

Belgian Strikers Remain Defiant

Fail to See Why They Should
Pay for Losses to Capitalists

By Tom Kemp

BRUSSELS, Jan. 16 — At the end of three weeks of struggle, the workers of Belgium stand firm in the whole of the heavy industrial region of the French-speaking South, as well as in the more class-conscious sections of the Flemish North.

Supreme Court Voids Travis' T-H Conviction

A long and costly legal battle forced upon a former official of the independent Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers ended in victory Jan. 16. The Supreme Court reversed the conviction of Maurice E. Travis, former secretary-treasurer of the union, on charges of filing false non-Communist affidavits with the Labor Relations Board.

The conviction was reversed on the ground that Travis should have been tried in the District of Columbia, where he filed affidavits in 1951 and 1952, and not in Denver.

The drive to imprison Travis marked the opening of a combined government-employer assault on the union which was expelled from the CIO in a cold-war move in 1950. Last year 17 present and former officials of the union were convicted on a similar charge. Indictments were brought against them at the height of bitterly fought strikes against the major copper producers.

Despite the union-busting drive, copper workers won a 171-day strike last year at Anaconda Copper and a 181-day strike at Phelps Dodge. However, a seven-month strike at the Bunker Hill Co., in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, was broken last month.

Nigerians Score U.S. Racism

The National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons, a major political party in Nigeria, has demanded that the government protest to the United States for racial discrimination in a Virginia restaurant against C. Uchomo, Second Secretary of the Nigerian Embassy.

"It is a matter of regret," said a statement to the press, "that America, self-appointed leader of the Western power blocs and great advocate of racial equality in other peoples' countries, should be a country to practice racial discrimination against Nigeria."

"The NCNC believes that a country devoid of respect for human dignity, a country with completely bankrupt racial policy, a country which still lives in the dark ages, has no claim to leadership of free men."

A Traveling Advocate Of World Brotherhood

By Harry Ring

The Rev. Ashton Jones is a tall, wiry man who speaks in a soft, pleasant way. When he walked into the Militant office one afternoon last week his tanned face and lumber jacket suggested an outdoor worker.

For the past 30 years he has been outdoors a good deal. Ashton (he believes all men are brothers and should call each other by their first name) is a traveling advocate of world brotherhood.

This occupation in his native South has kept him in the forefront of the integration struggle. For some time he and his wife, Marie, traveled in a trailer specially built on a truck chassis. To express the theme of brotherhood, the sides of the trailer were decorated with a white hand and a dark hand clasped together.

Marie is in poor health now and can no longer accompany her crusading husband. The trailer was wrecked by racists in Louisiana and with the aid of friends he has replaced it with a British compact car. Like the old trailer, banners on the car urge brotherhood.

The afternoon of Jan. 5 saw a massive demonstration in Liege which showed the insurrectional temper of the Walloon (French-speaking) working class. In Brussels, which has few important industries, the strike has largely subsided. However, an atmosphere of expectation and vigilance reigns among the militant workers and the events in Liege may spark another outburst of determined anger in the capital itself such as those that have taken place over the past several weeks.

The strike movement began as a protest against the "Loi Unique" (Single Law) sent to parliament by Premier Gaston Eyskens, leader of the Christian Social-Liberal coalition government. The object of the Eyskens "austerity" measure was to pass onto the shoulders of the working people the burden of readjustment now facing the Belgian capitalist class.

However, once the movement gripped the workers, it rapidly assumed dimensions and a form which the leaders of the Belgian Socialist party and trade-union federation had not bargained for. In large measure, then, the strikes have been pressed forward by the ranks, under a social-democratic and centrist type leadership, which provide no real sense of direction.

The Belgian movement thus has immense lessons for the workers of other European countries. It shows both the tremendous potential of combativity concealed behind the present-day "prosperity" of the working class and the danger that this can be dissipated unless a Marxist leadership is available to direct these energies towards the abolition of capitalism.

The Background

What are the historical factors behind the present eruption of the class struggle in Belgium? The southern part of the country is the oldest industrial region in continental Europe. Its wealth is founded on coal and heavy industry. It possesses a large and tightly knit industrial working class with a high level of class consciousness.

The workers in this region are organized in a Socialist party with a parliamentary and reformist leadership, and in powerful trade unions. The unions are largely under the control of relatively young and dynamic leaders who emerged during the war or the postwar period.

In the favorable conditions of postwar expansion, the workers have been able great-

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Two American Heroes



Hamilton Holmes and Charlayne Hunter as they returned to the University of Georgia after their lives had been threatened by armed Ku Klux Klansmen.

Ga. Racists Retreat On School Jim Crow

Under compulsion of new federal court orders, the University of Georgia reinstated two Negro students Jan. 16. Four days earlier, university officials had bowed to a mob organized by the Ku Klux and had suspended the two students. Meanwhile, Gov. Vandiver outlined plans to the state legislature Jan. 18 to retreat from a policy of "massive resistance" to school desegregation to one of legal evasion.

In the first three days after their return to the Athens, Ga., campus, Charlayne Alberta Hunter, 18, and Hamilton E. Holmes, 19, went quietly to classes, followed two paces behind by plainclothesmen. Only occasional jeers greeted the courageous pair and a number of students made a point of extending friendly words of welcome.

With press reports that Klan "zoots" were in the area, the campus assumed a siege-like quality. Floodlights bathed the grounds and buildings at night, barricades stood near the campus entrance and squad cars prowled the streets near Miss Hunter's dormitory. No new mobs formed.

An encouraging body of campus opinion is mobilizing to prevent any future mob action. Shortly after the two students were suspended, a mass meeting of faculty members drafted a resolution insisting they be returned to classes with the necessary protection that officials had been "unable or unwilling" to give them.

About two-thirds of the 600 faculty members have endorsed the resolution despite a threatening blast from the state legislature.

A newly formed Students for Constructive Action was reported working virtually around the clock to ensure that there would be no new difficulties for the two students. The group endorsed the faculty resolution and 282 students signed a statement calling for immediate suspension of "all students taking part in mob demonstrations."

The student group is headed by Barbara Veal, captain of the university's debating team. She told newsmen, "I think most of us are ashamed" of the mob action that drove the two off the campus. She urged they be accepted back "without any trouble."

Another resolution urging that the pair be treated with dignity and courtesy was adopted by 65 students who said they represented several hundred others.

Official treatment of the gun-toting Klansmen who led the attack on the campus did little to ensure that the hooded thugs would not make a new try. Three of the admitted Klansmen (Continued on Page 3)

Boston Crowd Gives Fuehrer Hot Reception

BOSTON, Jan. 16 — George Lincoln Rockwell, head of the swastika-wearing American Nazi party, who came to this city yesterday with a truckload of uniformed "storm troopers" from headquarters in Arlington, Va., got a hot reception.

Rockwell had announced his intention to picket the film "Exodus" which deals with Israel. By the time the fuehrer arrived, a crowd of counter-picketers which police estimated from 2,000 to 10,000 had assembled. When they began chanting, "We Want Rockwell," as the Nazi chief appeared, police hustled him away.

The Harvard Crimson, estimating the crowd at 500, said today that part of the counter-picketers consisted of refugees from Nazi concentration camps. Many college students also showed up.

"Most of the students said they felt that the Nazis had a right to picket the theater," the paper continued, "but upheld their own picketing as 'the only way we can protest against what they stand for.'"

The Young Socialist Alliance, whose leaflets were distributed all over the Boston area, had a small group of picketers. Many labor unions, including the ILGWU, also marched in protest. A young couple, carrying a baby, typified the sentiments of the rest of the crowd when they said, "We don't belong to any group, we just came down to do anything we can to help."

According to one newspaper account the truckload of Nazis never arrived, due to breakdowns and wrong turns. However, a few swastika-wearers did show up on schedule.

When the crowd saw them, a great shout of anger went up. Eggs were thrown, some of which splattered the 125 police. They hurriedly ushered the Nazis inside the theater and then out of town.

N.Y. Tug Strike Involves Fight To Save Jobs

By Alex Harte

JAN. 19 — Some 100,000 railroad commuters in the New York metropolitan area were compelled to seek alternate means of transportation when the New York Central and the New Haven Railroad suspended operations after striking harbor tug and ferryboatmen established picket lines at their passenger terminals.

The strike began on Jan. 10, when crews on tugs, ferryboats, car floats, barges and lighters, under contract to 11 railroads serving the port of New York, walked off in a dispute over manning scales on the railroad tugs.

Contract negotiations broke down over the demand by railroad management that they be given the right to reduce the size of the present five-man crews on railroad tugs.

The negotiations remain deadlocked over this issue. The employers have proposed to freeze the present crew size for one year, after which reductions could be made 120 days following written notice to the union involved. Disagreements to be submitted to final and binding arbitration.

The unions involved are AFL-CIO affiliated Masters, Mates and Pilots, Marine Engineers Beneficial Association and Seafarers International Union. They are standing firm on the position that no jobs be eliminated unless changes in technology or methods of work abolish the need for the job.

The unions counter management's arbitration proposal by demanding the retention of the status quo for a period to be fixed by the employers. After the termination of that period all proposals to cut crews and establish minimum manning scales would be subject to reconsideration.

While the immediate dispute involves only 664 workers, the issues raised are far-reaching and can affect a great many thousands of railroad and other workers. This is made plain in the paid advertisement of the railroad tycoons.

What is involved is the issue of "featherbedding" which the railroad companies of this country have made their number one target. Millions of dollars have been expended in newspaper, magazine, radio and television advertising to create a favorable "public opinion" in opposition to "alleged 'make-work' union rules."

It is the same issue which was raised by the steel corporations in their assault on union work-rules in the 116-day steel strike last year.

The main issue in the New York tug strike, say the railroad ads, is the demand for union "make-work" on railroad boats. "This is the same basic economic issue that confronts the nation," they claim, "in almost every area of business and industry."

For the railroad owners and managers it is a matter of "principle," they aver, "to fight the unions' demands for 'make-work' every step of the way." Recently, Eisenhower appointed his Secretary of Labor, James Mitchell, to head a committee to act as a fact-finding board in (Continued on Page 3)

509,000 Layoffs Stun Forecasters Of Mild Recession

Admit Situation Will Worsen
During February and March

By Tom Kerry

JAN. 17 — The rise in unemployment last month exceeded all forecasts as 509,000 were added to the growing army of jobless workers. The official "unadjusted" total of 4,540,000 was the largest for any December since 1940. (The "seasonally adjusted" figure was 4,900,000.) The increase from November totals was three times the usual rise.

