

John L. Lewis Urges Defeat of Anti-Labor Bills

John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, called for defeat last week of anti-labor bills introduced in Congress under guise of "reform" legislation to curb racketeers and guarantee union democracy. The idea of government reform of the unions, Lewis said, comes from "people with axes to grind, people with motives, sinister or otherwise" who "represent support by the rich, the wealthy and the powerful against the poor."

The 79-year-old Mine Workers leader spoke May 13 before an overflow audience at the House labor subcommittee. He timed his blistering attack at the labor "reform" bills to counter an administration drive to get the House of Representatives to add new union-crippling clauses to the Kennedy-Ervin bill which was grafted through the Senate last month by the Democratic and Republican anti-labor coalition.

Referring to the policy of AFL-CIO officials, who supported the original Kennedy-Ervin bill as a "compromise" measure, Lewis described this as "trying to compromise with the head-man's axe."

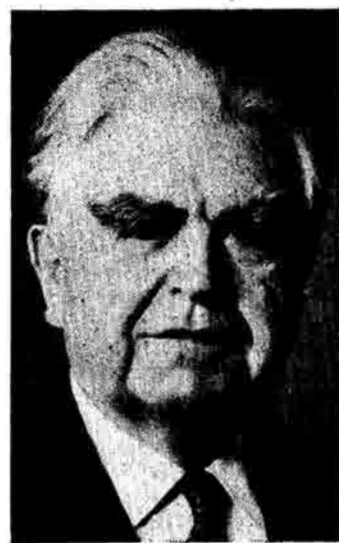
He credited this phrase to National Maritime Union President Joseph Curran and added, "I wish to associate myself with that statement. . . . It is terse, it is expressive, it is brutal and it's to the point."

The Kennedy-Ervin bill in its original form opened the door for government control of the unions. Before the Senate got through with it, however, the bill had been beefed up by labor-baiter Sen. McClellan with even more onerous measures to stifle the independence of the unions.

"The McClellan committee," Lewis charged, "is a re-establishment of the principle of the star chamber of the Tudor and Stuart kings, with a slight touch of the Spanish Inquisition."

The legislation promoted by this committee would fasten "a cast-iron chastity belt around the waists of 16,000,000 men."

He called Rep. Graham A. Barden's bill "eighty-eight pages of misery, weird mutterings and remblings."



JOHN L. LEWIS

Meanwhile the Teamsters Union, after making a close study of the final Senate version of the Kennedy-Ervin bill has written Teamsters locals throughout the country sounding the alarm: If "this bill is passed . . . it will convert the American labor movement into one large company-dominated union that will make it an adjunct of the government to be run by an all-powerful labor czar."

The International Teamster magazine draws sharp attention to the "hot cargo" clause of the bill which invalidates union contract provisions that permit truck drivers to refuse to cross picket lines.

The "hot cargo" ban would make every teamster an involuntary strike-breaker," declares the May issue. "The fact is, the 'hot cargo' amendment represents the attainment of the major goal of the worst anti-labor elements in the country. It unmasks the true motives of most of the sponsors of the bill — to cripple the labor movement."

In an editorial, Hoffa scores "the AFL-CIO top leadership" which "chose to sell the American labor movement down the drain."

(Continued on Page 4)

Negroes Press for Action In Mississippi Lynching

Jockey at Geneva Meet For Diplomatic Position

By Daniel Roberts

The Geneva conference of "Big Four" foreign ministers to date serves to illustrate the contradiction that faces U.S. big business policy makers. They are dedicated to restoring capitalism in East Germany — and beyond that, throughout the Soviet orbit. Their aims lead to World War III. At the same time they are stalemated in the cold war and find themselves obligated by anti-war sentiment here and in Western Europe to relax international tensions to some degree.

The Western plan for settlement of Germany reflects this contradiction. It reiterates refusal to recognize the East German regime (the U.S. and other Western powers recognize only the West German government while the USSR recognizes both regimes). It calls for reunification of Germany through "free elections" in which Washington and Bonn hope capitalism would be restored in East Germany — and all Germany integrated into the NATO alliance.

Thus the Western "package" remains geared to U.S. big business' long-term objectives. But it contains clauses such as creation of a mixed commission of 25 members from West Germany and ten from East Germany to

Gastro Regime Passes Law to Divide Estates

A revolutionary agrarian reform law was passed by the Cuban government May 17 stripping United States-owned sugar mills in Cuba of their cane plantations. The announcement has been met by consternation among American capitalists with large investments in Cuba.

The new law prohibits the operation of a cane plantation unless every stockholder is a Cuban citizen. It also provides that only citizens can purchase land and forbids foreigners from inheriting land.

The U.S.-owned sugar mills were given 90 days to comply with the law. After that their plantations will be expropriated if they have not met its provisions. The law also sets a limit of 1,000 acres that any person or company may own. Anything above this amount will be expropriated and divided among the landless. Thus the law is aimed at both the imperialist interests and the large landowning class.

Compensation for the expropriations will be based on valuations which the press claims is far below the real value.

draft an electoral law for all-German elections. This is designed as a concession to the Soviet proposal which calls for the "Big Four" (U.S., England, France and the USSR) signing a peace treaty with both German governments and leaving unification to further negotiations between the two.

WESTERN DIVISIONS

Divisions among the Western powers at the conference reflect the contradiction in U.S. big business policy. The French and West German governments favor no further concessions as long as the Soviet government refuses to accept the principles of the Western plan. They would especially bar recognition of the East German government. (France and West Germany are linked economically by the Common Market plan, and big business is firmly in the saddle politically in both countries for the time being.)

The British government favors disarmament negotiations with the Soviet Union and a West European settlement. The British capitalist class is excluded from the Common Market agreement and confronts stiff German business competition. Furthermore, the Tory government will soon be facing a close election contest against the Labor Party in which the anti-war sentiment of the British working people will come fully into play.

Washington mediates between the Franco-German and British positions. It appears that the Eisenhower administration now favors a "summit" heads-of-state meeting, such as Premier Khrushchev has proposed during the past year and a half. Washington hopes that it would ease the Tories' position in England and also help the Republicans in the 1960 elections. Thus Eisenhower declared at his May 5 press conference that the foreign ministers' conference had only to hold out a ray of hope for a summit parley to take place. To that end some minimum agreement may emerge from Geneva.

However, no basic settlement appears likely either at the foreign ministers' conference or at a summit gathering if it is held. In Europe, the first steps to lasting peace require withdrawal of all U.S. troops from the continent plus diplomatic recognition of East Germany so as to leave the question of how Germany is to be reunited up to the Germans themselves.

Mother's Day on Picketline



Taking a moment out from picket duty at Mt. Sinai Hospital, Mrs. Irma Colon pins a corsage on her mother, Mrs. Mercedes Gardner, as they celebrated Mother's Day by fighting for a wage sufficient to support a family. With pay checks of \$32 a week for kitchen, laundry and housekeeping workers, many have to get supplementary relief from the city. The struck hospitals claim they can't pay a living wage because they are "non-profit." But hospital directors draw up to \$30,000 a year.

Hospital Strikers Veto Union-Busting Proposal

NEW YORK, May 21—Striking employees of six private hospitals last night rejected, by a near-unanimous vote, Democratic Mayor Wagner's proposal that they return to work without union recognition. The union-busting proposition was voted down 1,784 to 14. Announcement of the result of the secret ballot was greeted with a roar of approval.

The strike, now in its fourteenth day, includes all groups of employees except doctors and nurses in the six hospitals. The settlement plan, put forward by the hospitals and pushed by the "pro-labor" mayor, would have raised the present outrageous minimum wage of \$32 up to \$40 and permitted union representation to workers only in the final stage of grievance arbitration.

With announcement of the workers' vote, spokesmen for the struck hospitals declared the situation would now "get nasty" and indicated they would push for enforcement of anti-picketing injunctions which the strikers have been defying.

Union officials replied that the strike may spread to other voluntary hospitals where a majority of the workers have joined the union, Local 1199, Retail Drug Employees, AFL-CIO. Strike votes have already been taken at Flower and Fifth Avenue Hospital and Polyclinic Hospital.

