures from their strategic posts, staged great mass rallies and opened a campaign against the counter-revolutionaries and their American backers.

The agrarian reforms were speeded up. Along with division of the land, the formation of co-operatives received fresh impetus. The National Institute of Agrarian Reform was given greater weight among the government institutions.

Steps were also taken against the capitalist owners of industry. One of these is a transitional measure called "intervention." Ownership, with its tapping of profits, still remains as before, but the owners' control is "intervened." Control is shifted to representatives of the government.

A transitional step that cuts still deeper is a "request" to businessmen to begin training army men in the operation of their business; in other words, to prepare a substitute management.

In addition, the government was authorized to take over temporarily any business which has a serious labor dispute or which discharges workers. The squeeze was increased from another direction by levying higher taxes on mineral concessions and imposing stiff regulations on exploitation of petroleum resources.

Which Will It Be?

These transitional measures are in the right direction. But they were taken in response to immediate pressures. They were not foreseen, still less included in the program of the Castro leadership which spoke only vaguely of nationalizing the electric and telephone companies. This gives the revolution the appearance of headlessness. How long can this petty-bourgeois government get by in such fashion? At what point will it prove incapable of transcending its petty-bourgeois character?

To consolidate the revolution, no choice is open but to take the road of nationalizing the key industries, instituting socialist property forms, constructing a planned economy and undertaking an active policy for a similar course throughout Latin America. The aim of Cuba's foreign policy should be the formation of a United States of Latin America that could unite all countries below the Rio Grande in an interlocking socialist economy of enormous productive capacity.

The alternative to that grandiose perspective is stagnation, demoralization and decline of the Cuban revolution, an eventual counter-revolutionary victory and the restoration of a dictatorial regime even worse than that of Batista.

Which will it be?

Don't Want Another War



Some ten thousand Japanese workers and students stormed through police lines in Tokyo Nov. 27 to demonstrate before parliament their opposition to the new Japan-U.S. "Security" Pact to be signed in Washington this month. According to story printed below, a group of students expelled from the Communist party for "Trotskyism" led the demonstration.

Socialists Tell About Struggle Over Automation in Japan

Revolutionary socialists in Japan have issued a bulletin in English to inform socialists in other countries about Japanese class-struggle developments. The bulletin, called "Struggles in Japan," is issued by the Revolutionary Communist League, which "was established . . . after the Twentieth Congress of the Russian Communist Party and the Hungarian tragedy, but has progressed rapidly to exert some influence in the mass movement, especially during the last year."

"It is a pleasure for us to publish our new organ," says the first issue of "Struggles in Japan," dated Dec. 21, "when mass upsurges are seen in the tenacious struggle of the coal miners against rationalization [and] in the nationwide united struggles against the Japan-U.S. 'Security' pact . . ."

"The Japanese capitalists are rationalizing and automating Japanese industry, says the bulletin, and have decided to overcome the resistance of the Coal Miners' Union first. This union is the strongest in Japan. The miners are demanding that their industry be nationalized. None of the political parties, except the Revolutionary Communist League, has supported this demand, however. The Socialist party, which supposedly stands for nationalizing all industries, has remained silent about the miners' demand. The Communist party criticized the slogan of the Coal Miners' Union, arguing that it is more important to fight against layoffs than for nationalization. However, the struggle the miners have waged so far against the effects of labor-saving devices shows that nationalization of industry is necessary to prevent mass layoffs.

Ousted for "Trotskyism"

"Struggles in Japan" reports that the demonstration in Tokyo Nov. 27 of some 10,000 students and workers against revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security" Pact was led by a group of students who were recently expelled from the Communist party allegedly for "Trotskyism." They accepted the help of the Revolutionary Communist League in their struggle against the party's ma-

... On Tour

(Continued from Page 1)

who did some pioneering in new campaign methods in the East last fall. This winter they plan a trailblazing trip through Colorado and into adjacent Rocky Mountain states. Like the Eastern trailblazing pioneers, their object is to mobilize support for the SWP presidential campaign on a regional scale.

How can socialism fail to make headway when it is backed by young supporters who think nothing of facing treacherous mountain weather to do some winter campaigning for the cause?

Fraternally,
Farrell Dobbs

Earn \$130 a Year

Average per capita income for one billion people in economically underdeveloped areas of the "free world" amounts to no more than \$130 per year, according to a recent United Nations report.

national leadership. However, they don't consider themselves Trotskyists "but remain neutral between the Stalinists and us," says "Struggles in Japan."

These dissident CP students have formed their own Communist League. They hold leadership in the National Federation of Students' Self-Government Associations (Zengakuren).

