

Chinese Communists In Dispute on Policies

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Take Big Step Toward Negro Labor Council

By George Lavan

The recent conference held in Cleveland to organize an American Negro Labor Council was a historic step both for the Negro people and for organized labor. The response to the conference call and the plans laid by the delegates indicate that an important movement is in process of being born. It is a movement which will greatly advance the fight against Jim Crow and greatly strengthen the power of organized labor.

More than 300 Negro labor leaders holding responsible administrative and management positions within the AFL-CIO and other independent unions attended the conference, according to the Nov. 28 Michigan Chronicle.

A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and a vice-president of the AFL-CIO, presided. A steering committee of 30 members, headed by Milton Webster, BSCP vice-president, was set up. Its plans include going from city to city with Randolph to set up local ANLC councils in preparation for a national convention to be held in Detroit next April.

Another committee to prepare the founding convention and a constitution was also set up. It is headed by Horace Sheffield, United Auto Workers official and president of the Detroit Trade Union Leadership Council, an organization of Negro unionists which has functioned for a number of years in that city.

Among those at the Cleveland conference were unionists from New York, Washington, D. C., Atlanta, St. Louis, Youngstown, Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Columbus, Marietta and St. Clairsville, Ohio.

St. Clairsville is a coal mining area where Thomas Starks of the United Mine Workers is organizing a unit of the new movement. The largest single delegation at the conference was from Detroit. Youngstown, a steel center, was next.

Unions to which the conferees belonged included: Allied Industrial Workers, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Longshoremen, Mine Workers, American Federation of Teachers, Steelworkers, Retail-Wholesale Department Store Union, United Auto Workers, Hotel and Restaurant Workers, Building Service Employees, Machinists, Office Employees, Communications Workers, Laborers and Hod Carriers, and Teamsters.

Randolph told reporters that while the now famous exchange between himself and AFL-CIO President Meany at the AFL-CIO's San Francisco convention (Continued on Page 4)

Stack it up! commanded the desk sergeant. "I didn't know what he meant," relates the Negro editor. "I told him the money was already wrapped and marked. That's all in the world I said to the man. He reached across the counter and hit me in the face. Then he jumped over the counter after me. He hit me several more times and knocked me into a phone booth. Then he threw me out of the building."

The cop's parting words were: "The next time you come to West Memphis, act like a nigger is supposed to act." Palmer is trying to take legal action against the guardian of the law.

A Cop's Way In Memphis

L. F. Palmer, editor of the Tri-State Defender, Negro newspaper published in Memphis, Tenn., received a phone call on Sunday, Nov. 22, from an employee who had been involved in a minor traffic accident in West Memphis (Arkansas) and needed \$250 bond. Gathering the money available in the office, Palmer took \$210 in bills and \$40 in rolls of coins in bank wrappers to the West Memphis police station.

"Stack it up!" commanded the desk sergeant. "I didn't know what he meant," relates the Negro editor. "I told him the money was already wrapped and marked. That's all in the world I said to the man. He reached across the counter and hit me in the face. Then he jumped over the counter after me. He hit me several more times and knocked me into a phone booth. Then he threw me out of the building."

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Socialist Fund Campaign Lags Behind Schedule

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Director

Everybody knows that good intentions don't satisfy landlords, printers or the power trust. And I suppose that anyone with their outlook, studying this week's scoreboard, wouldn't feel impressed. Contributions to our Socialist Publication Fund dropped below average right when they should go above it if we're to meet that Dec. 15 deadline in full and on time.

But I don't like the outlook of the business world, and besides I know only too well what a hard job it is to raise a relatively large sum of money no matter how devoted you are to the socialist cause. For most working people it's all you can do just to make ends meet each week. So when you add up daily living expenses and the regular contributions that socialists include in their budget to make sure the movement keeps going, then contributing to a fund like this spells sacrifice for almost everyone involved.

On the other hand as soon as you start talking about sacrifices I think about what revolutionary-minded people have done in other times and places and I begin to feel a little embarrassed about even mentioning "sacrifice" when all that's involved is a little money. I think most of us have been so thoroughly trained in capitalist ways of thinking that we just hate to part with the bits of metal and pieces of paper.

Well, we are seriously behind schedule, but each time I started to feel pessimistic the last few days I bolstered my morale by re-reading the letter from Jo, our Seattle fund director. "I'm rushing in every bit of fund money when we get it," she wrote, "even though it's late at night and the eight-hour factory grind starts early. Our score is embarrassing to

Walter 'NINTT' Reuther

By George Breitman

DETROIT — Several Negro delegates asked Walter Reuther, at the Reuther caucus held during the recent United Auto Workers convention in Atlantic City, to support their fight for representation on the international executive board to be elected that week. The substance of his answer was: "Now's not the time."

Later, during the convention, a number of delegates sought to get the union to set a fight for a shorter work week with no cut in take-home pay as the UAW's "major demand." But on this question too Reuther & Co. felt, "Now is not the time," and the convention adopted a resolution making the shorter week "a" major demand.

In fact, Reuther doesn't consider this demand as major in any sense. Just a month after the convention, he testified before the Senate Committee on Unemployment Problems at a hearing in Detroit, and presented a lengthy 10-point program on behalf of the UAW. Somehow, the shorter week was not among them.

The 1957 UAW convention voted to make the shorter week its main objective in 1958. But at the 1953 special convention Reuther applied the full pressure of his machine to force a reluctant decision that 1958 was not the time after all. Two years later, he is still playing the same game.

When Is Now?

It's enough to make you wonder. Does he mean it will never be the time when he says it isn't now? A look backward at the union's history supports this idea.

In the 1930's and 1940's the UAW frequently and regularly expressed the need for labor to form its own party. Reuther in those days didn't say he was forever opposed to a labor party; he merely said, "Now is not the time." That was because there was a strong opposition to the Reuther machine in the UAW at that time.

But when this opposition was defeated, and its leaders deserted or sold out, then Reuther came into the open and spelled out exactly what he meant: Now is not the time for a labor party, and it never will be, he said and still says.

There's a lesson in this for advocates of 30-for-40 and of Negro representation. If they organize strongly and fight for what they want, Reuther will give them some lip-service, if nothing more; he will agree that their objectives are good and that he will fight for them too — eventually.

But if they don't organize themselves, if they don't fight for what they believe in, if in effect they depend on him to lead the fight for things he doesn't want to fight for, then the cause they advocate will suffer a severe setback, as the pro-labor party movement did.

Those who want a shorter week will have to organize the ranks to fight for it at the UAW special convention next year; and one of the things they will have to fight against is Reuther's tricky evasions, not taking his word for anything.

Those who want Negro representation in the UAW leadership (after 24 years, its executive board is still all-white) had better adopt a similar attitude. (Continued on Page 2)

Living Costs Hit New Peak As Dividends Top Record

On Thanksgiving Day the Bureau of Labor announced that in the month of October, the spendable income of factory workers had dropped back to the level of December 1956 and that at the same time the cost of living had jumped to a new record peak. Earlier, the Department of Commerce disclosed that U.S. corporations made the highest dividend payments for any October in history.

Spendable earnings for a worker with three dependents dropped 30 cents to \$80.03 a week. At the same time, prices increased 0.2% from mid-September, the sixth rise in seven months. The cost of living is now officially estimated as 25.5% higher than in 1947-49.

The biggest monthly increase was in transportation costs, 1.4%. Clothing was next with an increase of 0.4% and medical costs rose 0.2%.

About a million and a quarter workers covered by union escalator clauses will receive a cent-an-hour increase as a result of the index rise.

Anti-American Demonstration in Japan



Part of a crowd of Japanese, estimated at 27,000, who stormed through police lines in Tokyo Nov. 27 onto grounds of parliament buildings to protest American-Japanese military treaty due to be signed in January. In foreground are flat-topped hats of Japanese police. The demonstrators were organized by the Communist and Socialist parties, the Sohyo labor federation and Zengakuren, a radical student organization. Police suffered 250 casualties, demonstrators 212. Police said about 200,000 people participated in similar demonstrations in other cities. (Wide World photo.)

Accuse Giant Steel Companies Of Conspiracy to Fix Prices

While the steel barons have been proclaiming that boosts in steel prices are due to rises in wages and have pointed accusing fingers at what they call the "monopoly power" of the Steelworkers Union, the Justice Department has been investigating a price-fixing conspiracy involving two of the biggest steel companies in the country.

After 15 months of sleuthing, the department entered suit

What's Good For GM —

Everyone remembers Charles E. Wilson's famous remark in 1953, "What's good for General Motors is good for the country." What the head of GM meant when he gave this answer to a question as to his fitness to join Eisenhower's cabinet became clearer last week when the Michigan Supreme Court gave its opinion on sales of 1953 Buick which company officials knew were equipped with faulty power brakes.

Holding that the company had failed to warn 1953 Buick owners that they were driving defective automobiles, the court ordered a jury trial in a damage suit filed by Robert Comstock whose leg was amputated after an accident involving one of the cars.