Angry Appeal to Meet Violence with Violence Stirs Nationwide Debate

By George Lavan

Determined that the lynching of Mack C. Parker in Poplarville, Mississippi, remain the number one issue before the country, the Negro people are demanding action. Expressive of this mass mood was the call by Martin Luther King and 80 Southern Negro leaders for President Eisenhower to go personally to Mississippi to spur the hunt for the lynchers. Rejection of this request, the message informed the White House, might bring an appeal to the United Nations to do something about lynchings in the U.S.

Rev. King's call was issued at the conference of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Tallahassee, Florida. The conference also congratulated students of the Negro university there for their militancy in striking and demonstrating to force the indictment of four white men who raped a Negro co-ed. All four of the rapists, who were arrested with the bound and gagged Negro girl in their car, have pleaded not guilty. Their trial scheduled for May 27 has just been put off until June 10.

From Mississippi rumor is that the FBI is about to make some arrests. The FBI has said nothing but reporters in the lynch town, watching the 40 FBI agents' activities, deduce that they are about to arrest possibly seven local men.

That such a reversal of the FBI's long record of "inability" to find the perpetrators of crimes against Negroes in the South may occur, is further indicated by the sharp change in the attitude of Mississippi officials. Originally Mississippi Governor Coleman thanked Eisenhower for the "cooperation" of the FBI agents with the State Police and District Attorney W. E. Stewart opened his office to them.

SOUTHERN JUSTICE
Now he calls them "the enemy" and boasts that no one in town will help them. In an interview with the Scripps-Howard newspapers (May 20), Stewart averred that his case against the lynched man was so "air-tight" that he would have been convicted "by noon" the day of the trial. "If a federal judge had ordered him released, that's what we would have done right here in Poplarville. Then we would have sent his body to that judge and we would have said, 'We did all we could. This is your fault.'"

The great debate over suspension of North Carolina NAACP leader Robert F. Williams for advocating that Negroes arm

and defend themselves in areas where the law gives them no protection continues. For example, the May 23 issue of the N.Y. Amsterdam News features on its front page a letter from a Negro physician taking NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins to task for suspending Williams. A lengthy editorial concludes: "This is self-protection. This is self-preservation." In a column in the same paper, Jimmy Booker predicts that the NAACP National Board will not uphold the suspension of Williams because "many board members inwardly believe some sort of violence is necessary to defend oneself in the South."

A cartoon in the May 23 Afro-American shows a husband and wife in conversation: Mary — "That 'meet violence with violence' remark of a N.C. NAACP official was unfortunate, wasn't it?" John — "Yes, but so was his suspension. We have too many enemies to be wasting time fighting each other."

The intense interest in the policy question put before the Negro people by Williams is shown by the letters in the Negro papers and the phone calls to radio stations serving the Negro communities.

Socialists Step Up Pace In \$16,000 Fund Drive

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Manager

As I mentioned in last week's column when I reported some of the ideas that seasoned socialist financiers were coming up with to put the \$16,000 Socialist Workers Party Building Fund over the top, I thought that Johnny Tabor of the New York Local had made a unique contribution with his proposal for a BOOK FAIR. You donate some of the books you've accumulated so that students of socialism get an opportunity to pick up some rare items, and then the proceeds help build socialism. What could be more unique than that?

But the financiers out in the old Northwest, namely, the Twin Cities, came up with an idea just as unique—if not identically unique. This is a REDISTRIBUTION THROUGH SALE of books contributed from socialist libraries, proceeds to help build socialism. How's that for proving how a certain kind of mind runs?

While I'm on these two local

books, Fannie C. says the check for \$92, which raises the Twin Cities total to \$980, "is somewhat short of the mark," but—and I like the beautiful way she puts it — "We will definitely make it by the deadline of June 15 one way or another—or rather, I should say, one way and another."

The New York Local was the genial host to a graduating group of Marxist students last Saturday. It's for sure that somebody had a good time besides me listening to those inspiring talks about the power of socialist ideas and how certain it is that socialism will finally win out. When Hedda M., in charge of the social, counted up the net proceeds, they amounted to \$122. This, added to the \$76.85 contributed earlier in the week, gave New York a boost of \$198.85 toward the goal.

Boston made news this week with \$55, the largest single contribution in their campaign. Sally Conti reports that the comrades are "digging in deeper and will keep plugging." That means a lot because these seasoned veterans appreciate how much the success of socialism can depend at times on what is sacrificed in the way of money.

I don't know if the New England inspiration reaches down as far as Connecticut, but that big commotion at the top of the scoreboard was the Nutmeg State pushing into first place with 109%. The representative of the aromatic area told me personally: "We're not going to stop at that!" He believes that those who made up the \$217

Socialized Medicine — The Modern Health System

By Alex Harte

"I get paid \$32 a week," the nurse's aide told the patient. "Thirty-two dollars!" the patient exploded. "Then where the devil does all the money I'm paying go to?"

This conversation, which took place in New York's Beth Israel Hospital just before the strike there, epitomizes America's medical care problem. We pay staggering medical and hospital fees and the bulk of the hospital workers are among the worst paid in the country.

Can anything be done to improve the situation this side of socialism? A brief look at the socialized medical plan established in Great Britain in 1948 shows that a lot can be done. Under the British National Health Service, hospitals, doctors, and a variety of services are available to everyone without charge and the cost of the plan is a fraction of the annual American medical bill.

The situation in this country

has been eased somewhat with the spread of health insurance plans. But these plans are expensive and barely scratch the surface of the problem. A survey published by a group of drug firms in 1955 showed that 57% of American families had some kind of hospital insurance and that 48% made added payments to cover surgical and doctor's fees. Stiff premiums barred 59% of those with incomes under \$3,000 a year from participating in any plan.

AVERAGE IS \$207

Only 15% of all medical charges incurred were covered by the various insurance plans. The average family had a medical bill of \$207 for the year. Half the families in the U.S. spent 4% of their incomes on illness. A million families lost half a year's pay on such bills and a half million had expenses that equalled or exceeded their income. At the end of the year 7½ million families had medical debts averaging \$125 each

and a million families owed almost \$200.

Lack of cash means lack of care for many people. Thirteen out of every 100 persons covered by insurance went into hospitals during the year. But only ten of every 100 uninsured did. Seven of every 100 insured persons underwent operations as against four of every 100 uninsured. Since no reason exists to believe that insured people need more operations than uninsured, the conclusion is obvious.

Contrast this to Britain. Here is how the National Health Service operates, as described in a British Information Service pamphlet:

"The hospital and specialist services provide all forms of medical care and treatment, for both in-patients and out-patients, in every kind of hospital. . . . All these services are available to every member of the public without any insurance qualification whatsoever. . . . The majority of patients are accommodated in general wards,

but certain hospitals have private rooms or wings, which, if not required for patients needing privacy on medical grounds, may be made available to patients desiring it. . . . In such cases the hospital makes a charge representing the additional cost over the cost of maintenance in a general ward, but the patient pays nothing towards the cost of treatment nor towards the normal cost of maintenance. . . .

"A number of new diagnostic ear clinics have been established and hearing aids . . . are supplied to patients referred from the clinics. . . . These aids are serviced and maintained without charge. . . .

"The professional attention of a family doctor is made available to everyone. Patients may choose the doctor they wish. . . . They may also change their doctor with a minimum of formality. . . .

"The doctor . . . is free to treat his patients exactly as he treated them in the past. There

are no regulations as to what drugs or treatments he may prescribe. . . . If a serious illness develops or diagnosis is difficult, he may call in a consultant and secure hospital treatment without reference to any outside authority. . . .

DENTISTRY, TOO

"Through the Dental Service patients are provided with all forms of treatment necessary for the restoration of dental fitness. . . . Patients are not required to register with dentists, and the ordinary practice of visiting by appointment is maintained. . . . In May 1951 charges were introduced for dentures whereby the patient has to pay an amount corresponding to about half the cost. . . . In June 1952 a charge of £1 (\$2.80) was introduced. No charge is made for the clinical examination of a patient's mouth at six-monthly intervals. Charges for dental treatment . . . are not made for anyone under 21 years of age, or to ex-

pectant mothers, or mothers who have had a child during the preceding 12 months."