Following the Nov. 27 demonstration, the police arrested a number of the student leaders. Then the Communist League group in Zengakuren called for a new demonstration against parliament but abandoned any attempt to involve the working-class movement. Furthermore, even the students in Tokyo did not seem ready to engage in a new demonstration. And the Socialist and Communist parties have denounced Zengakuren.

[A Dec. 2 Associated Press dispatch from Tokyo reports that the CP expelled 30 of its student members and restricted activities of 39 others after warning about anti-party acts. They were termed "Trotskyists."]

The Revolutionary Communist League, of course, did not join the SP and CP in denouncing Zengakuren. But "our league pointed out that the Nov. 27 demonstration was an expression of the anger of the masses," says "Struggles in Japan," and that preparations for further actions "must be united with struggles of the workers in the shops."

"Struggles in Japan" also reprints an article from the Revolutionary Communist League's organ, "World Revolution," advocating that the Japanese working class forestall the next employer offensive through a well-planned offensive of its own.

Japan is now in a boom. Though the operation of factories is changing continuously to automation, labor power is in short supply. However, recession signs are appearing, and this means that the workers must anticipate a capitalist offensive to reduce wages and undermine working conditions when the boom breaks.

In the past, the labor movement has been caught unawares whenever the employing class launched an offensive. But if the unions press their demands now against the employers, including demands that will meet the workers' needs when layoffs mount, then the working class will be able to keep the initiative under recession conditions.

SOHYO's Plan

The leaders of SOHYO, the Japanese labor federation, have adopted a plan for union battles, says "Struggles in Japan." But it is schematic. According to this plan, workers were supposed to campaign for union recognition last fall and are supposed to campaign for wage increases and a minimum wage standard next spring.

Meanwhile, major battles involving the coal miners and the railway workers have broken out. Workers in many smaller enterprises have engaged in a series of strikes. Finally, the demonstrations against the revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security" treaty indicate a readiness on the part of the workers to struggle at this time.

The Revolutionary Communist League believes that a working-class offensive can be developed successfully by build-

ing on these struggles. On the other hand, to stick to the SOHYO schedule might well result in dissipating the current wave of militancy before spring arrives.

The reason the trade-union leaders abide by their schedule, "Struggles in Japan" believes, is that they envisage the spring campaign as an adjunct to moves by the Socialist party deputies to introduce minimum-wage legislation in parliament. This makes parliamentary action primary, however, says "Struggles in Japan," and avoids a basic test of strength with the employers.

Disease of Poverty

Tuberculosis was almost four times as prevalent in central Harlem as in the rest of New York City, a report entitled "Tuberculosis in NYC 1958" revealed.

In Other Lands

Egypt Starts Building Aswan Dam

USSR Supplies Loan, Engineers

Construction of the Aswan High Dam on the Nile began Jan. 9 when Egyptian President Nasser pressed a button exploding ten tons of dynamite. Guests of honor at the celebration were Soviet Minister of Electric Power Station Construction, I. T. Novikov, and King Mohammed V of Morocco.

The first stage of construction is being carried on under supervision of Soviet engineers and with Soviet-made equipment furnished by a \$93 million Soviet loan.

The high dam has long been a major ambition of the Egyptian people. In 1956 the U.S. State Department abruptly canceled a promised loan of \$56 million toward construction of the dam. This was to force Egypt to change its foreign policy under which a trade and arms purchase agreement had just been signed with the Soviet bloc.

Instead of being coerced into submission, Nasser retaliated by nationalizing the Suez Canal.

The high dam at Aswan will increase Egypt's arable soil by one-third and its electric power ten times. The dam will be the world's highest and its reservoir — nearly 2,000 square miles — the world's largest. Completion of the first stage of construction is scheduled for 1964.

Algerian Leaders Said to Be Holding 'Decisive' Parley

The Christian Science Monitor (Jan. 12) in a front-page story by Mario Rossi, its UN correspondent, reports that a "decisive" conference of the leaders of the Algerian independence struggle is taking place in the Libyan city of Tripoli.

Giving as his source an unnamed "high-ranking North African" just arrived from Libya, Rossi says that assembled at the conference are all the military and political leaders operating inside and outside Algeria, in particular all the ministers of the Algerian Provisional Government, the 54 members of the National Council of the Algerian Revolution, and representatives of the underground, especially

The American Way of Life

Free and Easy — That's Us

As every editor of the American capitalist press reminds us about once a week in one way or another, our way of life is unique. In other countries you're watched; you never know when the police are going to swoop down on you for doing something perfectly normal. So life in other countries is grim and not much fun, especially behind the Iron Curtain, while our way is free and easy and full of good humor.

Of course you can carry things too far. We take things free and easy but there are times when it is best to exercise restraint. Sam Thompson was given a lesson in this which all of us might study with profit.