The decision reversed a lower court judge who had dismissed the suit. The justices found that GM had "warned its dealers" of a defect in the brake system, but "did not warn those into whose hands they had placed this dangerous instrument."

They noted that Buick agencies had been instructed to repair the power-brake system whenever a 1953 model came into their shops "without notice to the owners."

Nov. 23 in a San Francisco federal court charging violation of the Sherman anti-trust law against United States Steel Corp., Bethlehem Steel Co., four smaller producers, 12 fabricators of steel bars and the Western Reinforcing Steel Fabricators Association of Oakland, Calif.

"Steel bars or rods," known in the trade as "rebars," are used to reinforce concrete in construction work. Rebars rank fourth among the products turned out by the steel industry.

The federal suit charges that the fabricators whacked up a seven-state territory, entering into collusion in making bids and fixing contract terms.

U.S. Steel and Bethlehem were among those charged with agreeing not to sell materials directly from their mills to construction contractors who wanted to make their own rebars. In return for this squeeze, the fabricators agreed not to buy rebars from foreign producers.

The court has been asked to enjoin the fabricators from dividing up the market and making collusive bids. The court has also been asked to require that the manufacturers sell rebars directly to contractors throughout the country as well as in

the western states covered by the present conspiracy charge. Rebar prices were apparently of considerable interest to the steel monopolists. When the market price is not fixed, reinforced concrete acts as a competitive check on the price of big structural steel beams.

When the beams get too expensive, builders tend to switch to reinforced concrete — so long as rebar prices are competitive. Commenting on the federal action, F. S. Clough, a spokesman for the fabricators' association, declared that "contrary to the government's allegations, this association has actually served as a vital source for the preservation of free competition in this industry. It has allowed the smaller firms to pool their resources" to stand up against "the larger fabricators."

The federal suit charged that in 1958, the fabricators controlled 75% of the rebar market in Arizona, California, Idaho, Nevada, Oregon, Utah and Washington. Not bad for "smaller firms."

Latest product available in an aerosol can is a perfume called Lady Chatterly's Instant Sex.

INSTANT SEX

At the time, Eisenhower's victory was ascribed to "tactical" blunders committed by the Taft forces. Taft brushed this explanation aside as superficial. "I don't want my supporters to feel that there were any serious mistakes of omission and that some striking move would have solved the whole problem," he wrote.

"The result of the convention came far more from underlying causes which had operated steadily for eight months, and continued to operate at Chicago. First, it was the power of the New York financial interest and a large number of business men subject to New York influence, who had selected General Eisenhower as their candidate at least a year ago . . .

Steel Barons Hit Union with An Ultimatum

By Tom Kerry

NEW YORK, Dec. 2 — The American labor movement was once again given an object lesson in "free collective bargaining" yesterday when the steel corporations came into a bargaining session called by federal mediators and laid their "last offer" on the table with a take-it-or-leave-it ultimatum to the Steelworkers union.

It was the first "collective bargaining" session held under government auspices since the issuance of the Taft-Hartley injunction. The "last offer" submitted yesterday was identical with the offer rejected by the union on Nov. 15. Under the Taft-Hartley law it is to be submitted to the steel workers for a referendum vote.

While the corporations had 60 days from the date the injunction was issued to present their "last offer," they elected to cut through the "collective bargaining" farce staged by Eisenhower's mediators and launch a campaign directed at the steel workers and their families.

The steel corporations long ago decided to utilize the 80-day injunction period to try and brainwash the steel workers into accepting the companies' terms. They waited until a few hours before the first bargaining meeting scheduled by federal mediators to release a "two-color or brochure" mailed to their employees. This timing was deliberately calculated to underscore their contempt for the "bargaining sessions" of the federal mediators and the McDonald leadership.

The corporation statement, observes the Dec. 2 Wall Street Journal, "was understood to be part of a campaign for worker votes in the Taft-Hartley 'final offer' ballot next month. By mailing statements to workers' homes, steel companies apparently hoped that wives might be persuaded to pressure their husbands to accept the offers and not to strike again."

The distribution of the corporation statement prior to the meeting apparently caught the government flunkies by surprise. And how did these august gentlemen — before whom our labor leaders bow and scrape — react to the back-of-the-hand slap administered by the steel moguls Chief federal mediator Joseph F. Finnegan had no comment to make, says the Wall Street Journal, "but he was known to be irate . . . at the timing of the leaflet just hours before the mediation efforts were scheduled to resume."

The precipitate action of the steel bosses, you see, threatens to give away the whole show. The sole object of government mediation is to pressure the union to further whittle down its already meager demands to meet the ultimatum of the employers. To do so without inciting a rank-and-file revolt there must at least be some pretense of "collective bargaining." The "irate" Mr. Finnegan has grounds for complaint. The action of the steel monopolists will not make his role any easier.

It appears that "Injunction Ike" is irate too! The Wall Street Journal discloses that "irate" Eisenhower will devote a part of his nation-wide radio-television broadcast this week to the steel labor-industry dispute. Eisenhower, says this spokesman for big business, "is prepared to criticize both union and management for failing to arrive at a negotiated settlement." This, my friends, is adding insult to injury!

Lesson in Reality

On the same day the steel corporations laid down their ultimatum, the union movement was given another lesson in class reality. The proposal is (Continued on Page 4)

But the Bankers "Liked Ike"

And That Finished
"Mr. Republican"

By Joseph Hansen

Publication of a confidential analysis of the 1952 Republican convention, drawn up seven years ago by the late Robert A. Taft to explain his defeat by General Eisenhower, created a stir last week.

The secret document was made public Nov. 24, apparently by followers of Nixon who thought it might help the Vice-President in his contest with Rockefeller for the 1960 GOP nomination. Whatever Nixon's interest may be, Taft's analysis deserves attention for the evidence it offers on who really runs the capitalist political machines.

Taft was devoured by ambition to become president of the United States like his father. He had a good chance of making it, too, for he came of a wealthy family, enjoyed the backing of the strong Middle West section of the capitalist class, and assiduously made politics his profession.

His abilities were such that he became known as "Mr. Republican," the most popular figure in the party and its leader in the Senate. In 1952 he got commitments from 604 delegates, exactly enough to win the presidential nomination if every-one stuck tough at the convention. And yet Eisenhower, a general of no political experi-

ence, won easily over the professional Taft.

At the time, Eisenhower's victory was ascribed to "tactical" blunders committed by the Taft forces. Taft brushed this explanation aside as superficial.

"I don't want my supporters to feel that there were any serious mistakes of omission and that some striking move would have solved the whole problem," he wrote.

"The result of the convention came far more from underlying causes which had operated steadily for eight months, and continued to operate at Chicago. First, it was the power of the New York financial interest and a large number of business men subject to New York influence, who had selected General Eisenhower as their candidate at least a year ago . . .

"Second, four-fifths of the influential newspapers in the country were opposed to me continuously and vociferously and many turned themselves into propaganda sheets for my opponent." (Newspapers owned or controlled, of course, by the Eastern capitalists.)

Taft discussed how Warren, Stassen and Eisenhower "ganged up on us," how they changed the rules "to get enough votes to steal all the contested delegates," how the Eisenhower forces used "smear" tactics, and how the delegates were affected by the "tremendous publicity blitz . . ." Taft could not do much better than he did pri-



TAFT

marily because of the "tremendous expense involved." As for tactical mistakes — "It is all very well to say that we should not have permitted these issues to be created, but the alternative was surrender on matters in which we were in the right, and if there had not been these issues the publicity firms would have invented others to be shouted by the pro-Eisenhower press."

It is no news that the Republican party is controlled by big business. But Taft's confirmation of what power this social group actually wields over the GOP machine offers food for political thought, since they wield similar power over the Democratic machine.

What you can do though is start from scratch, build a party of, by and for the workers. Such a party can beat the DemogOP combination, for the working class, properly organized for independent political action, is a power far greater than all the gold the bankers represent.

SIGN OF SEWAGE

If water foams when you turn on the tap, it's because of detergents. Water purification systems will remove soaps but not detergents. Thus increasing use of the chemical cleaners has become a serious public health threat.

Conflict Noted in Chinese Communist Party

By Daniel Roberts

A sharp conflict is evidently now taking place within the Chinese Communist party. This is indicated by a stepped-up campaign in the CP press against "right opportunists."

As is customary in Stalinist parties, the press denunciations carry only one side of the argument. Those under attack are not permitted to express their opinions. In this case they are not even identified by name. That those tarred with the "right opportunist" brush include highly placed CP functionaries is indicated by a recent article in Red Flag by Kang Sheng, an alternate member of the Politburo, the highest party committee. According to the Nov. 20 Christian Science Monitor, Kang "quotes Mao Tse-tung . . . as saying that senior party officials who have opposed economic policies are merely fellow travelers and not worthy members of the party."



MAO

In the middle of November, the Chinese government banned all deliveries abroad (including to Hong Kong and Singapore) of all newspapers except the Peking People's Daily. This may mean that the internal party struggle is now reaching a climax.