Other services described in the bulletin include free eye examinations. Glasses are furnished at running from approximately \$3.50 to \$6. There is no charge for children's glasses. Each drug prescribed costs 14 cents. As with other charges under the health plan, hardship cases may apply for reimbursement.

Each employed man contributes about 30 cents a week and each employed woman about 22 cents to the National Insurance fund for this care. The entire cost of the program will run to less than 1% of the total 1953 population of 50 million. With a population of about \$35 a person. . . . In this country, the total 1953 medical bill was \$10 billion, an average of \$65 per person. The increase in fees since then means that the cost today is at least double the \$35 figure for Great Britain. Clearly, socialized medicine is a sound proposition.

CAMPAIGN FUND GOAL
\$16,000

COLLECTED TO DATE
\$8,780

How the FBI "Hooks" Labor Stool Pigeons

By Henry Gitano

Among fink agencies, "hooking" is a technical term meaning transforming an honest worker into a spy.

How is it done? The FBI technique is money, threats, blackmail. This can be seen in some instructive cases in which the technique failed:

In April, 1954, John Lupa, a member of UAW-CIO Local 1200 was fired from his job at the Detroit Arsenal on "security" grounds. He was told to see a Mr. Clifford at the Detroit FBI office.

The FBI agent, according to Lupa's affidavit, threatened: "If you don't help us, you will have trouble getting a job in the future, and your children, when they grow up, also will have trouble finding jobs."

Lupa was further told in the presence of his wife: "What we would like for John to do is go into the shop and get some information on subversives. I can get him into either Packard's or Ford's immediately. He could help us get some information . . . As it is, John is in quite a jam and it will be quite difficult for him to clear himself."

Lupa replied: "I don't like the idea of spying on people. I just want to make a good living . . . and go my own way."

Among Lupa's attorneys was UAW counsel Harold Cranefield who declared: "We want to know, and we think the American people want to know, if the FBI makes a practice of falsely accusing loyal Americans in order to force them to act as stoolpigeons." With the UAW's aid, Lupa was reinstated after 15 "hellish" months.

REINTHALER CASE

Eric Reinthaler, a Cleveland factory worker, reported that in 1956 after the local in which he was a shop steward left the United Electrical Workers and joined the Machinists union, "I was approached by FBI agents. The gist of their remarks to me was: 'We know you're OK, but we'd like to know about some of your friends in the labor movement.'" After repeatedly refusing to stool for the FBI, he was indicted for "conspiracy."

Bernard Horwatt told the press in July 1954 that he had been questioned four times by the FBI, but persistently refused to turn informer. Then the FBI asked him to rejoin the Communist Party and provide them with information.

"I'm not the person who can play a two-life personality," is how Horwatt explained his refusals, "I just couldn't do it."

Denaturalization proceedings followed. It was alleged that 23 years previously in 1931, he failed to mention in applying for his naturalization papers that he was a Communist. Horwatt, a Falls Church, Va., electrical contractor, told reporters that he had been a Socialist and then a Communist in the 1930's, leaving the CP in 1938. (Reported in I. F. Stone's Weekly, which has provided invaluable documentation and leads for material used in this series.)

The FBI got a taste of its own medicine in January 1952 after two FBI agents, James Condon and Richard Burrus approached David Thompson, educational director in Hawaii for the Longshoremens Union and asked to talk to him. Thompson arranged a meeting at his home, where the union officials

hid a microphone. The union made a recording of the conversation and played it on an island-wide hookup.

The snoopers had shot their mouths off. If Jack Hall, top ILWU man in Hawaii, who was indicted under the Smith "Gag" Act, would lead a secession move at the island convention, and break away from Bridges, the agents would put him in touch with the person who could "lay it on the line" and have the indictments dismissed.

Gitano Needle Draws Yelp From Cultist

Another FBI cultist, who considers it sacrilege to look at America's chief cop from any other position than down on all fours, has, in his own way, indicated what sting there is to Henry Gitano's series in the Militant exposing J. Edgar Hoover and his political police.

James C. G. Conniff, writing in Columbia, a Knights of Columbus publication which claims to be the "largest Catholic magazine in the world" (whether in circulation or number of pages is not specified), had this to say in the May issue:

"The anti-FBI barrage continued with increasing savagery via a six-part series which began early in December, 1958, in The Militant—official weekly publication of the Socialist Workers' Party—and ran through mid-February, 1959. A sampling of titles (J. Edgar Hoover, Chief of Thought Police, 'FBI's Files: 75 Million Under Watch,' J. Edgar Hoover's Flock of Stool Pigeons, 'The FBI Is Persecuted') will give some faint idea of the devotional tone adopted by writer Henry Gitano."

Writer James C. G. Conniff links Gitano with "robots" like Cyrus Eaton, Fred Cook, and James A. Wechsler, who are also critical of the FBI's role, and he ends up with the following spindling thought:

"For every Special Agent of the FBI, however, a recent count shows there are at least five Communist Party members in the United States, and an estimated 50 fellow travelers. How about that, Cyrus? Fred? Henry? James? Get rid of Hoover and the FBI and who do you think will be taking over who?"

The La Follette hearings were told by an operative with 14 years experience that if a "hooking" prospect "is financially hard up . . . you offer him this extra money." And then the labor spy can't get unhooked. "You have his receipts . . . You have his handwriting where he wrote in his original reports."

Harvey Matusow, a man in the know, told reporters: "This is a good racket, being a professional witness." The late Paul Crouch, who was regarded as the Dean of "Witnesses for Hire," and Manning Johnson averaged \$4,500 a year in taxpayers' money. Rowena Paumi, who testified about alleged communist infiltration in the Mine, Mill and Smelter Union, received \$9,198 for helping the FBI. Louis Budenz has cleared \$10,000 a year as a professional expert on "subversives."

Matthew Cvetic ("I was a Communist for the FBI.") earned between \$10,000 and \$15,000 annually from his "anti-communist" activities. David Brown of Los Angeles ranged between \$65 and \$250 a month from the FBI for spying. Mary Markward, was employed by both the CP and the FBI; her FBI wages were over \$24,000 between 1943 and 1952.

Lloyd Hamlin earned \$13,182 between 1946 and 1952. Daisy Van Dorn was given \$125 a month for two years, simply to keep herself in readiness as a witness. John Lautner squealed for \$4,000 a year plus per diem expenses.

When Paul Crouch was exposed as a liar, he fought back, complaining that he was hired "as a fulltime consultant with a guarantee of 18 days a month and maybe more," at \$25 a day plus \$10 expenses.

The Department of Justice has a cynical attitude toward the use of stool pigeons. Assistant Attorney General Tompkins put it like this in commenting about the FBI's stable of informers for hire: "You use the best you have."

The Ugly Senator Sen. Fulbright (D-Ark.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, takes issue with fellow congressmen who acclaim the novel "The Ugly American." The book depicts the arrogance, callousness and ineptitude of U.S. diplomatic personnel in Asia. Fulbright reminded the legislators that a book could be written entitled "The Ugly Senator." Congress has its misfits, too, he said.

Why Workers Aren't Dazzled by the Boom

They Camped on the Street

By Murry Weiss "It's amazing how fast even the memory of recession has faded . . . At the moment, there really are no clouds on the economic horizon." So write the editors of U.S. News and World Report May 11.

However, for 3,627,000 unemployed, the figures officially admitted by the government, the recession is not a fading memory; it is a painful fact. As one unemployed packinghouse worker put it in the May issue of Butcher Workman, "Having six dependents and collecting \$42 a week Unemployment Compensation, the maximum weekly benefit in Wisconsin, isn't a problem; it's a catastrophe. It's even worse when sickness strikes as it did in my family."

Taking into account the dependents of the 3,627,000 currently jobless, New York Post columnist Sylvia Porter is absolutely right in observing that "at least 10,000,000 of your neighbors and mine are finding today's talk of prosperity a cruel mockery."

It's a cruel mockery, too, for millions who have finally got back on the payroll. Even the boom-happy U.S. News, concerned about the "spending" pattern, quotes a factory worker in Holyoke, Mass.: "You're darn right people are watching their spending. They're worried about their jobs. A lot of us found out what it's like to be out of work."