"No informed person had expected the December statistics on employment and unemployment to make pleasant reading," was the editorial comment of the Jan. 15, New York Times, which added: "The reality, however, has proved to be even worse than was expected. The number of unemployed last month was more than 4,500,000, the highest for any December since 1940. The seasonally adjusted unemployment rate was 6.8 percent, the highest since the 1958 recession."

And, the editorial adds, "the Department of Labor, whose estimate for last month proved too low, now estimates unemployment will be 5,600,000 this month and almost as great during February and March."

"This, the editorial concludes, 'is, obviously, too much unemployment.' It most certainly is!"

Yet, the outgoing Eisenhower administration still insists it is no recession, but simply a "rolling adjustment." "Mr. Eisenhower's advisers," says the Jan. 17, Wall Street Journal, "blame the downturn mainly on a business inventory adjustment they believe will end soon. The President's farewell economic report to Congress, due Wednesday," it adds, "is expected to predict an early business recovery."

Meanwhile, as the U.S. Department of Labor's monthly report on the status of the Labor force points out: "The number of persons unemployed for 15 weeks or longer was unchanged over the month at 1.0 million. However, this group of long-term unemployed rose by about 200,000 between the third and fourth quarters of 1960 and was also 200,000 higher than a year earlier."

"As in November, about half the long-term unemployed had been jobless for more than six months. The majority of this group of very long-term unemployed was made up of adult men. The groups most affected by prolonged unemployment are workers over 45, nonwhites, and workers last employed in mining, transportation, or durable goods manufacturing."

Where Are We?

What of the prediction of an "early business recovery"? Seymour L. Wolfbein, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Labor and manpower specialist for the Labor Department, said that even without any further economic downturn, "normal seasonal factors probably would swell the jobless total to 5,500,000 this month, 5,600,000 in February, (Continued on Page 2)

A Timely Topic For Final Talk By Eisenhower

In his farewell speech to the American people, broadcast over radio and television, Eisenhower warned against the danger to our liberties implicit in a vast military establishment and an armaments industry unparalleled in peacetime.

While the warning was somewhat belated, it was, nevertheless, welcome. As an army career man who was elevated by the capitalist class to the position of Commander-in-Chief of the entire American military establishment, Eisenhower is in a position to know whereof he speaks. He contributed more than his share to the Prussianization of American life.

His warning, although welcome, is couched in the wrong tense. Instead of speaking of the future peril of militarism, he should have addressed himself to the present reality as disclosed by the budget he submitted to Congress only one day before he took to the air to bid us farewell.

For in Eisenhower's farewell budget well over one-half the total estimated expenditure of approximately \$80.0 billion is devoted to record peacetime military spending.

For the former year, total estimated budget expenditures total \$78,945,000,000 of which \$45,930,000,000 is requested for military expenses. For the year 1962, the figures are \$80,865,000,000 and \$47,392,000,000 with almost the entire \$2 billion increase going for military expenses.

It is a frightening manifestation of the voracious appetite of the military machine which continues to devour an increasing share of our national wealth as well as undermine and destroy our civil liberties. Farewell speeches, especially accompanied by prayers, are all very good. But we think something should be done about the situation now!

With millions of workers now unemployed, underemployed and partially employed, the \$46 billion military items in Eisenhower's 1961 budget could be better used for building homes, schools, hospitals, highways and public parks as well as provide money for medical research to combat the killer diseases that afflict mankind. Also, to provide the funds to extend the payment of unemployment compensation for the full period of unemployment at trade-union wages, for the millions of unemployed workers.

Cuba Rally Big Success In Bay Area

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 14 — More than a thousand people came to the Fair Play for Cuba Committee's first public meeting in the Bay Area last night. This outpouring of people anxious to learn the truth about Cuba exceeded the committee's expectations, and a second hall had to be hastily rented to accommodate the overflow. Speakers shuttled between the two halls to repeat their talks.

Even the second hall was filled to capacity and finally about 200 disappointed people had to be turned away.

Marshall Windmiller, San Francisco State College professor, chaired. He pointed out that no major political event abroad had been so misrepresented in the American press as the Cuban Revolution. One purpose of the meeting, he said, was to set the record straight.

The internationally famous sculptor Beniamino Bufano was the first speaker. Viewing the more than capacity crowd, he said the meeting was a fine thing; but to be really effective we should be on the street corners speaking to those millions who are reading only the lies of the American press about Cuba.

He said that the foreign policy of the government was the responsibility of all of us, and he pointed to the latent power of America's 60,000,000 wage earners.

"If the American labor movement had a different leadership," he declared, "the workers could stop the wheels of industry until the government reversed its policy of aggression toward Cuba."

Paul M. Sweezy, coeditor of the Monthly Review, was the main speaker. A recent visitor to Cuba, he categorically denied published reports that the Cuban economy is on the verge of collapse. Far from that, he said, Cuba has registered a 30 per cent (Continued on Page 3)

Lynn to Debate Blackwell on Events in Cuba

BROOKLYN, N.Y. — "Is the Castro Regime Progressive?" will be the subject of a debate here Saturday, Jan. 28. The affirmative will be upheld by Conrad J. Lynn, civil-liberties attorney and a sponsor of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Russell Blackwell of the Libertarian League will defend the negative.

Sponsored by the Labor Educational League, the debate will be held at 8:30 p.m. at 228 Ashland Place. (BMT or IRT to Fulton St. in downtown Brooklyn.)

He also expressed the conviction that it would be a good and healthy thing for thousands of jobless UAW members to hold a mass demonstration ringing Cobo Hall, where the convention will be held, with slogans calling on the union to fight for jobs for all.

One of the NCFDA's chief goals, Misheff explained, is to help return the union to the rank and file. The unions must be made democratic, he said, because that is the way to raise the fighting capacity of the rank and file. The NCFDA favors changing (Continued on Page 3)

Labor Needs New, Militant Leadership

By Jack Barton

DETROIT, Jan. 14 — What the labor movement needs now is a united rank-and-file conference in Washington to plan and start a campaign for the 30-hour week at 40-hours' pay.

What the United Auto Workers needs is the mobilization of rank-and-file and local sentiment demanding that the coming UAW convention in April make 30-for-40 its major demand in the 1961 contract negotiations.

And what both the UAW and the rest of the labor movement need is a fight for internal democracy to return control of the unions to the rank and file. These were the views expressed last night by Cross Misheff, a member of the National Committee for Democratic Action in UAW, speaking at a well attended meeting of the Friday Night Socialist Forum at Eugene V. Debs Hall.

Misheff began with a bristling attack on the corporations. He cited facts and figures to prove that their lust for profits at home and abroad has turned automation into a weapon for eliminating workers from their jobs and weakening the unions.

Equally sharp was his criticism of the top union leaders, whom he charged with being soft and timid toward the employers while being tough and hard with the ranks of their own unions.

He gave numerous examples to show how the union leaders pay lip service to the fight for shorter hours, but in practice impede and block that fight. And he quoted chapter and verse to show how the union bureaucrats have been taking away, restricting and undermining the democratic rights of rank-and-file union members. The National Committee for Democratic Action in UAW, Misheff said, has a program to

meet these problems, and is working hard to win support for it. He urged all auto workers and UAW locals to join with it in flooding Solidarity House with resolutions and telegrams demanding that 30-for-40 be made the number one demand at the April UAW convention.

Jobless Should Act

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the UAW constitution to provide for the election of officers by membership referendum rather than by convention delegates and to bring paid officials under the control of the members. Other points touched on by Misheff were: the need to intensify the fight against anti-Negro discrimination, especially acute in the skilled trades jobs, and the need for labor to develop an independent policy on disarmament.

Unlike Goldberg

Misheff was introduced to the forum by Art Fox, also an NCFDA member and a co-chairman of the local unemployed movement in the 1958 recession. Fox contrasted Misheff with Arthur Goldberg, the new secretary of labor.

Goldberg is the architect and symbol of labor-management collaboration, Fox said, while Misheff represents the other side of the picture—the

rank and file rising to assert their democratic rights to leadership.

Misheff explained his willingness to speak at a socialist forum by declaring that the crying need is for a united labor movement capable of beating back the corporation and government offensive against labor's standard of living, and that he didn't care what the color or politics of a man is as long as he will join the campaign to build that kind of movement.

The Hard Way

The New York Board of Education has raised \$142,000 for a special project to seek improved methods of training teachers assigned to "underprivileged" neighborhoods. The board hasn't considered the idea that it might be easier and better to just improve the neighborhoods.

...Traveling Advocate

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While eating in a Negro cafeteria, he was arrested by two cops, again on a vagrancy charge.

He was thrown into the bull pen, and a jailer showed the other prisoners news photos of him shaking hands with a Negro at Wiley College.

The prisoners beat him so savagely that he required four stitches in his jaw.

He was then held in solitary for four days before a hearing at which a judge ordered him to submit to psychiatric examination. That was another 17 days. (The "psychiatrist," it turned out, was a member of the White Citizens Council.)

Finally, a "trial" was set. By this time Marie had managed to secure the services of a local lawyer. But a previous case prevented the lawyer from being in court on the morning of Ashton's trial date. A request for a postponement was denied and Ashton was convicted, without counsel, of vagrancy and disturbing the peace. The sentence—eight months on a prison farm.

Prison farm officials permitted prisoners to beat him. They hung him from an upper bunk by the heels, shaved the hair from his head and body. He was taken to a lake and held under water some 25 times.

Finally, \$1,500 bond was raised and that particular nightmare ended.

For Ashton, there was a

Unnoticed Oppression

Writing from Miami in the Jan. 19 New York Times, Sam Pope Brewer notes that most of those leaving Cuba are lawyers, doctors, engineers, etc. He offers this explanation:

"Most of the really poor in Cuba are said to be better off than before the revolution and not to notice the oppression."

Calendar Of Events

DETROIT

"An Answer to Police Brutality" speaker, Albert Stokes, of the Allied Citizens Defense League, Friday, Jan. 27, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp: Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

The Effect of the Cuban Revolution in Brazil and Argentina. A discussion of social problems and political developments in the major Latin American countries. Speaker, Marvel Scholl, Friday, Jan. 27, 8:30 p.m. Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place (off Union Sq.) Contrib. 50 cents.

LOS ANGELES

"Labor in the 1960's" — An analysis of key trade union problems. Speaker, Jack Storm, veteran unionist and socialist. Friday, Jan. 27, 8:15 p.m. Forum Hall, 1702 East Fourth St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. Contrib. 75 cents. Unemployed 25 cents.