A year ago, the party leadership had already indicated that it was divided over the rural people's communes created in August 1958. A resolution on the communes adopted at last December's session of the party's Central Committee stated that "The urgent tasks at present are to quickly achieve a unity of views on the communes among all members of the Party and among the people . . ."

Unity was not achieved, however, judging by the official reports of a two-week central committee session last August. Thus, the communiqué issued at the end of the session stated: "The eighth plenary session of the eighth central committee points out that the principal danger now confronting the achievement of a continued leap forward this year is the arising of right opportunist ideas among some cadres. They do not try their best to accomplish tasks

which, according to objective conditions and given subjective efforts, can be accomplished . . . They slander as 'petty-bourgeois fanaticism' the great leap forward and the people's commune movements in which hundreds of millions of working people have been vigorously engaged under the leadership of the party."

Again, an editorial, "Long Live the People's Communes," in the Aug. 30 Peking People's Daily, says that " . . . what is worth noting at a time when the anniversary of the resolution on the people's communes is being celebrated . . . is that there are some people apart from the reactionaries at home and abroad who are still dissatisfied with and opposed to the people's communes. They are those within the ranks of the Chinese people who are influenced by bourgeois ideology to a serious degree including certain right-opportunists in the Communist party. They do not understand that the people's commune movement is the product of a great revolutionary movement of the hundreds of millions of Chinese peasants . . ."

Instead the critics "babble that 'the people's commune lacks objective foundations. It is not an objective natural product but the fruit of the wishful thinking of a few who have

blown it up.' They say, 'The people's communes were set up too soon and too fast and have gone wrong.' In a word, they fail to see the superiority of the people's communes and the revolutionary zeal of the hundreds of millions of peasants."

The most comprehensive review of the disputes over economic policy within the Communist party was presented by Chou En-lai in his Aug. 26 report on China's economy to the Standing Committee of the Second National People's Congress. More than a third of this report is cast in the form of a rebuttal to critics of the party's economic policies. According to Chou, the critics have attacked last year's mass campaign to make steel in backyard furnaces as "more loss, less gain." They oppose the communes and the community dining halls. And they charge that shortages throughout the country of certain basic foods were caused by "excessive exports."

Chou denies the accusations and asks the unnamed critics, "Are you not afraid of being thrown over to the border-line of the bourgeois rightists?" But he admits to losses in last year's fall harvest "in consequence of imperfect arrangement of labor power." The fall of 1958 is when he mass campaign to manufacture iron and steel in small, primitive furnaces got underway.

Actually, last August's Central Committee session introduced changes in all those aspects of economic policy that the critics are said to have challenged. The CP leaders decided to exclude iron and steel produced by primitive methods from the computation of China's iron and steel production. They drastically revised the 1959 agricultural targets downward after admitting that the 1958 totals on which they were originally based were "a bit high"—that is exaggerated by 50%. They declared the production brigades to be the basic property-owning units in the communes. (The brigades had been the basic units in the producers' co-operatives before their merger into the communes.) At the

same time peasants were encouraged to develop individual "sideline" production.

Despite these admissions and corrections, however, the objective proclaimed in 1958 and underlying the "great leap forward" slogan was upheld. This is to fulfill by the end of this year the most important agricultural and industrial quotas originally scheduled under the second five-year plan to be attained only by 1962, the fifth year of the plan.

"By fulfilling this year's re-adjusted national economic plan," says the Central Committee's Aug. 26 communiqué, "we will have fulfilled, overfulfilled or nearly fulfilled the following targets originally set in the second five-year plan for fulfillment in 1962: steel, coal, timber, metallurgical equipment, power-generating equipment, metal-cutting machine tools, cotton

yarn, machine-made paper, salt, grain and cotton." (Emphasis added.)

However, China's farmlands have been hard hit by adverse weather conditions this year. Floods last summer in the Pearl River region in the south and a five-month drought from June to November in many areas of Central China have seriously reduced this year's harvest.

Crop losses undoubtedly add a severe strain to the forced-march attempt to fulfill inter-related agricultural and industrial targets three years ahead of schedule. If, as is likely, inner-party conflicts over economic policies were not really resolved last August but merely compromised, then the crop losses would serve again to renew the disputes and with it fierce condemnation of any attempt to make further "readjustments."

Witch-Hunters in the South Stalk Unions and NAACP

By John Thayer

A legislative investigating committee in Florida, balked in its demands for the membership lists of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has recommended contempt sentences for the president of the Florida NAACP and two leaders of the Miami branch.

In Mississippi, headlines were made by the testimony of a traveling circus of paid informers and "experts" on Communists and the NAACP. An unsavory crew of professional witnesses, headed by J. B. Matthews of Un-American Committee infamy, is touring the Southern circuit, preparing before one white-supremacist legislative body after another.

In North Carolina the Regional Director of the AFL-CIO Textile Workers Union, along with two other officials and five strikers, have been given jail sentences ranging from two to ten years at hard labor. The charge in this crude frame-up was conspiracy to dynamite the struck Henderson-Harriet Mill's power supply.

None of the allegedly planned dynamitings took place. The whole frame-up rested upon the testimony of a "secret agent" of the State Bureau of Investigation (SBI), a man with a grievance against the union and with a police record comparable to those of informers in the stables of the FBI and the late Senator McCarthy.

Entrapment? By his own testimony the SBI informer played the role of agent provocateur — all the while drawing "expenses" from the SBI. The stench of frame-up is so pervasive that the by no means pro-labor News and Observer of Raleigh was moved to remark: "The function of the SBI is to obtain evidence, not to manufacture evidence . . . If the role of the SBI and its 'undercover man' did not constitute entrapment, it certainly came dangerously close to it." The Charlotte Observer similarly confessed to "some nagging doubts now that the verdict has come down."

The above items about the repressive "investigations" of the NAACP and the frame-up of unionists are connected; and if the link is traced it leads directly to Washington, D. C. and national politics. What we are witnessing is the transposition to the South of the witch-hunt and frame-up methods perfected not so long ago in the nation's capital by the congressional investigating committees and the FBI. All the unconstitutional methods "legitimized" during the witch-hunt are now being used by the anti-Negro, anti-labor politicians of the South in an effort to smash anti-Jim Crow organizations and unions.

Wall Street Grits Teeth At Shift in Cuban Govt.

By Flora Carpenter

Bankers understand one another. Whether American or Cuban, they possess a common language when it comes to private property, profits and politics. Thus the men in the counting houses of Wall Street gritted their teeth in rage last week as Castro's regime moved toward the left and kicked out Felipe Pazos as president of the National Bank of Cuba. Pazos was a professional banker with fluent command of the language Wall Street speaks.

When the Cuban revolution swept the dictatorial Batista regime off the island, Wall Street at once sought new points of support, hunting for them in the Castro government itself. Hoping that the revolutionary upsurge might finally be dissipated in endless talk and speeches, a role it was willing to grant Castro, the American imperialists looked to Pazos as one of those who could be counted on to restrain the government from actually carrying out its reform program.

Two other figures that loomed high for such a role were Jose Miro Cardona, prime minister, and Rufo Lopez Fresquet, head of the treasury department.

"These are not wildhairs," the Wall Street Journal explained last Jan. 8. "The best hope for Cuba, in the opinion of political experts, is that they along with Urrutia will be setting national policies during the crucial 18 months or more of provisional government by decree — while Castro keeps them in power through his prestige and military power."

But it didn't work out that way. Urrutia, who was Castro's nominal head of government, went down, designated as an enemy of the revolution. Pazos has not been named an enemy; but from Wall Street's view it is almost as bad to have him named Ambassador in Charge of European Affairs.

Mourning the shift of Pazos from his key position, the New York Times commented editorially Nov. 27: "His training naturally imposes an orthodoxy in

his thinking that sooner or later was bound to leave him out of line with radical policies that are forcing . . . more and more Government intervention and, perhaps, an eventual program of widespread nationalization."

What alarms the financiers most is that the shift was obviously based on political considerations. Pazos was replaced by Major Ernesto "Che" Guevara, a bearded hero of the 26th of July movement, who knows nothing about banking. Here is how the Wall Street Journal described him last January:

"One trusted Castro lieutenant is the colorful Argentine revolutionary, Ernesto 'Che' Guevara, who many have called a Communist and who is now installed as commander of El Cabana, the fortress overlooking the entrance to Havana harbor.

"Interviewed at the Presidential palace, the swashbuckling 'Che,' clad in a black beret, green fatigues and a black neck sash, put down a long cigar and coolly answered a reporter's question: 'I have never been affiliated with the Communists.' But he hastens to add, 'That's not to say I'm anti-Communist.' He goes on to complain that American reporters always ask if he's a Communist 'when the most important thing is the unity of all the people and all the parties here in Cuba.'"

By this shift in the spectrum of personalities, the Cuban revolution has indicated that it is still on the upsurge. You can also tell it from the fluttering in Wall Street.

BOOKS

"In the Minds and Hearts of Many Negro Women"

LIKE ONE OF THE FAMILY . . . conversations from a domestic's life, by Alice Childress. Brooklyn, N. Y. Independence Publishers. 226 pp. \$1.25 from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.]