And an appliance dealer in Hamilton, Ohio, whose unemployment is running 10% of the labor force says, "People are more cautious about buying. Some are consolidating their debts and paying off faster than they add new obligations."

HAPPY DAYS AGAIN?

Another important fact is the length of unemployment among those who are jobless today. More than 38% of the jobless have been out of work for at least 15 weeks. And of these about half have been looking for work for more than 26 weeks.

Still another reason why workers with jobs are not singing "happy days are here again" but are occupied instead with paying off debts and worrying about the next economic disaster, is the fact that they remember two previous recessions—1953-54 and 1949-50. That's for the younger generation. A slightly older age group remember the mass unemployment immediately following World War II during the so-called reconversion crisis. And the age group of 40 and up remember the great depression of 1929-39.

In other words, unemployment has shaken the working class repeatedly for 30 years. That's why it can't be removed as a political issue with a statistical whitewash.

Moreover, since the great depression of the thirties, the American workers have begun to recognize themselves as workers and not as potential capitalists. They have learned that they can improve their lot through unions and through struggle. The scourge of unemployment is no longer taken as a natural and uncontrollable phenomenon—like bad weather. Even a little increase in unemployment goes a long way now to arouse indignation and heat.

There is something comic about the way the big capitalist press sputters over the fuss unemployment is still stirring up despite the fact that the figure is "almost" down to the "normal" level. They can't seem to understand why it remains a hot political issue.

The answer is simple. Unemployment vitally affects millions of working people. Even if unemployment were down to the arbitrarily declared "normal" of three million, this would still be so.

Despite the recovery, however, unemployment will average at least four million this year—a million above the so-called "normal." This is the considered opinion of the authoritative University of Michigan professor of economics, Dr. William Harper. Dr. Harper alludes to a "hard core" of permanently unemployed in major industrial centers.

WHERE ARE THEY? New York Post columnist Sylvia Porter has asked a question of considerable interest: "Where are America's 3,627,000 unemployed today?" Her answer helps to explain why the issue has made such a sharp impact in politics.

Using the bi-monthly surveys made by the Labor Department, she shows that 74 out of 149 top industrial centers reported more than 8% of their labor force unemployed at mid-March. This, she observes, is far above the "normal" level. Further, in 11 of these areas, which includes Detroit, unemployment is running at 12%. She points out that even granting improvement



During the 1953 recession these men camped for five days to apply for low-paying New York City laborers jobs. The experience of three recessions since the post-World War II "reconversion" layoffs has become deeply etched in the minds of American workers who don't want a perpetual threat to their security.

since mid-March, in these areas ten out of every one hundred workers are looking for jobs. In another 17 areas, which include cities like Pittsburgh and Bridgeport, Conn., between 9 and 12 workers were unable to find jobs in mid-March.

From these figures Miss Porter draws a significant conclusion: "A first vital point they dramatize is the extent to which joblessness has been and still is centered in basic industries. This is not just a hangover of the 1957-58 recession. The concentration of unemployment emphasizes it also as a result of machines replacing men and wiping out some jobs forever."

This can be confirmed from numerous sources. For instance the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers paper, Union News, reports April 27: "Although

don't see the capitalists relinquishing their profits until these jobs appear.

Auto workers have this kind of close-up picture of the relation between increased productivity and jobs. Every time a technological change is introduced, the line is reevaluated. The company, in addition to attempting to squeeze workers out of the job with labor-saving machinery, uses every change in production to step up speed and intensity. The workers fight back. They don't want to work themselves out of a job and they don't want to work themselves to death.

Thus unemployment has aroused special bitterness among key sections of mass production workers in basic industry. This sector of the working class is far more powerful than even the great size of its forces would indicate. These are the workers who put so much pressure on union officials that AFL-CIO Vice-President Walter Reuther felt compelled to at least voice the idea of a March on Washington and the AFL-CIO Executive Board felt forced, for the first time in the history of the American union movement, to actually call a conference in Washington on unemployment.

Three questions require close examination: (1) Did the recession of 1957-58 show greater signs than the two previous postwar recessions of a break in the over-all capitalist boom? (2) What lies ahead for the economy? A fourth recession after a short-lived upswing? (3) How do these economic oscillations affect the prospects of a radicalization of the American working class?

The economic specialists of the capitalist class are concentrating their attention on those features of the economic recovery that tend to show a new upswing in the over-all boom, a boom that is based on astronomical government expenditures for military purposes. This boom is real. There is no doubt about that. But Marxists take the whole reality, in all its facets and connections and in its international and historical setting.

We must begin by carefully studying the evidence that has been amassed by economists close to labor. This shows that the 1957-58 recession produced

a larger number of unemployed at its low point and a larger number of long-term unemployed. The evidence also reveals a greater lag of re-employment in relation to other indices of recovery. And indications are that a larger number of unemployed will remain after the recovery has leveled off. The main bearing these fluctuations have is on the political reaction of the working class.

Marxists have completely rejected the capitalist claim that they have discovered ways of ameliorating the anarchy of capitalism and stabilizing its ups and downs. American Marxists have insisted that the prosperity we are living under is not a sign of organic capitalist health but the very opposite: capitalism never recovered from the 1929-39 depression. Prosperity since then has hinged on plunging into World War II, then into the Korean conflict, and in preparing for World War III. Marxists hold, therefore, that the contradictions of capitalism which manifested themselves in the great depression have not been eliminated but have temporarily found different forms of expression. The potentiality of another catastrophic economic crash is built into the system.

The issue now is the significance of the successive recessions in the capitalist boom to the organic illness manifested in 1929-39. Marxists hold that each of these saggs are manifestations of irrepressible crisis factors that come to the surface. The capitalist view is expressed in the May 4 U.S. News and World Report: "For the third time since 1945, a setback in business has been checked before it turned into a real depression. This fact is leading Government economists to conclude that major depressions can be avoided in the future, that they are things of the past. Built-in stabilizers appear to work."

This debate will not be settled by economic statistics alone. Behind the statistics are living class forces in struggle. U.S. News may find its prediction about depressions fulfilled in an unexpected way; namely, that the working class, before the full consequences of a debilitating capitalist depression have descended will awaken to political consciousness and reorganize society so as to remove the threat of unemployment and war forever.

... Socialist Fund Drive

(Continued from Page 1)

got into the act this week. Seattle mailed in \$59.35; the Bay Area sent in \$73; Los Angeles chucked up \$134 and San Diego made \$35. Not much was said about activities and plans in any of the letters. I can appreciate that, being from a West myself. The strong, silent type is likely to be the fastest on the trigger when the show-down comes.

In Philadelphia the wraps are now being taken off Project Chicken Dinner. I left this to almost last because even thinking about southern fried makes me so hungry I have to get another container of coffee and a roll to keep going. They've got "the world's second best cook" for the project. I couldn't figure that out until I remembered that the world's best is Escuffer. The advance notice came from L. Morris, who sent in a "modest"—that's his word not mine—money order for \$79.

And here's the slogan for the week which came from Gene F. along with \$93 for Cleveland: "The scoreboards really started the comrades here. 'Are we that far behind? Let's get going!'" Repeat: LET'S GET GOING!

FUND SCOREBOARD

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Connecticut	\$ 200	\$ 217	109
Pittsburgh	10	10	100
Allentown	110	101	92
Chicago	1,000	750	75
Detroit	600	430	72
St. Louis	80	50	63
Newark	265	155	58
Twin Cities	1,700	980	58
New York	4,200	2,413	57
San Diego	245	135	55
Milwaukee	250	125	50
Los Angeles	4,400	2,150	49
Cleveland	750	343	46
Seattle	500	214	43
Denver	25	10	40
Boston	450	170	38
Philadelphia	500	182	36
Bay Area	800	234	29
General	15	111	—
Total through May 18	\$16,100	\$8,780	55

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How the Miners Won

Everyone applauded John L. Lewis when he appeared at a congressional committee hearing and denounced pending anti-labor legislation. How many today recall how the United Mine Workers were attacked by everyone from President Roosevelt to the Communist Party during World War II? It has become a forgotten page in American labor history.