Two six-session seminars. (1) Cuba and the Theory of the Permanent Revolution. Instructor, Theodore Edwards, socialist writer and radio commentator. From 11 a.m. to 12:30. (2) Rise and Decline of the American Communist Party. Instructors, Arne Swaback, a founder of the Communist party, and Max Goldman, socialist lecturer and organizer. From 12:30 to 2 p.m. Both seminars on six consecutive Sundays beginning Jan. 29, at 1702 East Fourth St. Ausp. International School of Socialism. For reservations phone AN 9-4953 or WE 5-0238. Contrib. \$1.50 per series, 35 cents per individual session.

TWIN CITIES

"Algeria—Referendum or Revolution?" Speaker, Mike Garza. Friday, Jan. 27, 8:15 p.m. Twin Cities Labor Forum, 704 Hennepin Ave.

Local Directory

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

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

CLEVELAND
Socialist Workers Party, 5927 Euclid Ave., Room 23, Cleveland 3, Ohio.

DENVER
Militant Labor Forum, 1227 California. MA 3-0993. For labor and socialist books, International Book Exchange, 1277 1/2 California. Open 5:30 p.m. to 9 p.m. Mon. through Fri.

DETROIT
Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. TE 1-6135.

LOS ANGELES
Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 12 noon — 5 p.m. daily, Sat. 9 a.m. — 5 p.m.

MILWAUKEE
150 East Johnson Ave.

bright, heartening side to this gruesome picture.

"A young white couple in Shreveport attended my trial," he said. "They became interested in the case and publicly associated themselves with me. They raised \$500 of the bond money."

"The young man was fired from his job and they had to move with their children to Texas."

"But they were quite willing to accept this persecution to stand up on this great issue of equality of all people. Isn't that wonderful?"

For Ashton, the Shreveport ordeal was far from over. To appeal his conviction, his lawyer required a bill of particulars from the court that tried him. At the beginning of this month, Ashton returned to Shreveport to confer with his lawyer. A block from the lawyer's office the cops grabbed him again. The charges—vagrancy and disturbing the peace.

Back in Bull Pen

He was put back in the same bull pen and again beaten by prisoners.

To finish off the job, jailers kicked and stomped him and beat him with a rubber mallet. The next morning his lawyer got him out on bail.

As he was driving out of town, the car still emblazoned with brotherhood banners, he stopped for gasoline. Near the entrance to the station another car forced him to the curb. A man leaped out, cursed and beat him and then proceeded to riddle the car's chassis with bullets.

"He obviously didn't intend to kill me," Ashton observed calmly. "He was too close to miss."

On Jan. 19, Ashton is due back in Shreveport to stand trial. He assumes he will be convicted and given the maximum six-month sentence on each of the two charges. Before returning to face this ordeal, he is seeking to raise bond money so he won't be put back in prison pending appeal if he's convicted.

How does he size up the struggle for racial equality at this point?

"Progress is being made so fast in the integration field," he said, "that it's causing a rather violent reaction among some of the rabid segregationists."

Does he need help?

Oh, no, he replied. The American Civil Liberties Union has entered the case and will handle any necessary appeals. (The ACLU has also demanded a federal investigation of the violation of Ashton's civil rights by the Shreveport police.) Also, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee plans a suit against Shreveport officials under the federal civil-rights act.

There are still legal fees for Ashton to take care of, though. And there's still the problem of food and gasoline.

Anyone who wants to help out on this should send a contribution of care of Mrs. Marie Jones, 3640 Denton Ave., So. Gabrielle, Calif. She will forward it.

Negro Unionists Slate Workshop

The Negro American Labor Council, an organization of Negro unionists, will hold a national workshop in Washington, D.C., Feb. 17 and 18. Subject of the workshop will be race bias in labor, industry and government. The council is striving to have 5,000 of its supporters participate.

An announcement of the gathering pointed to growing unemployment among Negroes and the additional urgency this places on working out practical steps to combat discrimination in apprentice training programs, Jim Crow union practices and in the field of government contract work.

Information on the workshop may be obtained from the council at 217 West 125 St., New York 27, N.Y., Room 319.

Hopes in Kennedy Are Due for Rude Awakening

By Cyrus Thomas

"Organized labor had a bleak year" in 1960, says New York Times labor expert A. H. Raskin in the Jan. 9 year-end review published by the newspaper, "but it hopes for a cheerier climate under the Kennedy Administration."

Summing up the dismal 1960 record, Raskin points out that "Unemployment, slack business conditions and stiffer management resistance to the bargaining table combined to hold down union wage gains in 1960. To add to labor's unhappiness, higher living costs and a slight reduction in the average work week wiped out the effect of hourly pay scales."

"The result," Raskin concludes, "was that the average factory worker wound up the year with less purchasing power in his weekly wage envelope than he had at the start."

What Raskin describes is the steady deterioration in the workers' standard of living. This reduction in the purchasing power of the working people serves to accelerate the deepening recession.

Escalation Issue

The postwar economy has been marked by an almost uninterrupted hike in prices that piled one increase after another onto the cost of living. In defense against the worst effects of price inflation many unions fought for and won the escalation clause in the union contract. The clause provides for an automatic wage increase with each percentage increase in living costs.

Recently the corporations have undertaken a fierce campaign to take away from the unions the protection against inflation provided by the escalator clause.

The steel corporations succeeded in emasculating the union escalator clause in the 116-day strike last year. The railroad magnates attacked the cost-of-living clause in the union contract. More recently the General Electric Corporation eliminated the cost-of-living clause when it broke the strike of the electrical workers. The clause is a prime target of the auto barons in the coming negotiations with the United Automobile Workers union.

"Escalation," says the Dec. 24 issue of Business Week, "could be a crucial issue in bargaining next fall between Detroit auto producers and UAW."



Is this millionaire thinking up ways and means of helping the working man?

Union officials insist they will fight against any such attempt. But all of the companies "are determined—now—," says Business Week, "to hold cost lines in 1961 even more successfully than they did in 1958."

Elimination of the escalator clause in the face of a constantly increasing cost of living means a slash in the workers' living standards. Why the corporations are eager to eliminate escalation is indicated by the figures given by Business Week for auto.

"The c-o-l clause," it says, "has added 51 cents an hour to UAW wages since 1948. The annual improvement factor clause (for deferred raises of 2½ percent or 6 cents an hour, whichever is larger) had added another 61 cents an hour over the same period."

No wonder Business Week reports that the companies are "unhappy about c-o-l clauses in present contracts."

AFL-CIO Proposals
What do the AFL-CIO tops propose to do about all this? They recently met in executive session to consider the problem and came up with a "20-point program" designed "to stem the recession tide."

"The key planks," writes Bernard D. Nossiter, staff reporter for the Washington Post, Jan. 6, "adopted at a special meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, match President-elect Kennedy's own minimum program."

Nossiter adds: "The Council, top policy-making body for the federation had been urged by some in labor to go beyond Mr. Kennedy's plans. But on the central items, President George Meany led the Council down the Administration's road."

The first five points, labeled by Meany "as those we have given the most concern to," called for: aid to depressed areas; bigger urban slum removal and public housing programs; funds for school buildings and teachers' salaries; raising the present \$1 minimum wage to \$1.25 and extending its coverage; and health care for the aged tied to the Social Security system.

The five points of "most concern" to Meany figured prominently in the Kennedy election campaign "economic recovery" program. None pretend to deal with the immediate question of providing relief for the growing army of unemployed workers. All were tailored to avoid going beyond the limits set by the Kennedy forces.

Conspicuous by its absence from the AFL-CIO "20-point program" was the demand for a reduction of the work week with no reduction in pay. Failure of the AFL-CIO Executive Council to endorse this demand has doomed the campaign of the Steel Workers union directed at Congress for legislating into existence the 32-hour week.

The labor leaders, who boast that their support was decisive in electing the Kennedy-Johnson ticket, are relying on their "political victory" to meet the problems created by the drive on the workers' standard of living and the now officially admitted "recession."

Kennedy's Line
But what does the Kennedy administration have in store for the American workers? A good indication can be gained from the report entitled "Prospects and Policies for the 1961 American Economy." [See last week's Militant.]

This was prepared by a task force appointed by Kennedy and headed by Dr. Paul A. Samuelson, professor of economics at Massachusetts Insti-

tute of Technology. The report represents the thinking of the Kennedy "brain trust."

"The influence of the report," says the financial writer of the New York Herald Tribune in the Jan. 6 issue, "is underscored by the fact that the new Chief Executive had postponed his major decisions on budget and legislative recommendations awaiting the Samuelson findings."

The Samuelson report takes cognizance of the fact that along with growing unemployment has come a constant increase in the cost of living. Any "recovery" program, it is admitted, will be accompanied by additional cost-of-living rises. "Post-war experience, here and abroad," says the report, "suggests that a mixed economy like ours may tend to generate an upward creep of prices before it arrives at high employment."

This in turn leads to resistance from the workers. The Samuelson report anticipates conflicts that can flare into

fiery class battles in the coming period. What should be done? "Will it not be possible," the report asks, "to bring government influence to bear on this vital matter without invoking direct controls on wages and prices?"

While not replying directly, the report obliquely affirms that it may be necessary for the government in the 1960's "to meet head on the problem of a price creep."

The line of the report is in consonance with Kennedy's views on the role of government in labor-management relations. Kennedy is for strict controls over labor.

This has already been reflected in his contribution to the union-wrecking Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law. His secretary of labor, Arthur Goldberg, publicly announced his adherence to the concept of the tripartite board to settle labor-management disputes.

Workers old enough to remember the tripartite swindle under such notorious agencies as the War Labor Board will shudder at the prospect of a return to government regulation of wages, hours and working conditions. Yet, that is the unmistakable note sounded by the Kennedy administration.

The union leaders who provide a "labor" cover for Kennedy and his henchman, by proclaiming a program essentially identical to that of the administration, are guilty of betraying the interests of the working people.

Labor should formulate its own program to defend the workers against the economic recession and repudiate those who would cover up the lack of an adequate antirecession policy by the Kennedy administration.

Chief among the demands for defense of the workers against unemployment and the rising cost of living should be the fight for a 30-hour week at 40-hours pay with a cost-of-living clause in each union contract.

... Belgian Strikers Remain

(Continued from Page 1)

ly to improve their real wage levels and to wrest social concessions from the state. This position of strength has developed a powerful class consciousness which the Belgian capitalist class views as a mortal danger.

The recent difficulties of Belgian capitalism reflect the underlying problems of an ageing, decrepit industrial and financial structure, confronted by more vigorous rivals. Investment into industrial modernization has been insufficient to ensure a rate of growth comparable to that of France and Western Germany. This has been partly due to the overseas interests of Belgian finance capital and its close tie-in with a few industrial groups which has hampered a more rounded industrial development.