Sam Thompson is an elderly Negro who lives in Louisville, Kentucky. Right now he is in jail.

It happened like this. On Jan. 24, 1959, he was standing in a beer hall waiting for a bus. It's not quite clear whether or not someone had put a dime in the juke box, but the old man began to tap his foot, even, according to one version, to shuffle both feet.

The law let him have it. He was arrested at once, hauled into court, found guilty and fined twice; \$10 for loitering and another \$10 for disorderly conduct.

That was when Sam Thompson made his second mistake. He hired Louis Lusky, a lawyer, to make an appeal. Lusky discovered that Kentucky law apparently makes no provision to appeal cases like that; naturally he took it to the Supreme Court. And so, last week America's highest justices, all nine of them, sat in their black robes to weigh a case that might have puzzled Solomon himself.

Justice Whittaker asked: "Was it a violation of an ordinance when an old colored man goes into a beer hall, and is he guilty of loitering and disorderly conduct simply because he taps his foot to music as he waits for a bus on a cold winter night?"

Attorney Herman E. Frick, representing the city of Louisville, put the judge right on that one: "That's very dramatic, but it doesn't take into account he was doing a shuffle dance."

"What is shuffle dancing?"

"Well, it's some form of dancing which uses a system of shuffling."
"Is shuffling illegal in Louisville?" asked Justice Frankfurter.

Unlicensed Dancing

"No, sir," responded Louisville's legal representative, "but the tavern owner's license did not permit dancing."

The chief justice, Warren himself, broke in with a request for information: "If a person went into a department store, shuffled his feet, and made no purchase, would he be guilty of loitering?"

Frick had the answer ready: "Under certain circumstances."
"Well," said the chief justice, "there certainly would be a lot of women in jail then."

The \$10 fine for "disorderly conduct" was levied on Thompson for arguing with the cops after they hustled him out of the tavern. Warren wanted to know about that. "Do you put a man in jail for arguing with cops?"

"If there is sufficient evidence," the lawyer assured the judge.

The highest court in the land did not give its decision then and there. Law and order is not something to consider hastily. They took the case under advisement.

Why is Thompson in jail now? He contends that ever since he hired that lawyer, the police have been irked. They arrest him about every time they catch sight of him, he claims. Since the tavern incident, they've arrested him 12 times.

The moral is, live it up in the American way, free and easy; but don't let the cops catch you at it.

— Paul Abbott

Mine Deaths

Coal-mine accidents took a toll of 245 lives in the first ten months of 1959.

in the cities. These latter did not attend the 1956 and 1957 conferences.

The conference has set as alternatives: (1) negotiated guarantees from France of the right of self determination promised by De Gaulle, or (2) intensification of the independence war.

Militarily, the conference has apparently granted commanders in the field greater operational authority. Politically, the conference is discussing how to transform the FLN into an action party "that will compensate for the total lack of a party machine inside Algeria."

The Monitor's source of information stated that the FLN acts "as a municipal authority but not a political party" in the parts of Algeria under its control.

U.S. Oil Companies Obtain Concessions In Spanish Sahara

A group of U.S. oil corporations have been granted long-sought concessions to explore for oil in Spain's African colonies, according to the Jan. 11 New York Times. The Spanish Sahara is believed to be a great potential source of the black gold.

The rejoicing U.S. companies include Standard Oil of Ohio, Gulf, Caltex, Tidewater Richfield, Cities Service, Union and others. The liberal New York Post asked editorially Jan. 12: "Could this be the real fruit of President Eisenhower's dubious mission to Madrid?"

Chinese Dissidents Put on Purge List At March Meeting

In an article in the Jan. 7 People's Daily, An Tzu-wen, former confidential secretary to Mao Tse-tung, revealed that a purge of numerous military and government officials in the Chinese People's Republic was planned at a central committee meeting last March. Several prominent ones were ousted in September, including Defense Minister Peng Teh-huai.

An Tzu-wen said that in some branches of the Communist party political leadership had fallen into "the hands of land-

lords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and undesirable characters." This may be true, but the terms are typically applied by Stalinists to any kind of opposition.

Further alterations are being made in the communes. An Tzu-wen indicated, "At the moment a penetrating Communist education campaign is in progress in the rural areas and communes, and party organizations are being further streamlined."

A copy of the Kiangsi Daily News which arrived in Hong Kong carried a lengthy staff article on a tendency in the communes to veer back to private enterprise.

Leaders of the rural communes were warned against making individual households the units of production with specific plots of land assigned to them.