The story of the heroic wartime strikes of the coal miners and the reactionary forces that sought to defeat them is vividly described by Art Preis in "How the Miners Won." Read it in the spring issue of International Socialist Review. Send 35 cents for a copy.

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Five Years Later

May 17 marked the fifth anniversary of the Supreme Court's decision against school segregation. Where do things stand today?

There are 2,970,344 Negro children in the public schools of the South, border states and the District of Columbia. Of these 2,830,344 are still in Jim Crow schools, while 140,000 are in integrated schools. Thus 95% of the Negro children, to whom the 1954 desegregation decision was supposed to apply, still remain in Jim Crow schools.

But the figures reveal more. School desegregation has virtually ground to a halt. By the end of the 1956 school year, 450 school districts had desegregated to one extent or another, in 1957 another 270, in 1958 only 60, this present school year merely 22.

Practically all this desegregation has been in the border states and the District of Columbia. In the South only 19 school districts have begun any desegregation whatsoever — and none of these districts is in the Deep South. The 19 districts are as follows: Arkansas — 8; North Carolina — 4; Tennessee — 3; Virginia — 4.

Proof that this integration is not sincere but "token" is seen in the fact that in all 19 "desegregated" school districts in these four Mid-South states a total of only 165 Negro children are involved.

This is the actual number of Negro children in schools with white children, not those in "integrated situations." Such phony figures, widely quoted in the Big Business press, are but a statistical device for falsifying the actual situation. For example, in Fort Smith, Ark., only two Negro school children are actually in mixed schools, but 1,200 are listed as being in an "integrated situation," because "some measure" of desegregation has been taken in that district. The same applies for North Carolina where 25,595 in Jim Crow schools are listed as in "integrated situations" because 11 Negro children are in mixed schools; or Tennessee, where the figures are 11,674 and 44, and Virginia where they are 18,801 and 30.

Was the Supreme Court's decision worthless then? No, it was a great legal and moral victory for the Negro people — a victory wrung from the government by decades of struggle. But after five years it is clear that too much dependence has been placed on the Supreme Court and not enough on independent struggle.

Since 1954 the Court's decisions have registered a course of battle that has been going in favor of the segregationists. The

first retreat was in the 1955 "implementing" decision. By setting no time limit for ending Jim Crow schools, procrastination was given legal status. This reflected the fact that the Negro organizations had not campaigned for immediate enforcement, but placed their trust in the Court.

The racists announced they intended to fight, they mobilized Democratic officials of the South into a disciplined segregationist team, and they organized the White Citizens Councils. Supreme Court justices noted the political realities. They retreated.

The recent upholding of the Alabama Pupil Placement Law marks another retreat. Under the 1955 ruling Negroes had to fight school segregation by separate law suits in each of the 2,909 Jim Crow school districts. Under the Pupil Placement Laws, they now have to file suit student by student. Moreover the burden of proof is on each Negro pupil to show that he has not been rejected for psychological, sociological, moral, geographical, etc., etc., reasons.

The legal and political tide is running so obviously against school desegregation in the South that Negro organizations which put all their hope in court action alone are beginning to lose heart. At present only 25 desegregation lawsuits are pending and these may take years for final decision.

How can the Negro people forge an effective counterweapon to the political power of the racists?

They will do well to study the lessons of militant unionism. Back in the thirties the working class won a big legal victory in getting Section 7a of the NRA — authorizing unions and collective bargaining. But the unions won genuine collective bargaining and built the CIO only through the power of their own picket lines. So it is with the struggle for a democratic school system. Success depends in the final analysis on the battle the Negro people put up.

Some practical political lessons can also be drawn. The Democratic Party has proved its worth to the Southern racists. It's their party and can't be torn from their vise-like grip. The blatantly anti-labor Republican Party is just as bad, for it is in a coalition with the racists.

Like labor, the Negro movement for school desegregation and full equality needs to break with both capitalist parties. It needs to build a political machine that will serve its own interests — a labor party. Such a party, committed to fighting for the working people, can win abolition of second-class citizenship in all its forms.

Capitalist Disaster

"President Eisenhower wasn't exaggerating last week when he warned of the 'impending disaster in wheat' unless Congress does something about it promptly." That's the opening sentence in an editorial in the May 18 Wall Street Journal.

Here's the disaster: "The wheat surplus is already two and one-half times annual domestic consumption. Despite production controls, the last wheat crop was the biggest in history." Still more wheat is expected in the coming year.

The Journal ascribes the disastrous

quantity of wheat to two causes: (1) "advancing technology" which enables farmers to produce more despite "sharply restricted" acreage; and (2) government price supports which encourage farmers to grow bumper crops.

Naturally the simple solution of giving the wheat to hungry people is not proposed by the Journal. That would be an even worse "disaster" from the capitalist point of view. Their solution is Congressional action to lay the law down about farmers growing wheat like that.

New York's Sootfall

The New York Post has been assuming a somewhat cynical posture toward the air-raid sirens upon which the world's largest city relies for warning in case notice arrives of an impending H-bomb attack.

"It's the sirens that are being tested, not us," says the editorial writer assigned to the subject. "We know this is no trivial matter; but the way these rehearsals are conducted we have the ghoulish feeling that we'll absent-mindedly run, not walk, to the nearest exit if and when doomsday really arrives."

If we are to believe a forthcoming report, leaked by the Department of Air Pollution to the World-Telegram, it could turn out that the "enemy" might not need to waste any H-bombs on the city. A little more patience and the city's inhabitants will suffocate themselves in their own smog.

On April 30, for instance, only "luck" saved the city from serious trouble in a "sootfall." The acid gases, particles of carbon and fly ash irritated people's throats, stung their eyes and smudged their faces and clothes. The precipitation was so heavy that automobiles left tracks in it like black snow. "If there had been just a little more than the usual amount

of soot and gaseous pollution in the air, we'd really have been in trouble," an expert of the Air Pollution department said, admitting thereby that what was usual was the amount of pollution and what was somewhat unusual its not being dissipated over Long Island.

The report is expected to explain that "the average pollution of the atmosphere of New York City can become dangerous" and that "if the 'average' pollution is increased in intensity, the situation might even be disastrous."

The World-Telegram cited as an example of what can happen the case of Donora, Pa., where 20 died in the small town and more than 6,000 became ill when smog in 1949 passed the critical level.

We would suggest to the Post's editors that in the light of this report they might campaign for a more realistic use of the air-raid sirens. Each time the smog level nears a critical level, let the sirens become the signal for evacuation of New York. This would give New Yorkers a better appreciation of the insanity of this scheme to save them from an H-bomb.

And it might give the liberal Post a better appreciation of the insanity of an economic system that converts even the air we breathe into a dangerous cesspool.



"Excellent editorial this morning, Grimes, on how wages have got to be pegged to productivity."

Frank Wilkinson Campaigning On New Civil Liberties Danger

By Harry Ring

The fight over Chavez Ravine was a major turning point in the life of Frank Wilkinson. There aren't too many people who are aware of the role that witch-hunting played in paving the way for Los Angeles politicians to convert that area into a ball park for the Dodgers. For Wilkinson, the connection is real and intimate.

For the past seven years he has been a tireless, full-time campaigner for civil liberties. Right now he is visiting 20 major cities, touring the country to help build up the forces necessary to block passage of pending federal legislation that would overthrow recent favorable civil-liberties decisions by the Supreme Court. While visiting groups and individuals in New York he stopped at the Militant office and we managed to pry some interesting facts out of him.

Wilkinson was a member of the Los Angeles Housing Authority for 14 years. As assistant to the director he was in charge of site selection. He picked Chavez Ravine for a low-cost housing project. "It was never supposed to be a ball park," he said. "Hundreds of families were displaced there on the promise that homes would be made available to them in the new project."

But powerful real-estate interests had different ideas. In buying up parcels of land in the ravine, Wilkinson recommended a price of \$90,000 for one particular section. The real estate firm involved demanded \$1,000,000 and the issue went to court. Taking the stand to testify on the value of the land, Wilkinson was astonished to learn under cross-examination that the only information the real-estate lawyers wanted from him was the organizations he belonged to.