Langston Hughes says of this book: "Alice Childress has hit upon a delightful way of presenting through the mouth of a single character what is in the minds and hearts of many Negro women working in American homes as domestics. 'Like One of the Family' is both amusing and thought-provoking, easy to read, warmly human, and of documentary import."

It is a book that one will want to dip into over and over again to savor those particular stories that are favorites. Most of them are no more than three or four pages long, simply written. They deal with the direct relationship between boss and worker. Negro servant and middle- or upper-class white woman of Park Avenue, Fifth Avenue or Madison Avenue. Some of the stories are humorous, some full of pathos, but all have that necessary ingredient of class anger without which a forward march is not possible.

Mildred is the servant who tells her closest friend and neighbor, Marge, all about the events of the day.

One story, which I like best, tells of the rich woman who carries her pocket book strapped tightly around her arm all day, and how Mildred drove home a point about it. In her words to the wealthy employer is the essence of the clash of the classes. Another explains the differ-

ence between sitting in the back of a bus because you just like to sit there, and sitting there because you are forced to, because your skin is black instead of white.

There is a sharply etched sketch of a picnic held with "fear in one's heart, but with proud determination to fight it out if necessary."

There are bits of character studies that fit human beings of

any race or nationality in our society: the ones that must have a fancier home, a bigger TV set, more sparkling jewelry, and the ones that are ashamed of the kind of work they do.

From the more than sixty stories some are a delight to read aloud, some will make good skits for entertainment, others you will just want to read quietly by yourself.

—Anne Chester

One You Can Skip

KARL MARX, by C. J. S. Sprigge. The Macmillan Co., New York. 144 pp. \$1.50.

This is a reprint of a book first published in Great Britain in 1938. Its reappearance two decades later in America is evidently part of the running campaign of the capitalist propagandists to keep "that man" buried.

The "biography" begins with what appears to be sympathetic treatment of Marx as a youth, but as you read on you notice that the sympathy evaporates at about the same rate as the venom increases.

Out of all Marx's great intellectual contributions, Sprigge discusses only the Communist Manifesto, and that in the most cursory fashion.

Instead of the Marx that shook the world with his ideas, the "biographer" culls the books

for unfavorable personal details about the founder of scientific socialism. The portrait that emerges is of a megalomaniac, an enormously self-centered, ruthless, embittered poseur, whose central drive was ambition to win personal dictatorship of the socialist movement.

To drive the point home, Sprigge cuts Engels to the same pattern. To believe this book you would take both geniuses as nothing more than pettifogging politicians whose horizon was not an inch above that to be found in any ward heeler.

And, of course, the dialectic is properly sneered at, as is Marx's claim to have discovered a scientific approach to the evolution of society.

Brief as it is, you can profitably skip this monstrous little book. —J. H.

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Detroit	600	430	72
Connecticut	100	65	65
Milwaukee	300	190	63
New York	4,200	2,577	61
Newark	265	155	58
Philadelphia	400	228	57
Los Angeles	4,400	2,402	55
Bay Area	800	419	52
Chicago	1,000	500	50
Denver	40	20	50
Cleveland	750	325	43
Seattle	500	197	39
Allentown	110	35	32
General	150	36	24
Total through Dec. 1	\$16,000	\$9,435	59

... Socialist Fund Campaign

(Continued from Page 1) than a dozen comrades increased their pledges. The total was \$195.

In the Twin Cities it hasn't been easy sledding either. But there, too, determined effort is adding up. Director Bob W. sent a regular weekly check along with word that their rummage sale had just begun that evening and should mean some extra dollars in the Twin Cities column. Bob also reports that our national fund-raising champion, V. R. Dunne, is still going strong, with \$25 this week to be credited to 'friends of the movement. According to my arithmetic that brings the total raised this way by Comrade Dunne close to \$100.

To further boost my morale, a payment came from San Diego, along with word from Helen that "We hope to have the balance of our quota in before the deadline."

I'm sorry I can't quote anything from the letters of Detroit Fund Director Valdin. But apparently he belongs to the literary school that thinks noth-

ing more eloquent can possibly be thought up than "Enclosed please find check . . ." I have to agree. After all when you note how steadily Detroit plugs away, those are dramatic words.

Newark — Chicago — Bay Area — Denver — Cleveland — Allentown.

I hate to put down that list so let me tell an old joke to make it easier. A man who dined on credit at a neighborhood restaurant got behind in his payments. The proprietor wrote his name and the amount due in great big letters on the wall near the coat hangers. The man objected that this was embarrassing. The proprietor was a humane type, so he made a concession. "O. K., we'll hang your shirt over it until you catch up. That way, no one will know."

Of course I'm not suggesting that anyone send me his shirt instead of a money order; but if they suspect that listing them is a gentle nudge toward giving, I'm afraid I'll have to plead guilty.

Why not pass this copy of the Militant on to a friend?

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THE MILITANT

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Monday, December 7, 1959

Public or Private Matter?

The American people are getting a fresh reminder of the power of the Catholic hierarchy in the political life of this country. In the current controversy around the issue of birth control, the leaders of both major parties have demonstrated that they either support or refuse to oppose reactionary papal social dogma.

The debate opened when the New York Times put some direct questions to Senator John Kennedy, a Catholic contender for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Last summer a presidential study committee recommended that the government make birth-control information available to countries that requested it. Then on Nov. 25 the bishops of the Catholic Church declared that no Catholic could support the use of public funds for the dissemination of birth-control information at home or abroad.

Following this, Protestant Bishop James A. Pike asked if the declaration was binding on Catholic candidates for public office. The Times took it from there in its questions to Kennedy. In a crude effort to duck the question of whether he would oppose granting such information if it were requested, Kennedy declared that he opposed "advocating" birth control for other countries.

The other presidential aspirants quickly fell in line. Nixon and Lyndon Johnson refused to comment. New York's Mayor Wagner, a Catholic with an eye on the Democratic vice-presidential nomination, agreed four-square with Kennedy's evasion of the issue. California's Governor Brown,

another possible Catholic presidential nominee, also was against "imposing" birth control on other countries.

Adlai Stevenson, Hubert Humphrey and Stewart Symington issued carefully worded statements in favor of sending birth-control information abroad if and when requested. None of them dared to speak out against the Catholic hierarchy's declaration of war against the use of public funds for the dissemination of birth-control information in any country — including the United States of America.

But the climax came when President Eisenhower declared Dec. 2 that he would not argue with the Catholic Church about its opposition to birth control but he would argue against the government making birth-control information available to anyone.

Eisenhower's support of the Catholic policy declaration is in line with the long-standing fake argument that birth control is a private matter in which the government should remain "neutral." The matter doesn't happen to be private because many areas have made it illegal for even doctors to give birth-control information. Other areas place legal restrictions on sale of the devices.

Birth-control information and service is part of public health and welfare. It should be taken for granted. People whose religious beliefs bar them from reading about or using birth-control devices need not, as a private matter, avail themselves of such a social service. But it should not be denied the rest of the people because the Catholic hierarchy considers it a public matter to prevent them.

Those Demanding Panamanians

People in other countries can always rely on the United States government for a fair shake, even if their demands are unreasonable. This was proved once again when President Eisenhower declared unequivocally at a Dec. 2 press conference that there should be "some visual evidence" that the people of Panama have a minor legal claim to their own country.

The President took his stand as a result of a Panamanian Independence Day celebration Nov. 28 when more than 1,000 people of that country tried to fight their way through bayonet-armed U.S. troops to plant the flag of Panama in the Canal Zone where only the U.S. flag is permitted even though it is Panamanian territory.

Driven out of the area, the demonstrators stoned U.S. property and business places in Panama City. "Uncle Sam" was burned in effigy. It was the second such demonstration in a month. Major cause of

the flare-up is the feeling among Panamanians that the treaty under which the U.S. occupies the Canal Zone is highly discriminatory. Among other things they resent the fact that Panamanian workers in the Zone average about \$150 a month in wages while U.S. citizens draw about \$300. They also charge they are deprived of the opportunity of holding skilled jobs.

The President's peace offering has the backing of the State Department which strongly favors permitting the Panamanian flag to be flown on holidays. But this is being resisted by the Defense Department which points out that with such a concession the Panamanians will want to fly their flag all the time.

The State Department has also leaked information that it is seriously considering reserving 20 places for Panamanians in apprentice training courses for skilled jobs. What more can those people ask for?

End of the "American Socialist"

The editors of the American Socialist, an independent monthly magazine, announced in their December issue that they are ceasing publication. Their reasons are financial difficulties and pessimism over immediate political prospects for the socialist movement in the United States.

The periodical was founded six years ago by a group that left the Socialist Workers party. They hoped to blaze a way out of the isolation from which the socialist movement has long suffered. By carefully eschewing "sectarianism," they sought to gain a wide audience fairly rapidly. But the venture proved impractical. Insofar as it was socialist, the magazine encountered the difficulties that every socialist undertaking confronts nowadays. Because they lumped together "dogma" and valid Marxist concepts, they proved unable to develop the cohesive body of theory and program needed to stand up against the adverse circumstances of the times. Moreover, the editors deliberately cut off all connection with their Trotskyist past, which did not help them as interest revived in Trotsky's views.