Political Parties Legalized in Iraq

Political parties have been allowed to resume activity in Iraq. Under the pro-imperialist regime of deposed Premier Nuri as Said, political parties had not been allowed to function for five years. After the July 4, 1958, revolution which overthrew Said and established a republic, Premier Kassim retained the ban on political parties for a "transitional" period which lasted 18 months. That has now expired and parties may apply to the Minister of Interior for licenses to operate.

Three parties have already been granted such permission. They are the Communist party, which has the support of the bulk of the workers and peasants of the country, the Kurdish Democrats representing the Kurds, a minority people in the Arab nation, and the National Democrats, a middle-class liberal party.

A split in the leadership of the Communist party appeared when former party chief, Daoud Sayegh, refused to accompany the other leaders to file for legal party status. In his paper, Al Mabda, he accuses them of "left-wing deviationism." The official CP line, however, calls for a national front or coalition of all the parties under Premier Kassim's leadership. The National Democrats oppose this proposal.

He Doesn't Want To Miss an Issue

Editor: I will send the money to renew my subscription in the next few weeks. I can't afford to send it right now. I don't want to miss the Militant because I get a lot of important information that I can't get elsewhere. Many thanks.

M. M. G. Tennessee

Did Sitter Watch Candidate on TV?

Editor: Both the Dec. 20 Seattle Times and the Jan. 4 Time magazine carried the same news item about Joan Jordan who was the Socialist Workers nominee for Mayor of San Francisco.

"In San Francisco following an unsuccessful bid for mayor, Mrs. Joan Jordan fled a list of campaign costs including \$7.50 for baby sitting."

The fact that such an item is of national news interest has some significance in my opinion. It indicates that the women who usually run for public office, if they are from the working class, either have no children or

grown children. Where women with small children take an active part in politics, they generally come from the business and professional classes where a paid housekeeper is part of their regular household expenses.

Government figures on women workers released last year list 4 1/2 million working women with children between the ages of 6 and 17. No figures are given on working women with children under 6. From my own knowledge I would guess there are a million in that category. This would mean some 5 1/2 million workers, who are among the most exploited, have neither representation or any serious consideration of their special problems.

Neither the Seattle Times nor Time drew these conclusions. M. B. Seattle

Pollack and Pollock; Both Were Victims

Editor: I just finished reading the Militant of December 28. It measures up to the high standard of the paper in every respect. Personally, I have only one minor criticism - The American Way of Life column. The story

is not only interesting but illustrative of American injustice. But why did the writer of the column not indicate by at least one sentence that the injustice was not only for Pollock but also for Pollack? In fact, the opposite impression even.

R. K. Los Angeles (The Dec. 28 column referred to reported the story of Louis Pollack, a Hollywood screen writer who was secretly blacklisted by the industry because his name was confused with a Louis Pollack who had defied the House Un-American Activities Committee. R. K.'s point is well taken. Both were victims of the witch-hunters. - Editor.)

Wants Briefer Articles and More of Them

Editor: I find the Militant good in that it gives the Socialist Workers party point of view. I would suggest that the articles be less in length so that more articles can be written in the space available. H. M. New York

Witch-Hunt 4 New York Teachers

It is the duty of a citizen to inform on others - this is what New York's Board of Education has been seeking, by means of object lessons, to drum into the minds of the city's school children along with the three R's.

Four teachers suspended without pay Jan. 8 charge that the real reason they were dropped is their refusal to inform on the political activities of fellow teachers. Between 1954 and 1958 the Board of Education conducted a number of "hearings" on "Communist infiltration" of the school system.

The four suspended teachers are Miss Deborah Douglas, Mrs. Lillian Felshin, Mrs. Ethel P. Levine and Mr. Selig Bernstein. They have been with the school system for lengths of time varying from 15 to 36 years. John J. Theobald, Mayor Wagner's Superintendent of Schools, has accused them of submitting false applications for teaching licenses because they allegedly withheld information about past Communist party membership.

But, says Mrs. Ethel Levine, "Five years ago, I submitted to an inquiry at which time I admitted I had been a member of the Communist party between 1941 and 1945 and that I left the party before I started teaching in the fall of 1945. . . . If I were unfit to teach, why didn't they suspend me five years ago? Why am I unfit to teach now?"

The suspension of the four teachers "seems to be a fit of delayed spite," says the New York Post editorially. "It is no secret to the Board that many of its other employees are guilty of the same offense. Yet no action is being taken against them."

While those employees who submitted to the Board's demands to inform on others kept

Jennie Dunne, at 74, Dies in Minneapolis

Jennie Dunne died in Minneapolis January 8 at the age of 74. Her death came unexpectedly although she had suffered ill health for a number of years.

She was the wife of Vincent R. Dunne, state chairman of the Socialist Workers party and well-known figure in the Minnesota labor movement.