Since the question was obviously irrelevant, Wilkinson refused to answer. The year was 1952 and McCarthyism was at its peak. The Housing Authority promptly fired him and the Tenney committee, a state witch-hunting group, came in at once to fish for possible "subversion" in the agency. Behind the smokescreen of red-baiting that followed, the Chavez Ravine housing project was torpedoed.

Recalling the experience, Wilkinson said, "I learned about civil liberties the hard way. It became crystal clear to me that defense of the Bill of Rights must come first for every American actively concerned with social progress."

FACES PRISON

The record demonstrates that this wasn't idle talk. Wilkinson is now facing a one-year prison



FRANK WILKINSON

term for contempt of Congress. Along with integration leader Carl Braden, he defied the House Un-American Activities Committee in Atlanta last December. His conviction is being appealed by the American Civil Liberties Union.

After his discharge by the Housing Authority in 1952, Wilkinson plunged into the work of a newly formed Los Angeles group, the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms. He also became a member of the National Council of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

The Los Angeles body, comprised of prominent professional, church and labor figures, with Dorothy Marshall as chairman, has the abolition of the Un-American Activities Committee as its main target. Since 1952 alone, the Congressional inquisitors have paid some 15 visits to Los Angeles and victimized hundreds of innocent people.

Last month the Los Angeles civil liberties group decided to suspend its abolition campaign for 90 days to concentrate its energies on mustering opposition to the planned Congressional reversal of the Supreme Court. The committee is sponsoring the Wilkinson tour as part of that effort.

The attack on the high court rulings, Wilkinson explained, "is being led by Southern segregationists and security-mad Northern politicians. They are using the American Bar Association and its 'Committee on Communist Tactics' as the screen for their violent purposes."

The Bar Association subcommittee issued a lengthy report calling for the overturning of 24 Supreme Court civil-liberties decisions. The parent body approved seven of these and bills were quickly introduced into Congress covering their recommendations. Eastland of Mississippi acted in the Senate and Rep. Walter (D-Pa.) introduced companion bills in the House.

Among other things, the proposed laws would cancel out high court decisions on these vital issues:

- The Steve Nelson case where it was ruled that federal legislation supersedes state "sedition" laws.
 - Amend the Smith Act to broaden the legal definition of "organizing" a "subversive" movement and redefine "membership" in such groups so as to widen the basis for prosecution.
 - Make mandatory the summary discharge of federal employees who refuse to answer any question put to them by a government body. This would reduce government workers to the status of second-class citizens, depriving them of constitutional rights including due process of law.
 - Extend the "security" screening program to "non-sensitive" areas of government.
 - Empower the Secretary of State to deny passports on the basis of political beliefs and refusing to inform on past political associates.
 - Tighten Immigration Department control of aliens ordered deported but still in this country by compelling such aliens to answer all questions about current associations at the risk of imprisonment without trial.
- Hearings have already been held on these reactionary measures by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, with two

Northerners, Keating (R-N.Y.) and Dodd (D-Conn.) fronting for Eastland at the sessions.

In the House, where a similar series of measures were voted last year, open hearings on the bills have been ruled out by Rep. Emanuel Celler, the New York Democrat who heads the Judiciary Committee.

In this session, the House has already voted unanimously without debate to approve a bill reversing the Nelson decision.

In Wilkinson's opinion, there is little chance that the legislation can be blocked in the House and he is urging organizations and individuals to concentrate their pressure on the Senate. New Yorkers should write or wire Senators Javits and Keating, insisting that none of the Supreme Court's civil liberties decisions be modified.

Headlines in Other Lands

Chiang Casts Vote For "Revolution" Against Chinese

Ten years after some 600,000 Chinese threw Chiang Kai-shek off the mainland in the greatest revolution since the Russian overturn of 1917, the aging dictator came up with a trick way of regaining power.

He called together his henchmen at the head of the Kuomintang, a party of big capitalists and landlords, and had them cast a unanimous vote May 17 for a "revolution" on the mainland.

It is doubtful that the brutal generalissimo could last two days on Taiwan without a revolution of the islanders if the U.S. were to withdraw support of his military dictatorship.

See High Proportion Of Lamas Among Tibetan Refugees

"Full information is still lacking" about Tibetans who fled to India in recent weeks, writes Tiltman Durbin from New Delhi in the May 19 New York Times. But of the nearly 1,000 refugees at the big reception center near Tezpur, "a large proportion... are lamas [Buddhist monks] who fled their monasteries when they heard that the Dalai Lama had left Tibet." A total of 12,000 Tibetans are reported to have fled their country and are slowly making their way down the Himalayas.

British to Sell Arms to Iraqi

The British government announced a decision May 11 to sell arms to Iraq including tanks and jet bombers. Deliveries, however, will not begin for about a year. British policy is designed to bolster Premier Abdel Karim Kassim and the Iraqi army against the mass movement led by the Communist Party, and to free Kassim from having to depend on the Soviet Union for arms.

Jordan, Iran and Turkey have endorsed the British arms sales, while Cairo radio and newspapers have denounced it as an imperialist machination against Arab nationalism. Supporters of United Arab Republic President Nasser fear that the real motive of British arms sales to Kassim is to keep Iraq and if possible Kuwait separated from other Arab countries. Both are extremely rich oil producers.

According to the May 13 Christian Science Monitor, lead-

And It Isn't Science Fiction

"Then came a strange generation whose minds remain an impenetrable mystery to us despite all the research of our historians and the profoundest probings of our depth psychologists. The outstanding figures of that generation appear to have followed a leader named Jesus Christ, an advocate of peace, whose teachings were observed in rituals of periodic mass murder called World War. It was this generation that decided to poison our planet's atmosphere, an act from which we are still suffering."

Does that sound like a paragraph from a history text of the year 10,000 A.D.? The raw material for that book is being compiled right now.

Here is how some of it appears in I. F. Stone's Weekly for May 18 as digested from a hearing this month held by the radiation subcommittee of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy:

"The contamination of man's atmosphere and food by fallout is increasing at a much faster rate than was expected two years ago. Should testing be resumed it will soon become a health hazard..."

"When the first Kulp studies of human bone appeared... he estimated that strontium 90 would reach a peak of one or two micromicrocuries per gram of calcium in human bone by 1970. Now the Fallout Prediction Panel... expects five to ten micromicrocuries in the peoples of the Northern Hemisphere by 1962-65..."

"The Star quoted [Rep. Chet] Holifield as saying that radiation from fallout was 'roughly ten per cent of the natural background radiation that has always existed.' But E. A. Martell, Geophysics Research Director, Air Force Cambridge Research Center... had less reassuring figures to offer. In areas of high fallout in the northern hemisphere during 1957 and 1958, Dr. Martell told the subcommittee, 'the external gamma radiation

from fallout is estimated to be about one half that from natural sources.'

"A striking example [of covered over danger] are the new results and anxieties reported by two researchers in the field of iodine 131, which Dr. E. B. Lewis, professor of biology at Coltech, called 'a serious fallout hazard whose importance had not been fully appreciated at the time of the 1957 hearings.' Dr. Lewis reported that 'for the last few years testing' the thyroid glands of infants and children in the United States have been exposed to 'average annual doses' from this short-lived isotope which are one to two times as great as natural radiation and 'could produce some cases of thyroid cancer in the exposed population.'

"Dr. Arthur H. Wolff of the U.S. Public Health Service, reported that levels of iodine 131 have reached the point where the public health service has included it... 'in its milk surveillance program.'

"... Dr. Jack Shubert, of Argonne National Laboratories... said that insofar as cancer produced by radiation is concerned, 'the most susceptible segment of our population appears to be the unborn child.' He said that studies of the effects of radiation on the human fetus indicate 'that radiation doses so low as to approach the radiation levels from fallout and natural background cause a significant increase in childhood cancer deaths.'

As a final gruesome touch, Stone reports that Holifield admitted the accuracy of a report that white bread, sold in a New York supermarket, was loaded with strontium 90. But the California Democrat complained that the facts were put "into disproportion."