In a future issue we hope to discuss the experience of the American Socialist at greater length. For the time being we wish to comment only on a prediction in the final statement of the editors with which many radicals, we think, would like to agree. This is that America is due for a new upsurge of radicalism in the 1960's.

The prognosis is realistically founded, in our opinion. It seems all the more illogical for a socialist magazine to cease publication on the eve of such an impending development. Their explanation is in part: "Of course, the Left is now too shrunken to permit any continuity between the movements of the thirties and any manifestations in the sixties."

The implications of this statement are (1) that socialists have no genuine role to perform now; (2) that the workers and youth coming to socialism in the period ahead can dispense with past socialist experience, tradition and program.

Does history bear this out? Not at all! Every great movement — and not just socialism — has undergone a time of gestation, a period when sometimes only a handful kept alive the ideas that were absolutely essential to subsequent success. Today in America, we are profoundly convinced, it depends on what some hundreds or few thousands do to assure that hundreds of thousands and millions take up socialism later.

When the new upsurge begins in the 1960's where will the first wave find the program they need? Who will have told them about socialism in the first place? We think that history will repeat itself. The first new draft of socialists will inevitably join an existing socialist party. At that point the quality of the party — not its initial size — will prove to be decisive. "Quality" in a party consists of its program and the living heritage of experience embodied in its "veterans."

The international socialist movement since its origin has never suffered a break in continuity. That is a historic fact. True, great mass upsurges have been separated by decades in which the Marxist heritage has been maintained by only a Spartan band. But the "shrunken" size did not eliminate the historic necessity for the qualitative continuation. Take the radicalization of the thirties which the editors of the American Socialist recall nostalgically. The radical ideas that then swept the country can be traced directly to the groups that nurtured them in the preceding difficult years of money-grubbing and witch-hunting in the twenties.

In short, we believe that every socialist today has a vital function to perform — namely, to advocate socialism. To do this most effectively requires organization, and the best form of organization is a revolutionary-socialist party. We hope that partisans of the American Socialist will take this occasion to thoughtfully consider what the Socialist Workers party really has to offer in the way of perspective for the future.

Presents Class-Struggle Program



At National Assembly of Labor in London, Gerry Healy, national secretary of the Socialist Labor League, presents five-point program for achieving unity in action of British left-wing unionists. Seated left is Brian Pearce, co-editor of Labor Review, bi-monthly Marxist journal. At the right is Brian Behan, chairman of the Socialist Labor League and well-known militant unionist. Banner calls for "Unity in Action" and refers to Newsletter, weekly paper of the Socialist Labor League.

Left Wing Unionists in Britain Hold National Labor Assembly

The development of a militant left wing in the British trade union and labor party movement was given new impetus with a highly successful National Assembly of Labor held in London Nov. 15.

More than 700 delegates, observers and visitors attended the conference. There were 283 elected delegates representing factory groups, building-trades workers, dockers, coal miners, railroad workers, peace organizations, labor youth sections, co-operative groups, colonial organizations and Communist and Labor party groups. About 500 attended a similar conference held a year ago.

Dedicated to uniting and building British left-wing forces on the basis of a class-struggle socialist program, the conference was sponsored by the Socialist Labor League. The League is a revolutionary Marxist grouping that has come under sharp attack from the right-wing leaders of the Labor party and from the capitalist press for its militant socialist views and its support to workers struggles.

Five-Point Program

After an all-day discussion participated in by unionists and other delegates of various shades of socialist opinion, the conference unanimously endorsed a five-point resolution introduced by the National Committee of the Socialist Labor League along with amendments offered by two trade-union groups.

The resolution called for: "An end to the manufacture and testing of the H-bomb as well as the destruction of all existing stockpiles of atomic weapons. The strengthening of the fight for the 40-hour week, higher wages, defense of jobs and defense of shop stewards, against rent increases. A fight for the extension of nationalization, a fight against oppression in the colonies and against racialism in Britain. A fight against the bans and proscriptions inside the entire Labor movement and the trade unions."

The Nov. 21 issue of the Newsletter, weekly paper of the Socialist Labor League reports that many rank-and-file union leaders, who have gained prominence by their role in recent strike struggles, participated in the conference "and their presence was a powerful demonstration of confidence in the Socialist Labor League."

The significance of the gathering was expressed in a speech of greetings by G. D. Williams, vice-president of the Ceylon Federation of Labor.

Madison Avenue Is Losing Its Faith in Human Nature

The men in the gray flannel suits are taking black mourning olives in their martinis. They fear the public is losing faith in them and that there may even be enough public indignation stemming from the TV scandals to bring some form of government regulation of the \$10-billion advertising industry.

A "depth" study of the situation in the Nov. 25 Wall Street Journal finds gloom widespread. "It's another push toward statism," warns S. S. Larnon, president of the giant Young & Rubicam agency.

William Bernbach, whose New York agency specializes in "off-beat" advertising, takes the ar-

"I have listened very carefully to the speakers," he said, "and I am very impressed by this gathering of militant British workers. I am convinced you have taken a great step forward today."

The delegates and visitors were welcomed by Brian Behan, well-known British unionist and National Chairman of the League.

Discussing the program of action being offered to the conference, Behan said, "We mean to solve the crisis of capitalism at the expense of the capitalists by their removal and the establishment of a socialist society."

"This weekend we will be deciding on a different program, a different method of struggle from past political organizations in Britain," he said. "We will discuss how best we can unite the working class in struggle. When we say that, we also say that we reject the reformist methods of solving the problems in society."

The League's resolution was moved by Gerry Healy, its national secretary. Replying to press charges that the Socialist Labor League was responsible for "fomenting" recent unofficial strikes in Britain, Healy pointed out that the employers hoped to use such propaganda to set the stage for anti-strike legislation.

Real Cause of Strikes

The real cause of the strikes, he observed, are the capitalists, who refused to part with even a small amount of their vast profits to meet the needs of the workers. He also sharply scored right-wing union leaders who condemned the unofficial strikes but refused to do anything about the problem of unemployment.

Each of the points in the program of action proposed by the League, Healy said, already has the support of a considerable number of workers throughout Britain. Discussing the proposal for scrapping atomic weapons, he said, "The struggle for peace is all important. We believe that the road to peace is the fight on the class front for socialism. . . . We are opposed to class collaboration on the question of peace. We therefore believe that a socialist Britain should stop the manufacture of the H-bomb as part of the international struggle against imperialism as a whole."

Commenting on the recent racist mob attacks on Negroes in London, Healy said, "The struggle against racialism is bound up with the struggle for colonial independence. We must march hand in hand with the

colonial people. Each time they weaken imperialism so they facilitate our struggle here. If we permit any kind of wedge to be driven between ourselves and the colonial people we will not get socialism in Britain."

The delegates voted to convene again in 12 months and to follow up the National Assembly of Labor with similar ones in their local areas. A London Assembly of Labor has been announced for March 6.

The conference, which was attacked by right-wing union and Labor party leaders, and officials of the Communist party, received extensive publicity in the daily press and over television.

LOSING THEIR SHIRTS

American corporations now have assets of about one trillion dollars, according to the Internal Revenue Service.

Headlines in Other Lands

De Gaulle Regime Hit by Effective One-Day Strike

For the first time since he came to power, General de Gaulle has faced the power of French labor. On Nov. 2, workers in public services and government offices staged a one-day strike in protest against meager wage increases accorded them in the 1960 budget. Mail, phone and travel service was cut sharply, air traffic virtually paralyzed and other operations halted completely. The three major Communist, Socialist and Catholic unions joined in the walkout.

Dominican Dictator Sentences Castro To 30-Year Term

Generalissimo Trujillo, frightened dictator of the Dominican Republic, is still trying to convince the world that the threat to his rule comes from outside "plotters," not the Dominican people. So a Dominican court has sentenced Cuban Premier Fidel Castro and Venezuelan President Romulo Betancourt to 30 years at hard labor for an "attempted invasion" of the island last June. Also convicted in absentia was Fidel Castro's brother, Raul. They headed a list of 113 persons accused of participating in the "plan" to overthrow Trujillo. The court also fined the list \$100,000,000.

Khrushchev Says Kremlin Split on Hungarian Revolt

Addressing the Congress of the Hungarian Communist party, Dec. 2, Soviet Premier Khrushchev confirmed that some Kremlin leaders had opposed his decision to send troops to crush the 1956 Hungarian uprising. He said the opposition had feared the effect on world opinion. Khrushchev also offered new arguments to justify crushing the Hungarian struggle for national independence and socialist democracy. He recalled the use of Russian troops by Czar Nicholas against the Hungarian

The American Way of Life

"Quis Custodiet Ipsos Custodes?"

"Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?" asked the Roman poet. This was translated by the irreverent Gay Nineties into the suggestive refrain, "Who takes care of the caretaker's daughter when the caretaker's off taking care?"

That intriguing question comes to mind after reading the stories about the rigged TV quiz show. The Federal Communications Commission was long known as the public custodian, guardian, watch dog or what have you of the air waves. It is empowered by Congress to investigate and crack down on the broadcasting of false and misleading statements, to prevent frauds and deceptions, to make rules and revoke broadcasting licenses.

Not only didn't this caretaker or watch dog take care or watch. While the TV scandal festered in the newspapers for almost a year, the FCC kept very busy taking care not to look. Finally an almost, but not quite, equally reluctant dragon, the House Committee on Legislative Oversight, called hearings, issued subpoenas and lifted the curtain on the backstage preparation of the TV quiz shows.

How explain the FCC's bashfulness? Aren't "probes" political bonanzas? Didn't Truman get the Vice-Presidency because he headed one, didn't Kefauver become a national contender similarly? And as for the McCarthy era. . . . A recent column by Drew Pearson reminds us why the politicians on the FCC exercised such self-restraint when offered a chance to investigate a scandal so rich in headlines.

Such a probe would get the goods on the caretaker's daughter, if we may so personify the TV industry. But — and here's the rub — it would reveal once more and perhaps in greater detail, how the caretaker was also being taken care of.

Just a couple of years ago the FCC itself was subjected to an investigation. This was an investigation forced on the House Committee on Legislative Oversight by a most deplorable oversight. Namely, a too zealous investigator, a New York professor named Bernard Schwartz. He was got rid of as quickly as possible by the bi-partisan

Washington politicians, but not before he had exposed bribery and corruption in the handing out of TV franchises. After his unceremonious removal the Committee had to go through the motions of investigating some of what Schwartz had already revealed. Then the dirt was quickly swept back under the rug.

But limited as that "investigation" was, it dealt hard blows to the reputation of the FCC, which ever since has been tremulous with fear of further exposure. FCC Chairman John Doerfer, who owes his post to the late Senator McCarthy, was revealed, for example, to have had a four cross-country tour by himself and his wife paid for by various stations and TV broadcasters' associations and then to have drawn travel and expense money for the same from the U.S. Treasury. Of course, that's chicken feed, but Doerfer undoubtedly would have been quite self-conscious about quizzing Charles Van Doren. The audience might have suggested that they play "I've Got a Secret."

A neglected memorandum by Schwartz to the annoyed investigating committee said in part: "Members of the Commission [FCC] have had their room, board and other expenses (e.g. cafe, valet, golf fees, etc.) paid by the industry while attending industry conventions. At the same time, these commissioners have claimed and received per diem from the government for living expenses incurred by them in attending the same conventions."

"Members of the commission engage in constant fraternization with individuals and corporations who appear as litigants before the commission." These innocent, guileless FCC commissioners just cannot understand why people talk about greedy and heartless corporations when they have in their own personal experience always found them so friendly and generous. — G.L.

revolution of 1848 and the British-American intervention in the post-World War II Greek civil war.

Hungarian Communist party boss Kadar informed the congress that Soviet troops would continue to occupy the country.

Ulbricht Becomes A Medical Man

Everything happens for the best in the best of all bureaucratic worlds. The East German people have been suffering from a butter shortage so severe that guards stationed at the West German border are checking that no one takes any butter out of the Soviet zone. So on Nov. 28, East German Communist party leader Walter Ulbricht informed the people that in other countries "more and more doctors are saying that excessive use of butter" leads to hardening of the arteries. "For the past year," he said, "this has been an acute problem for us too." He didn't say whose arteries were being hardened in East Germany.

The Politicians Talk But Krupp Is Still Turning Out Profits

The West German government protested Nov. 27 that no decision had been made to permit Alfred Krupp to keep his steel and coal empire. A convicted war criminal who helped Hitler to power and enslaved hundreds of thousands in his factories during the war, Krupp was ordered by the Allied powers to divest himself of his steel and coal interests in 1953. The deadline passed 11 months ago with the empire of the "cannon king" still intact and the powers are still discussing what to do about it.

Italian CP in Thaw Toward Eisenhower

Palmiro Togliatti, leader of the Italian Communist party, and always a faithful supporter of whatever line is current at the Kremlin, told a recent press conference that his party would welcome a visit by President Eisenhower to Italy and that he felt that Eisenhower had contributed to the relaxation of in-

ternational tensions. He also indicated that if the Italian government went along with the cold-war thaw, the CP would be ready to support it in parliament on various issues.

Canadian Unions Getting Behind New Labor Party

The formation of a Canadian Labor party was given a major boost when it received the solid backing of the key Ontario Federation of Labor. The Canadian Labor Congress (equivalent of the AFL-CIO) and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, a third party movement, have jointly made plans for a founding convention of the new party in Montreal next April.

Support for the new party has been voted by the labor federations of Ontario, British Columbia, Manitoba, Alberta and Nova Scotia. On Nov. 1, some 800 representatives of Ontario local union Political Action Committees unanimously endorsed and recommended that a drive be launched to win local union support for the movement.

A few days later, this resolution was endorsed by the overwhelming majority of delegates to the Ontario Federation of Labor. The only opposition votes came from supporters of Communist party policy. The CP is against formation of the new class party, advocating instead that labor seek a "coalition" with liberal elements in the capitalist parties.

The United Electrical Workers and the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers have reflected this policy by refusing to endorse the new party. Both unions were expelled from the labor federation at the beginning of the cold war and are using the official policy of the CLC leadership of excluding them from the new party as a pre-text for non-support. Workers Vanguard, Canadian Socialist newspaper, has vigorously protested exclusion of any section of labor from the new party and at the same time pointed out that the best way the unions involved can overcome the ban is by giving full support to this highly progressive political step of establishing labor's own party.

When You're a Real Socialist, You're One All the Time

Your editorial in the Nov. 23 Militant ["Logical End for Social Democrats"] was an eye-opener. Just before reading it, I had read New York ADA News which carried an appeal for contributing "reporters." I almost answered that appeal with a postcard, but didn't. After I read your editorial, I knew WHY I didn't: socialists belong in a group or party that advocates socialism, or they cease to be socialists.

new curbs on color additives (supplementing the Pure Food & Drug Act). I had tried to write that article but my fingers became too paralyzed to type because of the immorality of it. I guess when you're a real socialist you're one all the time — no matter how social conditions, the forces of reaction, and the desire to pay your rent, compromise you.

Brainwashed Public

Editor: If I were publishing your paper I think I would change its face, format, I guess you would call it — if I were financially capable. And I would definitely stop using the words "comrade" and "socialism." The brainwashing against such things as socialism and communism is so intense that people are afraid of them just as they were brainwashed into being afraid of the word "witch."

E.L. Santa Rosa, Calif.

Suggests Stories On Socialist Future

Editor: I would like to see some articles written about what everyday life would be like under socialism. In our everyday struggle under capitalism it's easy to get lost in your troubles. A short weekly story describing socialism might be inspiring to some readers — not to mention educational.

J. K. Akron, Ohio

... Negro Labor

(Continued from Page 1) vented had "accentuated the need" for an organization of the type being formed, this was not the cause of it; and he emphasized that the new group is "pro-AFL-CIO."

"People will probably say that we are seeking to establish a segregated trade-union organization of Negro workers," Randolph warned. "That is not true. Our new organization will not engage in any form of collective bargaining. We simply believe that it has become necessary to form a special organization to concentrate on segregation and discrimination in the trade-union organizations."

Randolph further emphasized: "We are not and do not attempt to move in areas of operation of the NAACP, the National Urban League, the American Civil Liberties Union and other organizations of a similar nature that are doing such splendid work. We are primarily concerned with the status of the Negro within the ranks of organized labor."

The conference estimated that over 2,500 delegates and visitors will attend the founding convention in April. It will dedicate itself to the task of eliminating racial segregation and discrimination within the labor movement at local, regional and international levels.

A LOT OF BOMBS

United States production of uranium ore jumped from 54,000 tons in 1948 to more than six million tons this year.

Denver T-H "Oath" Case Aims at Union on Strike

DENVER — The Taft-Hartley "conspiracy" trial of leaders of the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, which is being staged while the union is involved in a major strike, is a scandalous example of a government-employer conspiracy against labor.

Three years ago, 14 present and former officers of the union were indicted for "conspiring" to file false "non-communist" affidavits. When Taft-Hartley was adopted, the union, like many others, instructed its officers not to sign the oath. In 1949 it followed the example of the United Steelworkers in reversing this policy so as not to be deprived of NLRB bargaining rights. The government charges that those indicted had been members of the Communist party and had only pretended to resign when they signed the oath.

Trial was postponed twice. But on Nov. 2, while the union was entering the fourth month of a bitterly fought strike involving Kennecott Copper and other major producers, the government opened its prosecution. The principal government witnesses so far have been two

Nkomo Asks for Aid Against British Rule

By Constance F. Weissman

The International Committee for the Defense of Africa held a money-raising banquet in New York on November 28 to help the people in Central Africa in their fight against union with Southern Rhodesia. The speaker, Joshua Nkomo of Southern Rhodesia, said a sound truck was needed to alert villages to the dangers inherent in the scheme of British imperialism to keep them in subjugation by means of this union.