Complicating problems are those which followed overproduction in the coal mines and the loss of the Congo. There seems little doubt that the Belgian capitalist class can pass the main burden of the coal problem onto the workers, many of whom are foreign immigrants. Even the Congo losses have not been large, in absolute terms. Both, undoubtedly symptoms of weakness, have shaken its confidence and required a reassessment of future prospects. The "Single Law" issued from this necessity.

From this contradiction has come a working-class movement, largely led by Catholics of worker origin, who have to square the inevitable demand of their rank and file for a militant policy on class issues with the collaborationist teachings of their church.

At times, therefore, the Catholic unions have been socially militant. In the present struggles they have stood aside, or even acted as strikebreakers, under the instruction of the Archbishop himself who went on the air and attacked the strikes in a way inconceivable in most other countries of Europe today.

The strike movement against the Eyskens government has sharply disclosed the religious and national division of the Belgian working class. Obviously the Catholic Church, financed by believing employers and by Freemasons alike, has acted as an instrument of the employing class. Without its influence over the Flemish workers there would have been a great mass movement that could have long ago swept the Belgian capitalists away.

For the Walloons this has posed a knotty problem. Some of the leaders have taken it up in a nationalist and regionalist form. Because their influence is paramount in the industrial areas of the South and seeing little immediate prospect of increasing their inroads in the Flemish areas, some of them have been pushing the idea of a federalist state structure. They emphasize the distinctiveness of

Wallonia. Even the question of separation has been broached. The figure who has most caught the imagination as a result of the strike is the forceful and dynamic metal workers leader, Andre Renard, whose feist is the industrial town of Liege. He symbolizes and responds to the great energies welling up from the working class; he talks their language and claims to have no other ambition than to serve them. Speaking from the balcony of the trade-union center before the great demonstration which swept through the town on Friday, Jan. 6, he urged the workers to go on to the end.

But, while attacking the government and the employers and calling for a new social and economic policy, the means to be employed remained vague. In fact, in a radio interview on Dec. 28, he said that the main thing was to prevent the passage of the proposed law, with or without a change of government.

Renard is a leading advocate of the idea of a federal Belgium. At Liege he explained his reasons as in no way indicating a desire to break the solidarity with his Flemish comrades—many of whom had taken part in the struggle—but because "do not wish to submit to a Flemish majority which will impose passivity upon us. . . I am a Walloon," he added, "I am a federalist and I shall remain one. We do not want to submit to Flemish clericalism any longer."

If the Walloon workers did not hold out against it, Renard declared, Belgian industry would migrate to the low-wage areas of the North. It was after listening to Renard that, despite conciliatory words from other union leaders, the vast crowd marched in a revolutionary spirit through the town to the sound of the "Internationale."

The absence of real slogans for anything but the end of the "Single Law" and holding out until the government retreats, prepares the way, if not for defeat, at any rate for a purely limited success bought at the price of great sacrifices.

Already these sacrifices are mounting up. Many of the strikers have been off for weeks, including the Christmas period. Their money is running low and credit is being exhausted. It is winter, and winter in Belgium is cold and damp. Yet Renard speaks of the strike going on for months. Given the increased provocation of the government's armed strikebreaking forces it is possible that the order will be given to put out the blast furnaces and withdraw the safety men from the mines. That could mean unemployment for thousands for as long as six months and a further sharpening of the class struggle.

This has proved to be one of the most successful pamphlets we have ever published. Many on reading it have sent in for more copies to pass on to friends. Libraries and schools have ordered it as part of their basic reading material on Cuba.

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... 509,000 Layoffs Stun Forecasters

(Continued from Page 1)

5,400,000 in March and 4,900,000 in April.

"The question is," says Wolfbein, "are we at the bottom of the recession or at the beginning? That's the hard one."

There has been a qualitative change disclosed in the 509,000 jobless added to the December total who, Wolfbein noted, "showed that unemployment is reaching the stable core of the labor force, no longer just the marginal workers."

This is confirmed by the Labor Department report which points out that while "the incidence of unemployment continued to be highest among teenagers," much sharper increases in recent months have been recorded by adult workers. "The unemployment rate for married men—most of whom are heads of families—reached 5.1 percent in December 1960," says the report, "compared with 3.6 percent a year earlier. These workers were a little over a third of the unemployed a year ago, but they have accounted for three-fifths of the increase since that time."

Total civilian employment in absolute figures rose to a high in July and then began turning downward, plunging 1.2 million in December to a total of 66.0 million.

Ordinarily a seasonal rise occurs in December. No exception to this was noted in 1960, but the rise was so small that when the proper adjustment was taken into account, the statisticians had to list payroll employment in nonagricultural establishments as having dropped by 370,000 in December.

"The rise was unusually small for this time of the year," says the Labor Department report, as "normally there is an increase of well over half a million jobs as the sharp Christmas expansion in trade and post office employment far outweighs the declines in construction and other outdoor work."

This December, however, the usual Christmas employment rise [the figure was 180,000] was offset by an unusually sharp decline of 300,000 jobs in construction and a further downturn in manufacturing employment.

Manufacturing employment

dropped sharply in December by almost 300,000 jobs to a total of 15.9 million. This was a departure from the usual small decline in December job totals. "Every major manufacturing industry reported a decline," says the Labor Department report, "and almost every decline was either more than seasonal or occurred where a rise would have been more customary."

"The largest reductions," adds the report, "occurred, as in past months, in durable goods industries, particularly in primary and fabricated metals and machinery and electrical machinery. Apparel employment continued to decline sharply."

For the first time in almost two years, the number of workers on nonfarm payrolls fell below its year-ago level in December. "The total," says the report, "down by more than 400,000, reflected the continuing job losses in manufacturing, amounting to more than 600,000 jobs since December a year ago."

The areas hardest hit by unemployment—mining, transportation and durable goods manufacturing—are key sectors of the economy. So long as the fever chart of the recession continues to record increased unemployment in these sectors it is a sure sign that the economy is in decline and getting worse.

The Jan. 17, Wall Street Journal reports that the index of industrial production has declined for the fifth straight month in a row. "The Federal Reserve Board," says the WSJ, "said its seasonally adjusted index of factory, mine and utility output dropped in December to 103 percent of the 1957 average. That was down from November's index of 105 percent."

Factory output began a decline in August 1960 which continued through December. The December index of industrial production was the lowest since the steel strike-depressed level of October 1959, said the Federal Reserve Board.

With auto production off sharply after the first of the year it is anticipated that the index of industrial production will drop still further in January. Thus far the Kennedy administration that takes office on Jan. 20 has not indicated what measures it proposes to stem the de-

cline and get the unemployed workers back on the job.

An interesting facet of the problem of rising unemployment is given in the Department of Labor statistics on partial employment. The total number of workers employed in nonagricultural industries is 59.3 million. Of these, those who work between 1-34 hours number 11,633,000. These are divided between those who work between 1-14 hours (3,589,000) and between 15-34 hours (8,044,000).

Thus, approximately 20 percent of the labor force works less than 34 hours per week. Of the remainder, 29,340,000 work between 35-40 hours. The total number working less than 40 hours is 40,973,000 or 69 percent of the labor force. The balance of those employed in non-agricultural industries numbering 18,335,000 work over 40 hours. It is only by adding all categories together that an average figure is arrived at of 38.5 hours for all persons employed during the month of December in nonagricultural industries.

"This is an aspect of the problem that is deliberately played down in the capitalist press. It is a source of considerable error in computing the actual extent of unemployment. The official designation for those on short work weeks is 'underemployed' and not 'unemployed.'"

With 69 percent of the total number of nonfarm workers in the category of "underemployed" the official unemployment figures conceal, rather than reveal, the full extent of the problem.

"Under-employment," says a staff writer in the Jan. 10, New York Herald Tribune, "is a word that packs a bit of political dynamite. It describes job-seekers unable to get full-time work. For five years, the Eisenhower administration has opposed suggestions by liberal Democrats that the Labor Department take official account of 'under-employment' when it puts out monthly unemployment statistics."

What it would mean if the statistics included the category "under-employment" was disclosed when the article pointed out: "If this had been done last month, [November] for example, the rate of unemployment—a key political and economic sta-

tistic—would have risen from 6.3 percent to 8 percent."

The way this is worked out is shown in the following example: "The number of under-employed last month [November] had the full-time equivalent of 1,126,000 totally unemployed. Two under-employed workers, each on twenty hours a week, would comprise one full-time unemployed worker."

The figure for December would be even greater, as the official statistics, which leave out the number of under-employed, was 0.5 percent higher than in November. The real figure for December, including the category of under-employed, would be very close to 9 percent as the actual rate of unemployment.

In his economic study, undertaken at the request of President-elect Kennedy, Dr. Paul A. Samuelson, Professor of Economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, established that the "critical level" of 7½ percent marked the point at which the government would have to initiate emergency measures to lift the economy out of the doldrums. "In a country as wealthy as ours fortunately," says the New York Times, "there can be no excuse for anything approaching real suffering among those who are without work through no fault of their own." A sentiment to which we can all respond with an Amen!

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THE TRUTH ABOUT CUBA

By Joseph Hansen

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Monday, January 23, 1961

The Ban on Visiting Cuba

As far as the State Department is concerned, only thieves and liars may travel to Cuba.

That's the essence of the Jan. 16 announcement that U.S. citizens are not permitted to visit Cuba unless they have a passport specifically endorsed for such travel. They can't get that endorsement unless they are businessmen having investments in the island or are newsmen whose trip would serve "the best interest of the United States."

In other words, it's OK to go to Cuba if you're one of the robber band hungry to resume extracting profits from the island's economy or if you're a professional propagandist who will feed this country's communication media with lies and slanders against the revolution.

The claimed reason for the ban — that the U.S. now has no embassy to provide "normal protective service" for its citizens — is a patent fraud. The U.S. has officially recognized diplomatic representation in Cuba — the Swiss legation — which is perfectly capable of handling any problem that might arise relative to a U.S. citizen there.

The real reason the State Department doesn't want ordinary citizens to visit Cuba is indicated in a Jan. 16 AP dispatch which says the travel ban "is likely to curb the efforts of the Cuban government to organize active support in the United States."

The report also cites the view of an anonymous "Latin-American diplomat" that "one of the most immediate effects should be a curb on the activities of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee."

That committee has tried to get as many people as it could to go and see for themselves what is happening in Cuba; and the Cuban government has welcomed all legitimate visitors.