Born at Oland Island, Sweden, Oct. 23, 1885, Jennie spent her childhood in poverty. Her mother died at her birth and she was bound out to a family in Stockholm who brought her up and saw that she obtained sufficient education to earn a living as a servant.

Jennie Holm was a beautiful young woman of thirteen when she arrived with other immigrants in America. She did not meet Vincent Dunne until 1912 when she was working as a waitress at the Great Northern station. The young express-wagon driver was a patron at the lunch counter.

Jennie and Vincent had two children of their own, Raymond and Jeanette. They increased the family by three during the depression when they took in the children of friends who were up against it.

That was during the difficult days when the Minneapolis drivers began organizing and



JENNIE DUNNE

in some of the most militant labor battles the country saw in the thirties, converted Minneapolis, under the leadership of the Dunne brothers and other revolutionary socialists into a union town.

Jennie did not want a public funeral or services of any kind. In accordance with her wishes, an autopsy was performed for scientific reasons connected with her illness, and the body cremated.

Friends gathered at her son's home to pay her honor and recall old memories. Besides her husband and children, Jennie is survived by two sisters in Sweden and a brother in Minneapolis.

New York Jury Indicts Jack on Charge of Graft

By M. L. Stafford

NEW YORK, Jan. 13 - Manhattan Borough President Hulan Jack was arrested today after a grand jury returned a four-count indictment against him. The highest ranking elected Negro official in the country, Jack is charged with accepting financial favors from Sidney J. Ungar, a real-estate operator who was seeking a \$30-million city contract for a Title I housing deal.

Mayor Wagner's Tammany Hall administration opened the grand-jury investigation Dec. 15 after the New York Post obtained information that Ungar, a long-time influential figure in Tammany circles, had paid \$5,500 for remodeling work in Jack's apartment in a Harlem tenement building.

Originally Ungar denied he had made the payment but after the contractor who did the work offered proof, Ungar and Jack told a press conference that the money had been advanced as a personal loan.

District Attorney Frank Hogan said today that the indictment covers one point of conspiracy to obstruct justice and that the other three concern violations of the City Charter.

Faces Prison

Each of the four counts are misdemeanors. If convicted, Jack would face up to one year in jail on each count.

The indictment named Ungar as a co-conspirator but he was not cited as a co-defendant.

Jack has long been a loyal supporter of the Tammany machine. He was the target of widespread criticism in Harlem last year when he acted as front man for Tammany boss Carmine De Sapio in an unsuccessful campaign to prevent Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) from being returned to Congress.

But the current attacks on Jack brought a barrage of condemnations from Negro newspapers, politicians and community leaders, including those previously hostile to him.

They charged that Jack, as a Negro, was being sacrificed by the Wagner machine to placate the public ire aroused by a series of corruption exposures.

The local press has documented numerous cases of collusion between office holders and real-estate sharks to milk the city's alleged slum clearance program. So far Jack is the only person against whom official action has been taken.

Delay Granted On Deportation

Mrs. Jo Ann Santiago is still fighting deportation to Canada. She had originally been ordered to surrender for deportation Jan. 18, but the order was temporarily withdrawn after her attorney, Blanch Freedman, applied for review of the case. Mrs. Santiago's husband and three children are American citizens. She came to this country when she was six.

In another legal move, Federal Judge McGohey was asked to issue a restraining order against immediate deportation. Contributions to help the fight should be sent to: Jo Ann Santiago Defense Committee, PO Box 1422, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.

Calendar Of Events

CHICAGO

Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein speaks on "Poetry, Politics and the Class Struggle," Thurs., Jan. 28 at 8 p.m. University of Chicago, Social Science Room 122, at 1126 E. 59 St. Auspices: University Young Socialists. Donation 75 cents, students 35 cents.

CLEVELAND

Interested in socialism? Join a weekly class in a study of Frederick Engels' classic work, "Socialism from a Utopia to a Science." Next class Thurs., Jan. 21, at 8 p.m., 10609 Superior Avenue, Third Floor.

LOS ANGELES

FARRELL DOBBS, National Secretary Socialist Workers party. On national tour. Will speak in Los Angeles, Saturday, Jan. 25, 8:15 p.m. on "Labor's Role in the 1960 Elections." At 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953. Donation 75 cents. Questions and discussion. Social to follow.

School of International Socialism presents its winter lecture series.

Theodore Edwards on "THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1917."

"The October Revolution - Its Balance Sheet." Sunday, Jan. 24, 11 a.m.

Milton Alvin on "THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION TODAY"; "How the Stalin Regime Was Formed and Defeated Its Rivals - 1918 - 1928." Sunday, Jan. 31, 11 a.m.

"The Consolidation of the Stalin Regime - 1928 - 1945." Sunday, Feb. 7, 11 a.m.