Although Mr. Nkomo apologized for his English, which is not his native tongue, he need not have. He spoke with eloquence and gave an excellent analysis of what is going on in every section of Africa today. In order to give the audience some background on African events, he told, among other things, how in every country in Africa where there have been reports of barbarousness, the bloodshed has been due to the imperialists, be they British, Belgian or French. He pointed out that but for money from the United States, the French would be unable to wage war in Algeria.

He explained that in his land, the Africans had no representation in government whatsoever. He said that the Africans look to the Negroes in the U.S. for help.

"You have the vote," he said. "You can influence your Congress not to support imperialists. This is a free country."

Here the audience of Negro Americans with one accord laughed bitterly.

Mr. Nkomo amended his statement. "Perhaps you are not entirely free, but I am not here to criticize your country."

He told of the atrocities committed in the name of guardianship by the imperialists. He said that all of Africa was drawn together in brotherhood, and that the Arabs, too, are brothers of theirs. Although the imperialists, in their effort to divide and rule, point out that the Arabs sold the Africans into slavery, Mr. Nkomo asked: "But wasn't it you, the imperialists, who bought the slaves? It seems to us that first we should have nothing to do with you. We know that you made the Arabs sell us to work in the diamond mines and the copper mines."

When asked in the question period what Americans could do to help, he cited Israel. "Look what the people of America have done to establish a homeland for the Jews in Israel. We are only asking that these people who moved into our land kindly leave. They have been there long enough. We want our own country back."

Conrad Lynn, the civil rights attorney, was enthusiastically applauded when he said, "We, the American Negroes, look to you in Africa to help set us free here."

... Steel Barons

(Continued from Page 1)

AFL-CIO president George Meany that Eisenhower call a summit conference of top labor and industry leaders to establish "harmonious relations," was given short shrift by industry spokesman Charles R. Sligh Jr., executive vice-president of the National Association of Manufacturers.

We've gone all through that before, commented Sligh Jr., and "we couldn't agree on anything." However, he added, if President Eisenhower suggests such a meeting, the NAM "will probably go along with it." Such discussions, he observed, "have never worked before" and he indicated there was no reason to believe they would work now.

The problem would be solved, according to Sligh, if labor leaders would agree "to do away with union monopolistic practices." That is the kind of action the NAM will press for. It is now engaged in collecting a chest to put it across as a legislative program. The Nov. 14 issue of Labor reports that the NAM has sent a circular appeal to business executives soliciting contributions of \$100 and up to put over the following program:

"We now must strive to reduce or equalize the excessive power in the leadership of some unions, to place unions under the anti-trust laws, provide for secret ballots, regulate union political activities, curb compulsory unionism (the union shop), and eliminate wasteful feather-bedding practices."

What utter contempt the representatives and spokesmen of the capitalist class have for the leaders of labor! So long as the union heads play the game according to the rules laid down by the bosses the outcome is assured — more staggering blows and disastrous defeats for the unions. Firm in their control of government through their domination of the two major political parties, big business can sit back serene in the knowledge that the power of government will be used to back up their union-busting moves.

The anti-labor conspiracy is proceeding according to plan. The object is to create the atmosphere of crisis in which Congress and the administration can justify the enactment of further union crippling legislation.

The ranks are ready and willing to fight in defense of their unions but are immobilized by the false policy and program of an inept leadership floundering and fluttering about in hopeless confusion.

What is the solution? A good beginning toward reversing the tide of reaction can be made by tapping the unplumbed initiative, resourcefulness, intelligence and innate militancy of the union rank and file by calling a representative Congress of Labor composed of delegates from mine, mill, factory and office, to hammer out a program of action around which the working people of this country can rally.

Why not pass this copy of the Militant on to a friend?

Slum Dwellers Haven't Frozen For 100 Years

By Alex Harte

NEW YORK — More than a quarter of a million slum dwellers in this city who had been heartened by the expectation that their landlords would be required to provide some heat this winter can forget about it. Democratic Mayor Wagner's Tammany Hall administration has moved to virtually scrap a recent law requiring owners of multiple dwellings to install central heating.

"They haven't frozen for the last 100 years," commented an unidentified spokesman of the City Planning Commission when he was asked if this wouldn't be hard on the tenants of the buildings involved.

That statement, expressing the real attitude of the Democratic party chiefs toward renters, should get quite a laugh out of the real-estate sharks who profit from the cold, filthy and unsafe tenements where the average New Yorker has to live.

The present law requires that buildings housing more than ten families must have central heating installed by Nov. 1, 1958. Buildings of three to ten units must have heating by Nov. 1 of this year.

But Mayor Wagner revealed last week that he has sent a bill to the state legislature to exempt from the central heating requirement all buildings in an area "scheduled" to be acquired for housing developments or other public and quasi-public projects. This would include building on land "approved or pending or under study" for any such project.

After such areas go through the leisurely stages of "study," "planning" and "pending," it still takes sometimes as long as ten years before the buildings are actually torn down.

Although Wagner's bill has not yet even been considered by the legislature, exemptions are already being granted to landlords.

"We know this bill will pass," explained Deputy Building Commissioner Harold Birns. He did not explain how he knew. He didn't have to. The Republican majority in Albany, like the Democratic majority in the city, has earned a reputation for putting the interests of the people above all other considerations — that is, if the people are landlords.

Exemptions are being issued for one year. This may not seem like a long period of grace for a rent-hungry slumlord; but Wagner seems to have thought of that too.

The exemptions are renewable like licenses, for another year. Birns said that "less than a dozen" have been granted. But requests for exemptions from the law are pouring in by the hundreds from the rent gougers.

The same city official who declined to give his name when he made the cynical wisecrack that the tenants haven't frozen in the past 100 years explained that the new law was necessary because "it would be economically wasteful to put improvements" into buildings that might some day be torn down.

Owners of some of the worst slums in the city, housing more than 50,000 people, are in line to be the first lucky recipients of exemption due to the fact that currently projected city housing developments are in the "planning" stage in areas where they shake down rents.

TIME PAYMENTS UP
Installment buying increased a half billion dollars in October. The tab is now \$38 billion.

Integrationists Score Southern 'Red Hunters'

MEMPHIS, Tenn. — The board of directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, meeting here Nov. 21-22, charged Southern state legislative investigation committees with seeking to destroy pro-integration organizations and hound people under pretext of fighting "subversion." The board called for public pressure to abolish these committees.

The action was in response to testimony Nov. 18 and 19 before a Mississippi investigating committee by J. B. Matthews of New York, a self-styled Communist hunter who testified that several integration organizations, including the NAACP and the SCEF, are heavily infiltrated with Communists.

Matthews also listed many leaders in integration work as members of Communist fronts — including Dr. Martin Luther King of Montgomery, Ala.; Rev. C. E. Tucker, Louisville, presiding bishop of the A.M.E. Zion Church; Dr. James A. Dombrowski, New Orleans, executive director of the SCEF; and Carl and Anne Braden, field secretaries for SCEF.

Calendar Of Events

CHICAGO

Hear Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers party and former Teamsters union official. "Labor's Role in the 1960 Elections." Saturday, Dec. 12, 8 p.m.: Fine Arts Bldg., Hall No. 812; 410 So. Michigan Blvd. Donation 90 cents. Audiences: Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

Be sure to hold open Sat., Dec. 12. You won't want to miss the Christmas Bazaar. There will be gifts for everyone at low, low prices — toys, men's and women's clothing, perfumes, jewelry, housewares, paintings, prints, and much more. In the special book section you'll find classics, popular books and some rare items. Doors open at 1 P.M., Sat., Dec. 12, at 116 University Place. Audiences: N.Y. School of Social Science.

"Send-Off" Reception For Bill Price

Join UI-SC friends and others wishing Bill well in his new job with the Committee for First Amendment Defendants. Lloyd Gough and his concertina, refreshments, gourmet buffet served at 5:30 p.m., Sunday 4-7 p.m., Dec. 13, at The Weissmans, 325 East 17 St. \$2.50 at the door.

PHILADELPHIA

Hear Helen Sobell on latest developments in appeal for Christmas Amnesty for Morton Sobell. Dramatic readings by Bill Robinson, actor, narrator, singer. At Sara and Harry Epstein's, 5745 N. Fairhill St., Thurs., Dec. 10, 8:30 p.m.

Local Directory

- BOSTON Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200.
CHICAGO Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736.
CLEVELAND Socialist Workers Party 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Thursday nights 8 to 10.
DETROIT Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Temple 1-6135.
LOS ANGELES Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-1953 or WE 5-9238.
MILWAUKEE 150 East Juniper Ave.
MINNEAPOLIS Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon to 6 P.M. daily except Sundays.
NEWARK Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N.J.
NEW YORK CITY Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852.
OAKLAND-BERKELEY P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif.
PHILADELPHIA Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 P.M., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820.
SAN FRANCISCO The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Rm. 4. Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone PR 6-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321.
SEATTLE 1412-18th Avenue, EA 2-5554. Library, bookstore.
ST. LOUIS For information phone MO 4-7194.