Argentine Unions Call Fourth General Strike in Year

Hundreds of factories, mills and other enterprises under union contract in the greater Buenos Aires industrial belt closed May 15 when Argentina labor called a 24-hour general strike in support of striking national bank workers. However, military control of railroads, oil fields and Buenos Aires municipal transportation, established in previous strikes, kept workers in these industries from joining the walkout.

Argentine labor has conducted four general strikes since President Arturo Frondizi took office on May 1 last year. Frondizi was elected with labor backing, including the Communist Party's support.

A general improvement in Soviet agricultural conditions was reflected in two recent speeches of Premier Nikita Khrushchev. Addressing collective farmers in Kiev and Kishinev (May 11 and 14), Khrushchev stressed the following:

(1) Collective farms must pay greater attention to quality of crops than heretofore. Quantity alone does not count. If quantities are not up to the requirements, the state will pay a lower price. "... a commission will be appointed to suggest prices likely to stimulate a struggle for high-quality production."

(2) Administrative distribution of mineral fertilizers should cease. Instead, commercial agencies should sell to the collective or state farms what they need.

(According to Paul Wohl, writing in the May 19 Christian Science Monitor, emphasis on "commercial-efficiency methods similar to those in the West has become characteristic of Mr. Khrushchev's statements," including his concept of prices. Again, an American economist, Dr. Wassily Leontief, noted on a recent trip to the Soviet Union

that economists there are greatly concerned with proper accounting methods.)

(3) Collectives should not pay high individual earnings to their members. These payments should assure decent living conditions to the peasants and their families but no more than that. The rest should go into a fund to be used to build club houses, boarding schools, nurseries, kindergartens, homes for the aged, bakeries and restaurants to free women from domestic chores.

The income of collective farmers still lags considerably behind that of skilled industrial workers, though in recent years their living standards have improved. Furthermore, inequities abound between rich and poor collective farms. Thus in a question-and-answer period during one of his speeches, the collective-farm chairman referred to another as "a rich, a very rich man."

British Suspend Kenya Prison-Camp Chief Over Deaths

The British government will not institute prosecutions against officials at the Hola Detention Camp in Kenya after all. Eleven prisoners died of beatings administered by guards last March. A coroner found that the beatings had been "entirely unjustified and illegal," and British Colonial Secretary Alan Lennox-Boyd said the government would consider prosecution.

However, on May 13, a government spokesman announced that although the commandant and deputy commandant would be suspended from duty, individual blame could not be apportioned.

On May 19, the Kenya government announced that compensation in the amount of about £120 (\$336) each would be paid to dependents of the eleven dead prisoners. The Hola detention camp is used for political prisoners who fought British rule several years ago.

Abako Leaders Return to Congo

Joseph Kasavubu, Daniel Kanza and Simon Nzeza, three leaders of the outlawed Abako Congolese Nationalist Association, were allowed to return to Leopoldville, capital city of the Belgian Congo. The Abako group favors the country's independence. The three leaders were arrested last January after protest demonstrations against Belgian rule. At first imprisoned in the Congo, they were taken to Belgium. They returned by plane on May 13.

Our Thanks

Editor: Enclosed is a donation of \$5 for your outstanding work and for the honor of receiving the Militant each week.

J. J. O. Columbus, Ohio

Suggests Greater Stress on Need to Organize the South

Editor: I should like to make a suggestion regarding material presented in the Militant. The paper has been featuring events and slogans and programs concerning the Negro struggle and the unemployed movement recently and it occurred to me that perhaps more emphasis and attention could be paid to the slogan, "Organize the South."

plants, uniting the white and Negro workers, low-wage conditions in the South affecting labor in the North, etc., added emphasis on a program to organize the South also directly underlines our propaganda for a labor party and helps us in pushing for independent political action and a break with the two capitalist parties.

The alliance of the labor bureaucracy with the Democratic Party would certainly be broken by a really forceful drive to organize the South; the fact that Operation Dixie has become transformed into Operation-For-Get-We-Ever-Said-It points up very clearly that labor is stopped dead in its tracks and forced to move back from previously won gains in order to maintain "good relations" with the Dixie-dominated Democratic Party.

It seems to me that a propaganda offensive on the slogan "Organize the South" would be well received by present readers of the Militant and could very well interest a great many more who are not now too familiar with our press and our ideas.

When a left-wing caucus begins to grow and flourish in the

union movement in opposition to the present bureaucratic class collaborators such a caucus will have to present a program to inspire and organize other workers about them.

Organize the South is a point which belongs in a program of such a group and our press should be the first and foremost promoters of a real "Operation Dixie."

Evelyn Sell Detroit, Mich.

How Can You Stop Steel Price Boost?

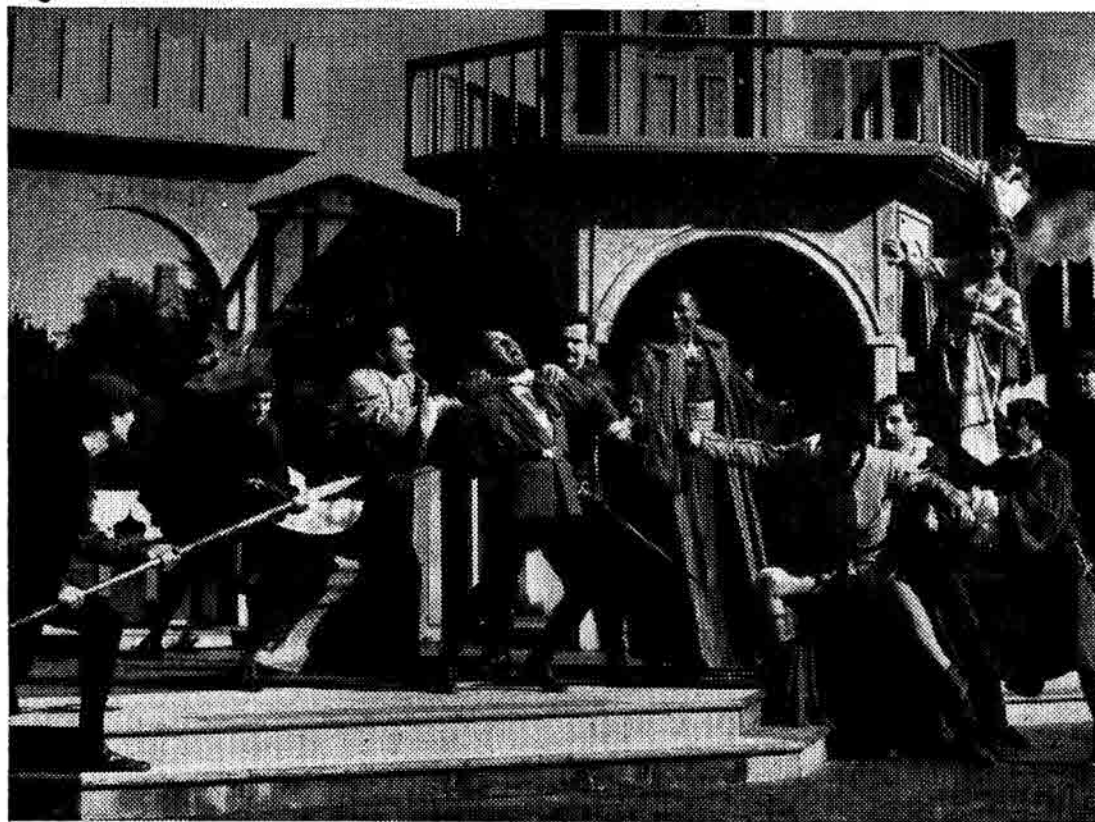
Editor: Last week one of your readers wrote that the steel companies don't have to increase prices when they increase wages; so more pay for the steel workers is not inflationary.

I agree that the companies are making enough money so that they could give an increase without raising their prices. But the fact is that every time they give more money they always do add it onto the price and the cost of living goes up.

What can the union do to beat this set up?

H. K. Pennsylvania

Keep Curtain from Coming Down



New York City Parks Commissioner Robert Moses is doing his utmost to ring down the curtain on scenes like this from Shakespeare's Othello. Moses is defending the grass, which he claims becomes so badly trampled, what with the goings and comings of the actors and the crowds of New Yorkers who are attracted to the free shows, that "erosion" sets in. But irritation among Shakespeare fans has grown to such an extent that not even Democratic Mayor Wagner has been able to get that curtain down.