Victim of the United Nations

On Jan. 18 the Associated Press sent a dispatch from Elisabethville, the Congo, reporting that Pres. Joseph Kasavubu, who is supported by Washington, had turned Premier Patrice Lumumba and two other captive government figures over to Moise Tshombe, puppet of the Belgian imperialists in Katanga province.

Admission of the delivery of the legal head of the Congo government to the Belgian puppet came a day after an agreement was announced between Kasavubu and Tshombe to hold a "round-table conference" of Congolese politicians some time in February.

Here is how the AP described the delivery of Lumumba into Tshombe's power:

Swedish UN troops on guard here when Lumumba arrived said he and two fellow prisoners got "a terrific beating" from Katanga police at the airport. The other two prisoners were the Youth Minister in Lumumba's cabinet, Maurice Mpolo, and the Vice President of the Congo Senate, Joseph Okito.

"It was sickening," one of the soldiers said, "Lumumba and the other two were dragged off the plane. They were trussed with ropes and tied together. They had little freedom of movement. Then the gendarmes — African and whites — surrounded them over a longish period. Lumumba and the other two fell to the ground where they were clubbed, hit in the face with rifle butts, and kicked and pummeled."

"The gendarmes let them lie for awhile and then resumed their beating."

"I had to turn away," said an airport official. "It was too much for me to watch."

Lumumba and his companions reportedly groaned while the assault was taking place but did not protest or ask for mercy.

This is an eloquent story but it is not

To Our Readers

Beginning with our next issue, the Militant will change its format to a tabloid.

Some of our readers have long advocated such a change on the ground that it would provide greater flexibility and tend to make articles more readable by shortening them. We hope that this proves to be the case but we must admit that we are making the change at this time primarily for a different reason; namely — finances.

Along with the general inflation which all our readers feel through the rising cost of living, printing costs have steadily mounted in recent years and we have found increasing difficulty in meeting them. By turning to a tabloid we are able to reduce costs without affecting frequency of publication although our weekly space will be more limited.

For a time we will print four pages. As events require (and funds permit) we will from time to time increase the number of pages. We hope that it will not be too

If Washington believed its own claims about "tyranny" in Cuba it could have no objection to the efforts of the committee and it would have applauded the "see-for-yourself" position of the Cuban government. What better way to convince people about the truth or falsity of the press reports?

The fact is that the State Department knows only too well what the visitors see and what conclusions they reach.

Americans see tenants whose rents have been slashed in half. They see workers moving into low-cost public housing that puts the housing program in this country to shame.

Negro visitors quickly see that it is entirely practical to stamp out Jim Crow. People concerned about the acute medical care problem in this country see how easy it is to provide adequate care for those who need it.

Visiting workers begin to see that union-hating monopolies are quite unessential to the development of a country's economy.

Those concerned with farm problems are offered convincing evidence of the superiority of cooperatives and state farms.

Above all, visitors see that it is not utopian to seek to establish a government that is really interested in the welfare of the people.

Washington can't provide "protective service" against the revolutionizing influence of the impressive gains made by the Cuban people. They can't brainwash the ordinary American so thoroughly that the rational new society being built in Cuba has no effect on his thinking.

That's why the State Department now insists that everyone, except the businessmen it represents and the "news" reporters on their payrolls, must stay home.

complete. It does not reveal where the final responsibility lies for this bit of savagery which so fittingly opens the year 1961 A.D.

As legally elected head of the Congo government, Lumumba made a tragic mistake. With the best of intentions he invited the United Nations into his newly freed country to help solve its economic and social problems.

The UN with a fine Machiavellian hand immediately began undermining Lumumba; and when Kasavubu and Mobutu seized power it placed its weight behind this unsavory pair.

The UN acted in this way because it is dominated by Washington. The big corporations who rule through the Republicans and Democrats stand with the Belgian imperialists insofar as they have not yet taken over the Belgian role themselves. One of the big stakes in the Congo is the rich radioactive ore bodies needed in producing nuclear energy.

All these reactionary interests and forces were concentrated in those rifle butts that pounded the premier of the Congo government as he lay groaning on the ground.

It was a stiff price to pay for the illusion that the United Nations would help him to bring peace and prosperity to his country.

Let us hope that we in America do not finally have to pay in an even costlier way for the illusion that the United Nations represents the road to world peace.

long until we can expand to eight pages. It is strictly a financial problem as we have a number of first-rate writers at present and new promising writers beginning to make their first contributions.

Our circulation expanded most encouragingly during the election campaign and every indication is that it will continue to grow. Many of our new readers have written enthusiastic letters about the Militant, have been passing it on to their friends, and they in turn have widened our circle of supporters.

We think that this is one of the heartening signs of a growing interest among many sections of the population in socialist ideas, portending a big surge forward for the socialist movement and its press in America in the days ahead.

So take advantage of the tabloid size by putting more Militants in your pocket each week for distribution where they will do the most good.

By M. L. Stafford

DETROIT — Two trends can be seen in the United Auto Workers as the union approaches its special convention in April: to draw up demands for the contract negotiations with the auto corporations next summer.

One is the growing support among the members and locals for provisions to cut the work week to 30 hours without any cut in weekly take-home pay.

It is the most popular demand today among auto workers — employed and unemployed, skilled and unskilled.

They see 30-for-40 as an answer to unemployment and automation, which have cost the UAW members more than 200,000 jobs in the last five years. And they want their union to make it the number one demand in this year's contract negotiations.

Makes Good Speeches

But wanting and getting are two different things. Which brings us to the second trend in the union — its leadership's obvious determination to prevent the convention from making 30-for-40 the major demand.

... Cuba Rally

(Continued from Page 1)

increase in agriculture in two years and is advancing on all fronts.

Sweeney charged that the U.S. government is actively plotting the overthrow of the Castro regime. He documented his charges by quoting published reports of invasion plans engineered by the Central Intelligence Agency and other government bureaus.

Castro's mobilization of the militia was no phony maneuver, he said, but followed a tip from a Latin-American diplomat that an invasion was planned for the middle of January. The diplomat was in position to know, for his country had been invited by the U.S. to take part in the intervention, Sweeney said.

The editor of the Monthly Review proposed that the U.S. reverse its catastrophic policy toward Cuba. The first step should be immediate withdrawal from Guantanamo. The U.S. should stop encouraging and assisting counter-revolutionary forces operating here and elsewhere. Diplomatic relations should be resumed as well as trade on the basis of equality. He suggested negotiations on compensation for American investors whose holdings have been taken over, again on the basis of equality and bearing in mind the superprofits these investors have already taken out of Cuba.

Lawrence Ferlinghetti, poet and publisher, read a poem condemning intervention against Castro.

The youngest speaker was 17-year-old Laurette Arms, a high-school student just back from a trip to Cuba. She spoke of the enthusiasm of the Cuban youth for the Revolution. The awareness of the young people of Cuba concerning world problems and their eagerness to learn more, she said, was in marked contrast to the apathy and disinterest of her fellow students in the U.S.

Fred Fiatt, a member of the local organizing committee for Fair Play, appealed for funds and membership in the organization. He told of the rapid growth of the committee in the Bay Area and announced the establishment of two new chapters in San Jose and Marin County.

A lively question-and-answer period concluded this highly successful meeting.

... N.Y. Tug Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

the national railroad "featherbedding" dispute.

One of the reasons the tug pickets are getting such a ready response from railroad workers is the recognition that the issues in the strike do affect all railway employees. The New York Daily News, Jan. 19, reports, for example, the sad plight of the New York Central, already shut down because its trainmen refused to cross the picket line.

"The Central's woes," says the News, "were added to by the refusal of several hundred clerks, elevator and telephone operators and telegraphers to cross picket lines yesterday to get to their jobs in the railroad's office building at 466 Lexington Ave., in midtown Manhattan. 'A Central spokesman,' adds the News, 'said all the defectors were members of railroad unions.'"

Unless the strike is settled soon on terms satisfactory to the unions involved it threatens to spread and can paralyze the port. Teamsters Joint Council 16, representing 169,000 teamsters, has voted to observe picket lines.

Not that Walter Reuther is opposed to it "in principle." He makes as many speeches as anyone else about the "need for more leisure" and the "inevitability" of the shorter work week. He also would like the prestige of signing a contract with a shorter week.

But Reuther knows that 30-for-40 will mean a serious cut in the profits of the auto corporations; that in this fight the corporations will demand and get the help of the government, whose new president and secretary of labor are also opposed to any shorter week; that the only way the auto workers will win this demand is by beating the corporations in a bitter fight.

The last thing in the world Reuther wants is a serious struggle with the corporations. "Labor statesmen" don't have the stomach for that sort of thing.

But Reuther can't say that to the auto workers. He can't tell them, "I don't have the guts for that kind of fight."

Instead, he has to try to prevent a UAW commitment to 30-for-40 by evasion, diversion and deception.

The Redbaiting Pitch

In the early 1950's, during the Korean war, his machine relied mainly on redbaiting. At one convention their chief argument against 30-for-40 was that its supporters were playing into the hands of the Soviet government by trying to reduce the volume of U.S. production.

Such tactics are less effective now. Reuther made a few stabs along that line in 1958, when a convention was held to formulate demands for the present contract. But his main gambit at that time was to offer a substitute for the shorter week fight.

A convention in 1957 had voted to make the shorter week the main objective in the 1958 negotiations. But Reuther didn't feel bound by that.

Instead he came up with a fancy "share-the-profits" scheme, which he reinforced with a heavy dose of pessimism about the difficulty of making new gains during a recession.

Although nobody took Reuther's profit-sharing plan seriously, and he himself dropped it out of sight as soon as the negotiations began, he was able to get the 1958 convention to dump the fight for the shorter week. One factor that helped him was the delegates' lack of organization and cohesion at the convention.

Now, three years later, Reuther isn't going to be able to silence the advocates of the shorter week quite so easily.

A New Opposition

For one thing, their numbers have grown. Resolutions supporting 30-for-40 are being passed not only by locals with an anti-Reuther record, but also by locals whose leaders have always been loyal Reutherites.

For one thing, their numbers have grown. Resolutions supporting 30-for-40 are being passed not only by locals with an anti-Reuther record, but also by locals whose leaders have always been loyal Reutherites.

... Ga. Racists

(Continued from Page 1)

arrested were released on \$27 bond. Five were charged with carrying guns to "a public meeting." Two of the Klansmen arrested were deputy sheriffs.

Meanwhile, Vandiver's speech to the legislature indicated that many white people of Georgia, as in other southern states, are not ready to see their public school system destroyed for the sake of maintaining segregation.