The Darwin Centennial

By Carl Goodman

On Nov. 24, the entire world commemorated the one-hundredth anniversary of the publication of an epoch-making work of science — Charles Darwin's "Origin of Species."

In this book, Darwin proved that the plants and animals on earth today were not created; they evolved. Human kind, too, evolved from a lower species. These discoveries founded the science of biology.

It was the social application of Darwin's laws of evolution, however, that formed the principal subject of discussion at the centenary observances at the University of Chicago. The main speaker was Sir Julian Huxley, grandson of Thomas Huxley, the eminent biologist who defended Darwin's theories against the attacks inspired by organized religion.

Man needs a new pattern of thinking, said Julian Huxley, if he is to cope successfully with the threat of nuclear destruction in a third world war. Man's thinking has evolved from tribal beliefs in magic to the rise during the last 300 years of a "science-centered pattern organized round the concept of human progress, but progress somehow under the control of supernatural authority." Huxley predicted the evolution of a new pattern of ideas in which the concept of evolution would be the "central germ."

"In the evolutionary pattern of thought there is no longer need or room for the supernatural," said Huxley. "Evolutionary man can no longer . . . absolve himself from the hard task of . . . planning his future by relying on the will of . . . providence."

Actually, a science of society based on evolution has already been developed. Tens of millions of people in our epoch have become convinced of the correctness of this science and of the validity of the program of action derived from its laws. The science was developed by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels at about the same time that Darwin developed his theories of natural evolution. In fact, the laws of Marx and Engels' science received accurate and succinct formulation in 1859 — the same year that Darwin published his "Origin of

Species" — in Karl Marx's book "Critique of Political Economy."

Where Huxley looks to the evolution of ideas as providing the clue to history, Marx showed that the economic structure of society is "the real foundation, on which rise legal and political superstructures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness." Underlying the development of economic structures is the continuous development of man's productive forces. But the evolution is not smooth. At a certain stage, the given economic system — and the laws, government structures, religions, connected with the system — prevent the further growth of the productive forces. Society reaches a crisis that is resolved only through social revolution.

Marx lived in the heyday of capitalism. But he foresaw that the profit system would become a fetter on progress, just as did the feudal and slave systems before they were overthrown. A social revolution by the working class will be required to establish a higher form of society — the planned economy of socialism.

Marx predicted that capitalism will be the "closing chapter of the prehistoric stage of human society." With the advent of socialism, man will be able at last to direct his own history.

Mankind is thus at what is probably the most crucial turning point in all history. On the one hand an unbounded future in a rational and harmonious society beckons. On the other hand, the still unresolved social crisis poses a gigantic threat to humanity.

Darwin's proof that man is a product of evolution has ripped to shreds the supernaturalism through which the ruling classes still seek to keep the majority of mankind in a state of helplessness. Marx's laws of social evolution show how mankind will overcome this obstacle and go on to consciously shape its own destiny. The ideas of these two giants, set forth in the two books they published 100 years ago, will prove invaluable in helping humanity to resolve the contemporary social crisis.

Notes in the News

TIP TO UNION NEGOTIATORS — When your contract comes up for renewal it might be worth remembering one of the "Grin And Bear It" cartoons by Lichty. A group of workers at lunch are discussing contract demands. One says: "I think our wage demands oughta be simple! . . . A wage increase based on the price increase they'll get to cover the cost of our wage increase!"

CHILDREN UNDERESTIMATED — Experiments being conducted by two Yale sociologists indicate that relatively complicated learning can begin much earlier than usually assumed. Working with an electric typewriter on which children aged two to four select letters spoken or written by the teacher, it was found that a child not yet three could learn to read and write entire sentences and to read at the second-grade level in six months. The experimenters, Omar K. Moore and Alan R. Anderson, said the interests of pre-school and school children have been "seriously misjudged" and that the lack of motivation in school children may be the result of "prior stifling of their intelligence."

RACISTS BECOME CONCERNED WITH ETHICS — A Chicago real-estate operator, Harold C. Lewis, is trying to organize a movement to block the building of an integrated housing development at Deerfield, a Chicago suburban village. The Progress Development Corporation plans to build 51 homes there and sell 10 or 12 of them to Negroes. Opponents of the plan assert their objection is not to integration but to the fact that it was not announced in advance. The developers pointed out that builders who discriminate against Negroes are not compelled to state this in advance, so they reserved the same right for themselves.

U.S. DROPS PROSECUTION OF BROWDER — The Justice Department conceded Nov. 25 that it did not have the evidence to back up its perjury charge against former Communist party leader Earl Browder, and the indictment handed down in 1952 was dropped. Browder and his late wife were accused of having lied to an immigration board. Browder said he hoped dismissal of the indictment would bring an end to government harassment of his family.

WANTS KHRUSHCHEV TO COME BACK — Adolph Steinberg, a New York subway straphanger, has urged Soviet Premier Khrushchev to visit New York again so that "decent lights" might be provided in the subways. His

open letter to Khrushchev in the New York Daily Mirror was reprinted in Pravda. A Transit Authority spokesman conceded that 36-watt bulbs had been replaced by 100-watt bulbs in one of the stations that Khrushchev had been scheduled to visit. He said the station had been spruced up "just as you would tidy up your home for a guest." The small bulbs were put back, he said, because the station's wiring would have been overloaded and besides a brightly lighted station would have made the others seem even drearier.

THANKSGIVING IN MISSOURI — On Thanksgiving eve, the federal government reported that more than 2,000 pounds of cranberries contaminated by the chemical weed killer which induces cancer in rats had been sold in Kansas City, Mo. The shipment was found to be tainted on Nov. 19 but the order to seize it was not issued until six days later, according to Sam D. Fine, chief of the Kansas City office of the Food and Drug Administration.

NOTHING SACRED — We have never been party to the annual campaign to convince little children there isn't any Santa Claus, but we feel it necessary to warn any young readers we may have in London to keep a sharp eye on the bearded gentleman. According to press reports, department stores there are planning to hire private detectives this year who will be disguised as Santas.

HEATER DEATHS — Sixteen people have died since last summer as a result of using a certain brand of bottle gas heaters in trailers. The Public Health Service warns that 2,100 of the heaters, made by the Thrum Engineering Co., of Elkhardt, Ind., were sold and that "until the last one is run down there is a boobytrap to hit the unsuspecting."

WINS CITIZENSHIP FIGHT — Al Richmond, editor of the People's World, a West Coast weekly reflecting the views of the Communist party, has won the right to retain his citizenship. Federal authorities filed a denaturalization suit against him in 1952 shortly after his conviction, since reversed, under the Smith Act. Last week a federal judge threw out the government's case which was based on the claim that Richmond had obtained his naturalization papers through fraud while in the army during World War II. This claim was made despite the fact that in applying for citizenship, Richmond had acknowledged his membership in the Communist party.

San Francisco Lithographers Defend Union Working Rules

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 24 — Local 17 of the Amalgamated Lithographers of America went on strike yesterday against the 16 biggest lithographic printers of this city. These shops employ 1,150 of the 2,200 members of the local and, through their Association, bargain on terms for all the union shops.

Main issue in the strike is the employers' insistence on revising working rules to give them unlimited rights in hiring, firing and transferring employees. Also at issue is the bosses' desire to have photographic work done or printing plates made in non-union shops, or to be contracted for abroad. Up to now contract clauses made it mandatory that all phases of lithographic printing be performed under union conditions.

Besides attempting to undermine union control in this way, the employers propose to increase speed-up by reducing the work force on certain presses, and to open the door to further speed-up through a clause in the contract affirming the bosses "right to manage" their shops. If these clauses were accepted, the employers declared, they might consider a modest wage increase.

The big lithographers tried to enlist the small shops in their war against the union by getting them to lock out their workers. But this attempt fizzled as all but two of the non-Association shops signed stipulations with the union agreeing to all terms ultimately reached with the big

shops. They are continuing to operate.

However, the large shops are not standing alone in this fight in San Francisco. Some of them are branches of nationwide chains with large plants around the country; all are members of the National Lithographers Association, an employers' group that has directed anti-union struggles in other cities. They see the San Francisco strike as a serious test of strength.

Like the steel companies, the big lithographers consider the question of union control more crucial than wages right now. With the recently passed Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law they feel that they have a new weapon for use against the unions. The bosses can be expected to try out some of its provisions against the Amalgamated Lithographers in San Francisco.

Boon to Boy Scouts

The New York City Council approved a bill Nov. 24 banning youths under 21 from carrying knives or any other "edged or pointed instrument." The law, intended to curb delinquency, would exempt Boy Scouts and hunters and fishermen.

Councilman Stanley Isaacs said the law would prevent a young man from bringing a pack of razor blades home from the store or a young woman from carrying a hat pin.