"The Soviet Union as a World Power - Its Present Position and Future - 1946 - 1960." Sunday, Feb. 14, 11 a.m.

Forum Hall, 1702 East Fourth St., Los Angeles 33. Telephone, AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238.

NEW YORK

Are babies mankind's worst enemy? Hear Joseph Hansen, editor of the Militant, on "Population Explosion and Birth Control - The Marxist View." Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place (near Union Square). Friday, Jan. 22, 8:30 p.m. Contribution 50 cents.

Local Directory

BOSTON Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200. CHICAGO Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9738. CLEVELAND Socialist Workers Party 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Thursday nights 8 to 10. The Militant, P.O. Box 1904, University Center Station, Cleveland 6, Ohio. DETROIT Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, TE 6-1135. LOS ANGELES Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-1953 or WE 5-9238. MILWAUKEE 150 East Juneau Ave. MINNEAPOLIS Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin

nepin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon to 6 P.M. daily except Sundays. NEWARK Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N.J. NEW YORK CITY Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852. OAKLAND - BERKELEY P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif. PHILADELPHIA Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1803 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 P.M., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820. SAN FRANCISCO The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Rm. 4. Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone FR 6-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321. SEATTLE 1412-18th Avenue, EA 2-8554. LR library, bookstore. ST. LOUIS For information phone MO 4-7194.

He Led the Textile Strikers

By George Lavan

The death of Arturo Giovannitti on Dec. 31 recalls to memory the Lawrence textile strike of 1912 - that heroic battle of the American class struggle, with which Giovannitti's name will always be coupled.

Lawrence, Mass., then had the world's largest textile mills. On Jan. 12, 1912, the men, women and little children, who slaved in those mills 56 and more hours a week for wages as low as \$5 and \$6, walked out in protest over a wage cut. Unorganized, divided by national origin and employer-fostered enmities into 27 foreign-language groups, mistrusting the AFL labor bureaucrats whose policy of organizing only the skilled crafts had betrayed past struggles, the Lawrence textile workers called on the revolutionary Industrial Workers of the World to send in organizers for their strike.

Two Italian-speaking anarcho-syndicalists from New York, Joseph Eitor and Arturo Giovannitti, were among the first IWW organizers to reach Lawrence. Both were in their late twenties. Eitor, born in New York, had gone to work at the age of 12, had been a "wobbly" organizer for six years and a member of the IWW's general executive board for four years. Giovannitti, born in Ripabottoni, Italy, had completed his formal education in the U.S. He was an intellectual, a poet and editor of a radical Italian newspaper. Their ability, courage and unwavering devotion quickly won them the love of all the strikers.

The strikers from the first were subjected to the brutality of the police and national guard. City and state officials and the capitalist newspapers, all lackeys of textile tycoon William M. Wood, did all in their power to smash the strike. In below-freezing weather, the mills played fire hoses on the picket lines. Strikers were given one-year sentences on charges of throwing snowballs. On Jan. 20 police "discovered" dynamite bombs in three different places. Unionists were arrested, all picketing forbidden, the press cried for the blood of Eitor and Giovannitti. But it could not long be concealed that the dynamite had been planted, and the police tipped off, by one of Lawrence's leading citizens, a city official. He was let off with a \$500 fine. Eight

months later the dynamite plot was traced to Ernest Pittman, wealthy mill builder and close friend of textile baron Wood. Pittman committed suicide a day prior to being questioned by the grand jury. Though Wood, one of America's top industrialists, was later brought to trial for conspiracy in the dynamite plot, his high-priced lawyers won him an acquittal.

Ten days after the "bomb" fiasco, Eitor and Giovannitti were framed on a murder charge. Police and national guardsmen had trapped a crowd of strikers at an intersection. A policeman or company gunman fired into their midst killing Anna Lo Pizzo, a young woman. Though they had been miles from this "riot," the two IWW strike leaders were arrested as "accessories" to the murder of their union sister. They spent the rest of the strike in the shadow of the electric chair.

After 63 days the solidarity and militancy of the 25,000 strikers paid off in a settlement that was a complete surrender by the mill owners. But victory was incomplete; for Eitor, Giovannitti and Caruso, a rank-and-file striker, were still in prison. Throughout the country, socialists and unionists organized a great protest movement. A defense fund of over \$60,000 was raised. The international working class added its voice. In Italy, Giovannitti was even put on the ballot as Socialist candidate for parliament. In Lawrence and other New England textile towns the workers' slogan became: "Open the jail doors or we will close the mill gates!" On Sept. 27, the day before the trial began, a general protest strike took place in Lawrence, Lynn, Haverhill, Barre (Vermont) and other New England mill towns. On Nov. 23 the jury freed all three defendants.