During his 1958 election campaign, Vandiver had pledged that so long as he was governor no Negro would ever attend school with a white.

He has now switched to the position that rather than shutting down the school system his administration will use "every legal means" to block integration.

"Defiance, no," he declared. "Private schools offered as a last resort, yes."

This was in accord with his current legislative proposal that the various communities be permitted to decide whether they want to close their schools rather than desegregate. A constitutional amendment will be submitted to voters of the state next year that would provide that no white child would be compelled to attend a desegregated school. This would mean the end of compulsory attendance at public schools.

Other projected statutes would provide state aid for communities embarking on "private school" programs and would add further gimmicks to a pupil "placement" measure designed to impede desegregation.

For another thing, there is now an organized opposition group, the National Committee for Democratic Action in UAW, whose chief activity during the last year has been the development of 30-for-40 sentiment. Some of its members will be delegates at the April convention, and it may be able to enlist the support of others who don't want a repetition of the 1958 fiasco.

A good sign of the times was the UAW's national skilled trades conference in Chicago last month, representing about 100,000 of the better-paid members of the union. Reuther, Emil Mazey and other officers made speeches to the conference, but none of them said, hinted or whispered that the UAW should fight for shorter hours.

Nevertheless, the conference voted in favor of a program whose first point, described as "a must," was the shorter work week.

In Steel

Editor: I have to hand it to the Militant. You know how to talk straight from the shoulder. I mean that article by Tom Kerry Jan. 9 about the "soft buttocks and supple spines" of labor skates who "play the labor-management gambit."

It started me thinking, so I went down to the local union meeting to see for myself what McDonald's boys are up to now. All I can say is they put on quite a show.

We have a small local — 3,000 on the payroll with 900 laid off for two months now. But that makes no difference. The local geniuses up us in hock for \$130,000 to open our new hall last November. It's more like a barn than a palace, except that it has no ventilation and gets stuffy fast.

First off, a staff man gets up and this is his report: "I was at a step two meeting yesterday, boys, and when the meeting broke up I noticed a couple of sheets of paper under a foreman's chair. Here they are! Read it to the members, Tom." (Tom,

These developments seem to be generating some concern at Solidarity House. Just before Christmas some unnamed person at UAW headquarters informed the local papers that UAW officers and technicians, working under Reuther, are "exploring three possible approaches to creating more jobs." They were listed as:

(1) A shorter work week with no cut in pay. (2) Earlier retirement with full benefits. (3) Longer vacations.

This surely is a move aimed at slowing down the growth of 30-for-40 sentiment in the union ranks by making it appear that Reuther is considering it seriously too. It is intended to blunt the edge of opposition criticism of the Reuther leadership for its failure to mount an effective movement for the shorter week.

Indicated Moves

If Reuther and Company were serious they would have openly

joined the Steel Workers Union campaign for Congress to enact a 32-hour week law.

If Reuther was serious he would have lined up the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, of which he is president, to support of the 30-for-40 demand.

If he was serious, Reuther would have at least made a try at getting the Jan. 5 meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council to support the fight for 30-for-40. To win a fight of this kind against the powerful auto barons requires the support of the organized labor movement.

Now is the time, for those who are serious, to step up the campaign in all sections of the union movement for support to the fight for a shorter week with no reduction in pay.

Only increased pressure by the ranks of the UAW for the 30-for-40 demand will force the Reuther leadership to act!

Lesson in Democracy

Editor:

I have to hand it to the Militant. You know how to talk straight from the shoulder. I mean that article by Tom Kerry Jan. 9 about the "soft buttocks and supple spines" of labor skates who "play the labor-management gambit."

It started me thinking, so I went down to the local union meeting to see for myself what McDonald's boys are up to now. All I can say is they put on quite a show.

We have a small local — 3,000 on the payroll with 900 laid off for two months now. But that makes no difference. The local geniuses up us in hock for \$130,000 to open our new hall last November. It's more like a barn than a palace, except that it has no ventilation and gets stuffy fast.

First off, a staff man gets up and this is his report: "I was at a step two meeting yesterday, boys, and when the meeting broke up I noticed a couple of sheets of paper under a foreman's chair. Here they are! Read it to the members, Tom." (Tom,

the recording secretary, has just finished a 20-minute communication from the international on rules and regulations for the coming election.)

The first sheet begins: "The Company is making a careful record of ABSENTEEISM. This is your job. By good attendance you help to build the Company. . . ." Somebody pipes up, "Hell, that's on the bulletin boards." So Tom reads the second sheet: "To the foremen—The following rules will be strictly applied on absenteeism . . ." etc. etc. End of report. No comment.

The kicker comes on the next order of business, when the president announces a brother has been fired for absenteeism. The executive board has decided not to take his case to arbitration and he wants to appeal their decision to the membership.

Brother Kellems gets the mike and states his case. He was off sick, came to work and found the company had pulled his card. He presents some doctor slips and asks the members to back his right to arbitrate.

Then the executive board takes to defend their decision. The president: "The company won't go for absenteeism. This is serious business!" The v.p.: "I told the gentleman in Sibley's Bar to come down to the executive board today and present his case. He didn't show up." The financial secretary: "We can't afford cases that are hard to beat." (He has just okayed \$130,000 worth of mortgage.)

They keep this up for half an hour, kind of like a pinball game with the members on one side and the stooges on the other.

But no go. Somebody gets a word in edgewise: "I move to arbitrate." And the vote is two-to-one in favor of arbitrating. Brother Kellems, with 3 1/4 years of seniority hanging in the balance, lifts his hand to the members. "Thanks, brothers."

I could say, let this be a lesson in democracy for Mac. Give the rank and file an opening, they'll rap the company every time. And not only the bosses, Mac, but the bosses' stooges too.

Jim Campbell
Detroit, Mich.

In Other Lands

Frondizi Finds Cuba Hot Issue

Afraid to Buck Popular Support For Revolution

Arturo Frondizi, a labor president of Argentina, told the New York Times Jan. 14 that efforts by the Kennedy administration to negotiate differences with Cuba would be favorably received in Latin America.

Frondizi's statement makes clear that Wall Street's ruthless exploitation of Latin America has stimulated such extensive popular support for the Cuban Revolution that even reactionary politicians there are reluctant to line up behind the State Department's anti-Cuba drive.

Reporting that Argentina intends to maintain diplomatic relations with Cuba, Times correspondent Juan de Onis observed: "It is apparent in Argentina as in many other Latin-American countries, that the break in relations with Cuba by the Eisenhower administration has created an uncomfortable internal political problem."

"In Argentina, as in Uruguay, Chile, Peru, Colombia and Venezuela, important opposition groups are using the 'defense of the Cuban revolution' as a political platform to attract popular support for electoral purposes and to defeat the present largely pro-United States government."

"Some Latin-American Governments," he continues, "are wary of being placed in a position of having to choose between the United States and Cuba with public opinion agitated as it is by leftist emotional appeals to solidarity with Cuba."

"Adding to the wariness in Argentina and other countries is the fact that they are facing internal unrest as they struggle to stabilize their economies after a long period of inflation."

Police Attack Cuba Backers In Uruguay

In a desperate effort to smash popular pro-Cuba sentiment, police in Montevideo, Uruguay, raided the Communist party headquarters and arrested 131 people Jan. 11.

The day before that, police made a savage attack on a large crowd of Cuba partisans who sought to hold a counter demonstration to an anti-Castro rally. The cops used tear gas, sabres

and guns. The demonstrators defended themselves with sticks and stones. More than 50 were arrested.

There have been pro-Cuban demonstrations in Montevideo almost every week since last fall. As a result the Government Council, dominated by reactionaries, has been split on a proposal to follow the U. S. lead and break with Cuba.

Student Strike Solid in Haiti

Students in Haiti are still giving the Duvalier dictatorship a hard time. Last November, Haiti University was shut down after a completely effective student strike. Martial law was declared and a strict curfew established.

The University reopened Jan. 16 but classrooms were virtually empty. High-school students were reported joining the boycott to protest government oppression.

Now attempting to minimize the situation, the minister of foreign affairs told newsmen that "for the Government, the problem is solved. . . . The situation is normal. The Government has washed its hands of the problem."

Last November, the regime asserted "Communists" and supporters of the Cuban revolution were behind the school strike. Now Catholic priests are being blamed for "inciting" the students.

Found Nicaragua 'Vast Poorhouse'

The benefits to the people of Nicaragua of U.S. domination, coupled with the Somoza dictatorship, was summed up in a recent dispatch to the Vancouver Sun that described the country as "a vast poorhouse and pest-hole."

Correspondent Gerry Robichaud found the country one of the most backward in Latin America. In the capital city of Managua, he reports, the "average" income is \$170 a year, but "there are a lot of Managuans whose average yearly income is close to zero."

Illiteracy, he says "is as common as an unshod foot, reaching an estimated average high of 80 per cent in the rural areas."

"Communicable diseases take a terrible toll in Nicaragua. Infectious disorders are the No. 1 killer."

"Fifty-five per cent of all children die before reaching the age of five."

Bigger Crops Main Goal for Chinese in 1961

In 1961 the People's Republic of China will place its major efforts behind the development of agricultural rather than industrial production, according to a Jan. 14 Hong Kong dispatch to the New York Times. The two principal reasons for this perspective, the report says, are the severe floods and droughts that sharply curbed Chinese crops last year and a further loss of yield attributed to bureaucratic mismanagement.

Cited in an article by the Shensi Communist party secretary in the party publication, Jemmin Jih Pao, which declared that in some farm communes there are "antagonistic elements usurping the leadership and working deliberately to sabotage the policies of the party."

"There are also some comrades who do not make enough effort to study the policies of the party in real earnest and to carry them out soberly."

Peking is reported as stating that last year's harvest was only slightly higher than in 1957, better for the organization of the communes.

The government is said to have leveled strong criticism against agricultural officials who take such special bureaucratic privileges as eating better food in separate mess halls and allocating themselves more grain and wages than commune workers.

In reply to this trend the government has announced a "five-sameness" program which demands that party cadres eat and live with commune members, do the same kind of work, receive the same wages and give their dependents the same treatment as other commune members.

Advertisement

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

To Help Build a New Cuba



The Cubans sought to buy farm machines from the U.S. to step up agricultural production. When they were turned down, they had to seek help from the Soviet bloc countries. In this picture a member of a cooperative in Pinar del Rio drives a much-used American-made tractor. Signs over the motor read "Cooperation. Employees Routes 10-41." The label "INRA," signifying government ownership, is seen everywhere in Cuba today.

"Life Can Be Wonderful"

By Harry Ring

It's no puzzle to Ed Graham why the State Department has clamped a ban on travel to Cuba. A long-time merchant seaman, Ed knew the old Cuba. As a participant in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee's Christmas tour, he got a good look at the new Cuba.

He had other bases for comparison, too. He has been a leader in the fight against the government's screening of militant maritime unionists as "security risks." So he knows something about problems of democracy and justice.

Havana was the first foreign port Ed ever visited. Back in 1932 he was lucky enough to get a regular run on a cruise ship out of New York that stopped regularly at Havana.

Ed fell in love with Havana the first time he saw it. But it's a lot different now, he adds.

"I'll never forget my first time ashore there. One of the crew asked me to mail a letter. There was a post office a few blocks from the dock. I only had a few hours ashore so I went running up the steps of the post office. Suddenly a soldier jumped in front of me and jabbed a rifle in my belly. When he saw I was a foreign seaman he stepped aside. But I got the quick feeling of what could have happened to a Cuban. It was a taste of the Machado dictatorship.

"But I was still fascinated by the country. It was so beautiful and the people were so warm even then. But that was during the worst of the depression and they were desperate to get a few cents to stay alive. The port swarmed with cab drivers, beggars, kids, and, of course, pimps and prostitutes.

"What a world of difference today! The people are still warm and friendly, but they're not looking for your money. There's a dignity and pride I've never seen in any country."

That's the big inspiring thing for Ed. "Human nature," he says, almost with awe, "has changed in Cuba."

One Big Family

"This is a small example, but it impressed an old sailor. I was changing pesos for dollars at the airport and dropped a 20-peso note on the floor. A militiaman noticed it. He tapped me on the

shoulder and handed it to me.

"One of the things that struck me," he continued, "is that I heard quite a number of people refer to Cuba now as one big family. I walked through the streets and I would hear people talk to militiamen in the second person familiar. I remembered that soldier at the post office. I bet nobody felt familiar with him."

The change in the Cuban people goes even deeper than the feeling of fraternity. In the thirties, he said, the average Cuban had all the political prejudices of Americans. The "Communist menace" was as effective there as here. "Most of the people were political abstainers." Now they're a highly political people — in the good sense, in the social sense.

"And it's democratic. As a unionist I've always been aware of the division between the rank and file and the leadership. The unions, co-ops and state farms that I visited, the lines between the ranks and the leaders seemed very indistinct. There's a real unity."

Good Workmanship

The new housing program made a big impression on Ed.

Has an "Intensification Of Relaxation" Hit You?

The recession's got you down? Has there been a slippage in your income because you lost your job? Or has your paycheck been deflated by a cut in the work week?

You're suffering an intensification of nervousness resulting from enforced relaxation?

Or is it that doing nothing leaves you with a feeling of creeping stagnation?

You don't have troubles. It's the captains of industry who get headaches from a depression. Consider the following extract from an article in the January issue of Fortune magazine.

Nowadays, we keep hearing about, say, "a sideways movement with a slight slippage in industrial production" (Henry C. Alexander of Morgan Guaranty). Or about a "deflation of inflationary tendencies" (FRB Chairman William McChesney Martin, Jr.).

He was struck by the artistic quality of the architecture. At the same time, as an old do-it-yourself hand, he looked closely at workmanship. The doors open and close the way they should. The plumbing seems good quality.

"It's all just wonderful," he exclaimed. "I never thought it would happen to me — I've been a dissenter all my life — but I didn't find one really important thing to criticize. And don't forget, I'm not a 16-year-old kid struck by a glamorous star. But it's just unbelievable what's being done there."

"I really got a kick out of it," he laughed, "the way they're showing up on 'practical' Yankees. They've got big dreams and they're artistic, but they're a hell of a lot more practical than we are."

Ed is deeply concerned about Washington's hostility against Cuba. But he thinks Cuba is going to help change the U.S. "Cuba is the best hope for this country," he said. "It's a wonderful poke in the nose to our arrogance and a real stimulus to start us on the road to sanity. 'Cuba proves that life can be wonderful.'"

Or about an "intensification of the relaxation" (International Monetary Fund's Managing Director Per Jacobsson). Or about "high-level creeping stagnation." These last unlovely words constituted the diagnosis of Charles L. Schultze, an Indiana University economist, testifying before Senator Douglas' Joint Economic Committee of Congress.

Senator Douglas did get one small point clarified. He got Geoffrey H. Moore, who is an economist for the National Bureau of Economic Research, to concede that a "recession" was the same thing as a "contraction."

With that point established, he asked five economists present that day whether in their opinion we are in a "recession or contraction" right now. They said that we are. But the vote was three to two.

How to Sell 'Happy Way'

By Arthur Jordan

Two sterling products of the Mississippi Way of Life, a judge and an ex-editor, extolled its many blessings to a psychology class at New York University a few days ago. Their audience was quizzical, unregenerate and — alas! — unsegregated.

The two apostles brought "The Message from Mississippi," a 27-minute film purporting to show how Negroes and whites can best keep "cooperating" and "making progress" by being kept apart. "Fine race relations . . ."

purred the sound track as a tiny Negro girl knowingly hoisted her drinking cup in a "For Colored" section.

One film scene showing a white librarian with Negro pupils puzzled an NYU girl. Later she asked just where Jim Crow lines applied. "The schools, churches and practically all areas of life are segregated," replied Judge Robert P. Suggs; "but . . . I don't know, you just have to live with it and grow up with it to know."

When another student asked why there are only 60 Negro doctors and nine Negro lawyers in Mississippi, Erle Johnston, Jr., ex-editor turned salaried state "public relations director,"

patiently explained that "Negroes prefer to go to white doctors." But why no Negro medical school in Mississippi? The questioner persisted. Slipping into his accustomed vernacular, Johnston dryly observed that "any nigger who wants to can get" out-of-state medical aid.

The 15-minute question period abruptly closed when Suggs and Johnston announced they had to catch an early plane — for Mississippi. They hoped the students would remember the "Message" summarized by Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett in the film.

Thanks to his state's costly "equalization" program "no student can get a better education than . . . the colored children . . . in Mississippi," Barnett proudly affirms.

But according to President C. R. Darden of the Mississippi NAACP, the program is "a big monstrosity of brainwashing, downgrading techniques which cripple our children. . . ." While new "Negro" schools have been built, pupils have to ride 80 miles a day to get to them, and they are still inferior to "white" schools close by.

As to statements that a majority of Mississippi Negroes favor segregation, Darden says, "No white man can make an . . . objective analysis . . . as long as he has rope . . . around the Negro's neck and a gun in his back. . . ."

If a Mississippi Negro escapes the gun or rope, he may get seven years hard labor instead — the sentence recently given Clyde Kennard for "stealing five bags of feed" — after he tried to enter an all-white college. When a Negro lawyer dared to criticize Kennard's sentence, he got 30 days and a \$100 fine.

Perhaps, Suggs and Johnston may have reflected, the timing of their tour was not too auspicious. A few days before, an "Mississippi item" hit the press. Two teen-age white brothers mounted their motorbike and rode off to fire a volley of shots into a crowd of Negroes, wounding two. Just two more products of "cooperation" and "progress" intoxicated with the spirit of "fine race relations."

Not Enough Bread?

Millions of people across the globe may go hungry but as of Aug. 1 four nations — the U.S., Canada, Argentina and Australia — had a combined total surplus of 2.7 billion bushels of wheat.

Thought for the Week

"A nuclear attack on our country would create a fire problem unparalleled in history. We have therefore put great emphasis on preparing our fire-fighting forces to meet this threat."—Henry Thomas of the National Board of Fire Underwriters.

have apparently been penalized by being denied hospital appointments.

Cyclops Army — Revised Defense Department standards will permit the drafting of one-eyed men in a total mobilization but will exclude color blind at all times. A spokesman said color blindness is dangerous and expensive in the atomic age. He said he understood that "several million dollars went up in smoke" because a color blind technician failed to distinguish between a red wire and a green one.

Choose Your Partner — A Roman Catholic periodical published in Vatican City established moral classifications for various types of ballroom dancing. "Limited contact" dances

such as the waltz or polka are "morally innocuous." Morally dangerous such dances as the rumba and mambo which bring "contacts at intervals." Bordering on sin are such "external contact" dances as the fox trot and one step.

Rights Fighters — The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, dedicated to promoting church participation in the integration movement, met in Williamsburg, Va., the first week in January. Three Negro delegates reported that they had been denied service in a local restaurant and proposed that the society stage a sit-in demonstration. The society voted instead to ask the proprietor for an apology and, if he failed to make one, to voice regret.

'A Life that Was Fully Lived'

By Della Rossa

A "celebration of a life that was fully lived, up to the very last hour" was held at Forum Hall Jan. 7 when the Los Angeles local of the Socialist Workers party paid "affectionate and respectful tribute" to Carl Skoglund, who died last month at the age of seventy-six.

Oscar G. Coover, chairman of the meeting, who was introduced as a three-day-old infant, forty years ago, to Skoglund, and who remained Carl's close friend to the end, set the "celebration" note of the meeting with, "I can think of no better life than the life that Carl Skoglund lived. He lived his life fully, serving what he believed in, and he fought vigorously for that."

"There were many penalties that he suffered as a consequence of those ideas," Coover said; "but he had the grand feeling of being with the people he wanted to be associated with and of never having compromised on basic principles. And he lived his life in the best traditions of the socialist movement."

Not Liked by Bosses

Max Goldman, a leader of the Minneapolis unemployed movement in the thirties who was later imprisoned for sixteen months in Sandstone with Skoglund as one of America's first Smith Act victims, told the meeting that "Skoglund was not liked by the bosses; but he was loved, genuinely loved, by the workers of Minneapolis."

"Skogie never figured he suffered," Goldman said. "He figured he had lived a full socialist life. He had a love of human beings, the truck drivers, the people. From 1911 until he died, scratch the labor movement and you find Carl Skoglund."

Arne Swabeck, who met Skoglund in 1916 at a conference of Scandinavians in the Socialist party, described Skoglund as an exceptionally warm human being who seemed to represent something particularly stable at the conference.

Skoglund was a fighting socialist, Swabeck said. He noted that the author of "American City," a book on the great Minneapolis strikes of 1934, quoted Skoglund as saying, "I've got to put on my fighting clothes and organize a union, or else I'll be out of a job in a week."

"He was that rare combination," Swabeck said, "of a revolutionary and an effective mass leader."

Swabeck said that Skoglund took great interest in astronomy, and with a purpose. He wanted to study the laws of nature, the better to understand the laws of society.