For decades afterwards Giovannitti took part in practically every U.S. strike involving Italian workers. He played a leading role in organizing American workers of Italian extraction into the anti-fascist movement. He continued to write poetry and articles on labor subjects; he held various posts in the garment workers' unions. In poor health since 1945, Giovannitti was 75 at the time of his death.

Notes in the News

EASY WAY TO MAKE MONEY - New York banks, which handle about one-fourth of the money loaned in all leading cities in the U.S., reported their profits last year were 12% to 24% above those of 1958. This was due to a "growing volume of loans and rising interest rates," according to the Jan. 5 Wall Street Journal. One of the secrets of such successful banking is to make short-term loans which reappear in the bank within a few days as new deposits. These are again used for fresh credit, which again shows up at the deposit window, to be shifted to the loan case - and so on up to certain legal limits. All at a handsome rate of interest, of course.

CREeping SOCIALISM? - The Journal of the American Medical Association has vigorously objected to the government taking action on tainted cranberries, chicken and other food products.

IT WAS JUST A JOKE - P. H. Houston, chief of police in Union City, Ga., has a hilarious pastime. He likes to draw a gun on Negroes and frighten them by slowly squeezing the trigger. On Dec. 23 he engaged in this boyish prank with Willie James Bridges. The gun went off. Bridges was taken to the hospital with a bullet in his abdomen. He is reported to be in "fair" condition. On Jan. 5 the city council fired Houston and the mayor promptly rehired him on a 30-day basis "because of an emergency" - the emergency being that the town was without a chief of police.

LONG-PLAYING TRANQUILIZER - To help lull doctors into prescribing their particular tranquilizing pill, Milton, Wallace Laboratories has been sending complimentary copies of a recording of Smetana's music played by the violinist David Oistrakh. The flip side of the record, however, tells about Miltons. Estes Kefauver, head of the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly subcommittee estimates that one-third of the retail price of drugs is spent for advertising and promotion.

RABBITS' WEDDING FORCES LIBRARIAN TO QUIT - Miss Emily Reed, director of Alabama's public libraries, who came under heavy racist fire last spring because she permitted the circulation of the children's book, "The Rabbits' Wedding," is resigning her post.

State authorities saw a "subversive" message in the happy story about the love of a black and a white rabbit for each other.

SUPPLEMENTARY PAY - Charles A. Willis, 56, worked as a mail clerk for a New York brokerage firm. After ten years he was taking home all of \$62 a week. But, according to the district attorney, he supplemented his income to the tune of a half-million dollars during the ten years by buying postage stamps with company money and selling them at a discount. While the outfit only paid Willis \$62 it apparently had so much money that company officials never missed the \$1,000 a month that he is alleged to have taken. However, just before Christmas Willis is said to have taken about twice as much as before. They noticed this.

ILLEGAL "CONGREGATING" - Three San Francisco youths recently experienced how dangerous police can be at night. They were walking up the street after leaving a movie about 12:30 a.m. Two plainclothesmen jumped out of a car and searched the oldest youth, 19-year-old Thor Michelsen. When he asked them what right they had to search him, one of the officers began pushing him around, and then tripped him. His head was cut when it struck the sidewalk. He was arrested and charged with "congregating" and resisting a police officer. San Francisco has an ordinance making it unlawful for three or more persons under the age of 21 "to congregate or assemble" on "any public street, between the hours of 8 o'clock p.m. and daylight of the following morning."

THAT CLENCHED-FIST SALUTE - Discussing fraudulent practices in magazine and newspaper photography, Peter Stackpole, in his column in the February issue of U.S. Camera, writes: "As an example of misrepresentation at its worst, I learned from Miami free lance photographer Flip Schulke that he was threatened by an angry mob of Cuban farmers who carried machetes when he started to take their picture recently in Havana. Why the violence? Flip soon learned that a news service photographer had, a few days earlier, succeeded in posing them giving the clenched fist Communist salute. I understand that the picture was serviced in the U.S."

... Steel Pact Shows Few Gains

(Continued from Page 1)

It would seem that this arrangement merely puts into one pocket what it takes out of another. But - the McDonald leadership further agreed to give up the 4 cents per-hour cost-of-living increase due the steel workers on Jan. 1 under the terms of the old contract. And, in addition, up to 3 cents of any increase due the union under the escalator clause in the new contract.

All of which led New York Times correspondent Joseph Loftus to assert that: "Viewed from one angle, the employees may be paying for insurance in a back-handed way, through reduced living cost adjustments." Viewed from one, two, or any number of angles, there is no other possible conclusion.