"Just as organic evolution proceeds from the lower stage to the higher," Swabeck explained; "so also the society created by man unfolds from the lower to the higher forms. Not only that, but as man acquired social powers of production he began to change nature."

So, too, man himself has been transformed, and this was the historical development that Skoglund understood so well and liked to speak about.

James P. Cannon, national chairman of the SWP and the main speaker, told the meeting, "We don't deny a great sense of personal loss — his presence, his company, and so on — but it is not that debilitating sadness that comes over you when someone dies before his work is finished."

"Carl lived long enough and full enough to accomplish what he was capable of and he died in a good way."

Cannon said that sadness was

not the dominant note struck by either of the two preceding speakers or by the chairman, and it shouldn't be.

The meeting was planned with three parts and purposes, Cannon pointed out. "First, and properly, is that part where we pay affectionate and respectful tribute to Carl as we remember him." Secondly, as the kick-off of a new action by the party in the local election campaign, and then as a quiet, friendly social; again in keeping with the spirit of "Skogie."

Met Him in 1923

Cannon said that he first met Skoglund in 1923 in Minneapolis and had been with him ever since — in the Communist party, in the Trotskyist movement, "and in the big strikes in Minneapolis, where I had a chance to get closer to him and to see him in action in the mass movement and get a profounder appreciation of his many-sided qualities than I had before."

"And we were together in prison," Cannon went on, "and everywhere else. Carl was not alone. I can't think of him as a single individual. He was one of that remarkable group of workers Bolsheviks in Minneapolis

who worked and fought so long and so consistently and brought so much credit and glory to our movement in the Minneapolis struggles. And all that remains with us and can never be taken away."

In the Dog Days

Rather than the prominence that Skoglund gained in the Minneapolis labor movement and the world-wide attention given the 1934 strikes, Cannon said he remembered Skoglund "most affectionately and most gratefully for the quiet, unobtrusive things he did to help keep the Militant alive in the first hard years."

Skoglund had been blacklisted out of a good-paying job as a railroad mechanic because he was chairman of the strike committee in 1923. When he found work it was in a coal yard.

He was in that humble occupation in the early dog days of the Militant when every week represented an agonizing financial crisis.

Out of his meager wages, Skoglund sometimes contributed as much as half to help the Militant carry on its obligation to tell the truth about the emancipating struggle for socialism and especially how this struggle was being hampered by Stalinism.

"I thought his death and the circumstances of it," Cannon said, "were so representative and symbolic of his whole life that even in our sorrow there is a certain cause for rejoicing about the way it happened."

Just a few days before his death he contributed \$100 to help the Socialist Workers party. It was only after he died that it was discovered he had only \$174 to his name.

At Mountain Spring Camp, where he worked the last years of his life, he helped install a new boiler. A day or so after the job was completed, he sat around with some young socialists who had helped put in the boiler, celebrating how perfectly the new equipment functioned.

All were in good spirits on

this Sunday evening, Carl joining in the banter and exchange of ideas with his usual good humor. Then he fell out of his chair and in a few minutes was dead from a heart attack.

"The whole three sides of his systematic, persistent life were represented in his last hour," Cannon said. "Talk for socialism, work for socialism, and even give a little money for it, even if you've only got \$174 to your name at the end of a lifetime of work. That's Carl."

In Los Angeles his comrades were saying, "He died with his boots on." And they celebrated a life that was fully lived, up to the very last hour.

What Johnny Gets to Read In School

"Some minorities have been ridiculed for inferior education and living standards. Jews, on the other hand, it is alleged, 'succeed too well too fast.' They do 'too well' in business. They are too able in school. They are called 'pushers.'"

"In the 1920's, Hitler constantly attacked the feebleness of the Republic that tolerated the traitorous acts of Jews and Communists."

"Very likely it is best that people of different races should not be forced to live where the differences between them might cause unpleasantness."

"In the post Civil War period, the Ku Klux Klan administered whippings to unruly Negroes."

Widely Used Texts

Those four anti-Negro and anti-Semitic quotations are from textbooks which the Anti-Defamation League says are among those "most widely used" in junior and senior high schools.

A leading spokesman for an American textbook publisher conceded the texts aren't "as good as they ought to be."



JAMES P. CANNON

Letters from Our Readers

Blockade of Cuba An Act of War

Editor: A blockade of Cuba, fenced in with battleships and submarines, will be a brazen attack upon world free trade and freedom of the seas. It means war and so does a blockade of any other Latin-American country.

Monopoly capital has invaded every country of the world, hogs it all and eats everything up from the people. It does not want to share even a crumb.

It's stealing the markets, business, profits and rentals of every country in the world and they will unite with the Communist bloc to drive it out because the hogs are in their fields devouring everything.

The proper place to attack monopoly and cut it off at the roots is on its own soil. Get your industries and business out of foreign countries, monopolists, before you are struck by lightning.

D.W.E.
Chicago

Favors Tabloid

Editor: A tabloid size for the Militant would be easier to handle and make for a more attractive layout.

The light touch on your back page is an improvement.

M.B.
San Francisco

[See next week's issue.—**Editor.**]

Wants to Hear From Members Of Auto Union

Editor: I am interested in corresponding with members of the National Committee for Democratic Action in the United Automobile Workers Union. I understand this group is calling for the 30-hour week and democratic action in the UAW.

I have been calling for 30-for-40 for more than eight years and asking for democratic action by the rank and file, particularly on political matters.

I have also called for election of international officers and regional directors by direct voting.

Would like to hear from UAW members interested in same.

J.E.P.
Paterson, N.J.

Rail Labor Unity

Editor: Could you provide us more information concerning railroad labor matters — both the operating and nonoperating crafts? We are interested in the

merger of all crafts into one or two unions, due to our weakened condition in a dwindling industry.

R.P.R.
Minneapolis

[Railroad workers interested in corresponding with R.P.R. can send their letters to the Militant and we will be glad to forward them. Same for auto workers who may wish to write to J.E.P. (See letter above).—**Editor.**]

Would Not Want To Miss an Issue

Editor: Enclosed is money order to extend my subscription as I would not want to miss an issue.

A few remarks—I endorse the stand you took in your Dec. 12 issue when you refused to print a letter from a reader because he failed to identify himself. Such as are afraid of capitalist snake bites should stay off the trail of free speech.

Enjoyed the clever wit in the article about the Cuban electrical workers — about the Cuban woman the papers said ripped the tires off cars and about capitalism's pretentious concern for labor union rights.

Also, recently I was chatting with a Republican neighbor and he remarked, "That Khrushchev is insane, waving his shoe at the UN like a maniac."

I conceded, perhaps. However, Christ must have been even more insane when he upset the money tables, turned loose the cattle and whipped the capitalist money changers from the temple. No comment.

A.G. Gregerson
Fillmore, Utah

'A Beautiful Cause'

Editor: Yours is one of the few publications that did not disappoint me when I first came to the United States. You maintain the progressive and fearless attitude that was characteristic of an earlier and better American society.

I only regret that the socialist cause is not more united in its aims and goals. It is a beautiful and reasonable cause that will, sooner or later, be shared by all decent people in the world.

M.A.
New York

Cheering Diet News

Editor: Your Bronx reader, Onna Diet, who complained in the Jan. 9 Militant about seeing in the papers where the government seized 8,345 pounds of the product named "Way Rite Nutritional Health-Weight Control" may feel relieved to know that an error was involved.

The report was that the product contained a lot more fat and a lot less protein than advertised.

Somebody goofed. The New York Times for Jan. 6 published a correction saying that the government did not charge more fat and less protein but only that the product was "misbranded by false nutritional claims."

What that means I don't know. But you can probably starve on the stuff while feeling as satisfied as if you'd just had a big meal of chocolate-flavored plaster.

O.T. Road
New York

Letters to Cuba

Editor: The New York Mirror, a Castro-baiting gutter sheet of the first water, on Jan. 12 printed an editorial that urged Americans to write letters to any contacts that they might have among the Cuban people, claiming that a letter-writing campaign on the part of Italian-Americans in 1948 prevented Italy from going Communist.

I wrote the Mirror the following:

"I agree with your editorial urging Americans to write letters to Cubans. This is a good idea. It might also be of benefit to us Americans, and we might thus be able to get an idea of how truthfully the U.S. newspapers have been reporting affairs within Cuba."

G.L.
New York

N.Y. Office Jobs Getting Scarce

Editor: Times are really rough now. For the first time New York office workers are having a hard time finding jobs. Not too long ago — as recently as last summer — the wage scale was fairly high because of the shortage of help. But now! For every ad that appears there are dozens of replies.

So the bosses not only have their pick, but what do you think also happens? The salary (wages) is the wrong word of course; that implies being just a worker, not middle class) drops just like those two planes that crashed into each other here.

And so you walk and walk and walk, and call and call and call, and when you finally breathe a sigh of relief because you have located a job, you find that your shoes have worn out and your phone bill is double, and you must get new clothes that befit your station in life. So there we are!

A.C.
New York

It Was Reported in the Press

But They Can Still Bounce—Industrial designer Francis Blod is building himself a nice balance by providing banks with new checks in bright pastels, grays and greens. "The effect of consumer design and color preference is becoming increasingly important in modern-day marketing practice," says Blod. "Although professional industrial designers are being used to sell soap, auto, housewares and telephones, this is the first time to our knowledge that their talents are being used in the banking industry."

Liberals at Work—The Jan. 9 issue of I. F. Stone's Weekly culled these gems of "liberal" thought from the Washington press. Adlai Stevenson: "Laos is serious because the loss of any territory to the Communists is serious." Hubert Humphrey: "Laos is no more important than any other place in the world. Latin America has top priority. As a matter of fact we have to deal with totalitarianism all across the board."

Pays to Protest—Last spring,

five New York high-school graduates refused to sign a "loyalty" oath as a condition for receiving a diploma. School officials have now decided to eliminate the written oath, which was instituted in 1917.

For Whites Only—A group of Negroes and whites picketed the Carolina theater in Chapel Hill, N.C., Jan. 6 to protest the refusal of the management to admit Negroes to see the all-Negro film, "Porgy and Bess."

Doctor Shortage?—Commenting on the lack of qualified medical personnel in some of the hospitals, a Jan. 6 Milwaukee Journal editorial observed: "Some very fine Jewish and Negro doctors say that it would be absolutely useless for them to apply for staff appointments at certain hospitals though other, and perhaps lesser, doctors are getting such appointments right along. Doctors who incurred displeasure of the old, conservative medical associations by espousing or participating in 'group practice,' for example,