Probably the most damaging concession made by the McDonald leadership was in stripping the gears of the union's escalator clause. This will undoubtedly be used as a precedent for union negotiations in other industries. The escalator clause in the union contract is a good insurance for the workers against the effects of inflation. It calls for an automatic increase in wages for each rise in the cost of living as recorded in the Consumers Price Index compiled by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. The usual clause provides for an increase of 1 cent for each half point advance registered by the CPI.

Under the escalator clause in the previous steel industry contract the cost of living increase amounted to 17 cents for the period of the 3-year agreement. If the period from the termination of the old agreement to Jan. 1, 1960 is included, the increase

would have amounted to 21 cents. This is an average of approximately 6 cents per year. Under the terms of the new escalator clause, the McDonald leadership has agreed to place a ceiling of 6 cents on cost of living increases for the period of the agreement.

This means that if the cost-of-living increase amounts to 5 cents the first year, the union will be entitled to only 1 cent increase the second. In other words, a ceiling of 3 cents per year was placed on cost-of-living increases, which is one-half the actual amount of increase recorded in the past 3 1/2 years. In addition, it was agreed that if there was an increase in insurance rates the corporations would be entitled to defray the cost of such increase by deductions from cost-of-living increases due the steel workers.

As a matter of fact, the maximum that the steel workers can expect under the new escalator clause for the entire period of the new agreement, is an increase of 3 cents - no matter how high the cost of living goes - and they will probably not even get that much. It is McDonald's "mutual trusteeship" gesture to the money hogs who have been conducting an all-out campaign against the escalator clause which they stigmatize as "inflationary."

The outcry of the employers against the escalator provisions of the union contract are part and parcel of their campaign against "featherbedding." Both are designed to drive down the standard of living of the workers. The escalator clause was originally incorporated in the union agreement in exchange for

the long-term contract. It was calculated to provide some protection for the workers against the ravages of inflation.

The escalator increases come only after the government figures show an increase in the cost of living - and usually some time after. Take away the protection of the escalator provision and every increase in the cost of living will immediately reflect itself in a dip in the workers' living standards. Under the one-year agreement previously in force the workers would at least have the opportunity of correcting such injustice. But the long-term agreement with no escalator clause, or with McDonald's mangled version, becomes a trap.

Working Conditions

What concessions the McDonald leadership made to the steel corporations on working conditions are not yet clear. There have been hints by industry spokesmen that an understanding was reached to work out changes on a local level to increase "efficiency." A joint committee headed by a "neutral" chairman is to be set up to "study" changes in work rules.

There is no proposal, no suggestion, not a hint that the work-rules committee intends to concern itself with any recommendations to improve working conditions. On the contrary, the emphasis is all in the opposite direction.

Whatever fringe benefits were gained cannot compensate for McDonald's rotten compromises on basic issues. If this agreement is his "greatest" the steel workers have a dim future under the McDonald regime. And what is most nauseating about the whole business is McDonald's hammy performances.

At the meeting in Buffalo, McDonald played the role of meek brother-in-arms, come in all humility to disclose his message of deliverance. "Perhaps some of you think," he opined, that "I come here tonight as a con- quering hero. I do not." And, with downcast eyes, "I come to you simply as a humble steel worker with a message of peace, prosperity and happiness."

What corn! It would be fitting to have McDonald's name go down in history as the Liberator of the Labor Movement - curis and all.

Asian Crime Center

Hong Kong is one of the main centers of organized crime in Asia, according to the Dec. 24 New York Times. In this respect it is "like Shanghai ten years ago," says the Times.

... Kennedy and Johnson

(Continued from Page 1)

Act, the Taft-Hartley Act, and in the last two instances, having voted to override a Democratic President to make these measures law." Further, Johnson said, "as leader of the Senate, I asked the Democratic 84th Congress to create the McClellan Committee. . . ."

"Kennedy Sold Out Labor for Presidential Ambitions," says the MESA Educator in its January issue. The journal cites charges made recently against Kennedy by Sen. Morse (D-Ore.). "I was one of the [House-Senate] conferees, and on seven different issues I moved that the Senate conferees stand in disagreement and go back to the Senate for instruction," said Morse. "On each occasion Kennedy voted with the Republicans and

prevented further consideration of these seven issues. Each one of them involved clear anti-labor issues. . . . Let there be no misunderstanding. . . . had the Senator from Massachusetts at any time not opposed bringing this language back to the Senate in the form of a conference report, it would not now be law."

An editorial in the December issue of the MESA Educator, reviewing labor's present political course, states that "This editorial may seem bitter - and we are. Bitter at the two-faced politicians; . . . bitter at the losses the unions have suffered at the hands of the present administration; . . . and bitter that there are so few influential labor leaders with the courage to fight both political parties by establishing labor's own political party."