Moses' Heroic Battle to Keep Bill Shakespeare Off the Grass

By Lillian Kiesel

Full of sound and fury, yet signifying much more than nothing, the fight to maintain free summer performances of the New York Shakespeare Festival at Central Park continues despite the latest edict of Robert Moses, Czar of the Parks Department, that there will be no Festival this year "with or without paid admission."

Moses began his campaign to end the Shakespeare productions on April 15. He decreed that admission be charged and that the city get 10% of the gross—or no Shakespeare. The shakedown was to pay for "erosion" suffered by the grass plus other damage to the park caused by the audiences.

Joseph Papp, who has produced the Festival for the past three summers, explained that if admission were charged, the Festival would be placed on a "show business" footing. The salaries of actors and other personnel would have to meet show business standards. As free entertainment the theatrical unions have made it possible for actors to contribute their services for very nominal wages.

Papp and those who work with him put New York's cultural interests above a few square yards of lawn. "The precept upon which the Festival was founded is that there existed a gaping void in the cultural life of our city," Papp said. "Despite the tremendous accomplishments of the Broadway theatre, the overwhelming majority of New Yorkers have rarely been exposed to live theatre and seldom, if ever, to the incomparable magic of Shakespeare. . . . Commissioner Moses' arbitrary dictum would remove the productions from the reach of those whom it best serves."

The controversy between Papp and Moses was picked up by the press. The N.Y. World Telegram said: "It seems to us the erosion is in the thinking at the Parks Department, and that Mr. Moses is being not merely inconsistent but capriciously unreasonable, even for him."

"If the parks and grass are not for people, what are they for—birds?" The N.Y. Times declared: "Perhaps the erosion is in Mr. Moses' earlier appreciation of the 'exciting and stimulating' interest in these 'gateless, outdoor free shows,' up to this point a matter of pride and fascination to this community."

Faced with growing opposition, Moses played his trump card. From a "sick bed," whence he could not be reached even by the mayor himself, Moses circulated a mimeographed reproduction of an unsigned letter attacking Papp for an alleged "communist" and "socialist" background.

FACELESS INFORMATION

When questioned about the unsigned letter, Stuart Constable, top assistant to Moses, swung a mace in defense of his red-baiting chief: "We believe the letter is reliable. . . . We don't think we have to reveal the basis of our decision that it is reliable. . . . Why should we embarrass him?" asked Constable. "The man [Papp] took

the Fifth Amendment before Congress, didn't he? If they weren't [Communist] why wouldn't they say so?" This was in reference to Papp's appearance before the House Un-American Committee last June 19 at which time he took the First and Fifth Amendment.

When asked if he thought the letter smacked of "McCarthyism" Constable replied: "What's wrong with McCarthy?"

This red-baiting attempt failed miserably and the curtain rose on Act II. Commenting editorially on this N.Y. Post declared: "The lively battle of Central Park, featuring Commissioner Moses vs. Shakespeare, has heretofore been fought on a fairly lofty level. Now it appears that Moses, to win his argument with producer Joseph Papp, has decided to impersonate the late Sen. McCarthy. . . . How low may a high official go before the Mayor's voice is heard in protest?"

A climax appeared near last week when Moses and Wagner finally met face to face. But if Wagner came there with a sword, he swallowed it when Moses growled at him. After the encounter, Wagner told the press: "Although I can't approve of all the ways this has been handled, the only alternative would be to get a new Park Commissioner. I wouldn't mind that for a moment. He is too valuable a public servant."

NEW GEM

The Post has long been counted in the lists of the House of Wagner, but it decided this was insupportable. The scion of the late liberal senator had demonstrated a deplorable lack of courage—even granting that Moses has a frightening growl. "Having announced that Moses was a bigger man than he," said the Post bitterly, "Mr. Wagner contributed a new gem to the collection of historic utterances from Our Town's famous non-mayors. It came when he was asked if whatever Moses did was all right with him. 'Yes,' he said, 'but we have to get his reasons.'"

To this day neither the Post nor anyone else knows what the "reasons" were for sinking Shakespeare, since Moses has not made them public. (Unless keeping the grass safe from communism rates as a reason.)

Papp then went to see Constable to find out how much tax on admissions the city wanted and to see if other means could not be found for raising the money.

Moses' squire-at-arms ordered Papp out of his office after telling him: "We're not interested in the money. We're not interested in licensing people like you."

Commissioner Moses then sought to ring down the curtain by telling the press this is a "closed incident." However, the thousands who want to see Shakespeare at Central Park are shouting at the management that the last act has not yet been played.

A "Citizens We Want Will (Shakespeare) Committee" has been organized. In addition the Citizens Union has asked the Board of Estimate to hold a public hearing on the whole affair.

To round out the discussion, Brooks Atkinson, drama critic of the N.Y. Times, corrected a statement he made April 16 that Commissioner Moses "is never boring."

"Famous last words!" Atkinson admitted May 16. "Moses is boring. When he decides that the public is to be damned he means it."

Commenting on Moses' decision to kill free Shakespeare in Central Park this summer, he said: "Mr. Moses has consulted with himself, discovered himself to be correct and ruled against it. Mayor Wagner, boss of the city and the people's choice, has unselfishly accepted his commissioner's verdict. And the 110,000 persons who thought they were having a grand time in their own park last summer can sit home this summer and watch 'Restless Gun' and 'Dragoned.' There is plenty of mass entertainment available for the masses. . . ."

ARE YOU KIDDING?

Robert Moses, who banned free Shakespeare in New York's Central Park to save the grass, was given a medal by the Municipal Art Society for adding to "the richness of visual life."

... Lewis Urges

(Continued from Page 1) river to save their own hides." They made a "deal." Hoffa charges, and didn't even take "the time to read" the labor bill in its final form.

"Throwing in with the labor haters who spout 'corruption' from their mouths while they write union-busting provisions with their hands, these AFL-CIO leaders put their stamp of approval on a bill which could open the way to injunctions, lawsuits, and government harassment the likes of which American labor has not seen since the 1930's."

Apparently some top AFL-CIO officials have decided that the turn of events calls for reconsideration of their attitude. They had hoped to appease the anti-labor legislation drive by supporting the "mild" Kennedy-Ervin measure.

As always happens in such cases, the whip handle was taken by the extreme reactionaries and they utilized the drive for the Kennedy-Ervin bill to carry the anti-labor program further than its supporters wanted it to go. The current meeting of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO is reported to be considering shifting to opposition to the Kennedy-Ervin bill.

For those who were strongly convinced that they should never have supported it in the first place, this would be a welcome turn.

A still more welcome turn would be a review of the labor movement's entire political policy.

More than one union militant, reading about Lewis' testimony at the congressional committee, must have thought, "Isn't it about time to get a John L. Lewis right in Congress where he could do a far more effective job of defending labor's political interests?"

Florida Refugee Fights Return To Chain Gang

By Flora Carpenter

William Reid's seven-year battle to escape a Florida chain gang and almost certain death reached a climax this week when the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in New York turned down a plea to prevent his extradition. Only action by Governor Rockefeller can now save his life.

Urging Acting Governor Wilton to revoke an extradition writ signed by former Governor Harman in 1956, Milton H. Friedman, Reid's attorney, stressed the fact that if returned to Florida, Reid would be turned over to Willis V. McCall, sheriff of Lake County, Fla. Friedman explained that McCall "is notorious all over the country as a killer of Negroes," being "credited with having killed 11 Negroes already."

Sheriff McCall personifies Southern law-enforcement officers. When rich whites and the Ku Klux Klan launched a reign of terror against the Negro people in Groveland, who had begun voicing discontent in 1949—McCall did his share in the "legal" end of things. An accusation by a young white woman that she had been "raped" by four Negroes was all the excuse needed. The reprisals were so terrible that 400 families (the entire Negro population of Lake County) had to be evacuated.

In the "Little Scottsboro Case" that followed the "rape," one Negro was shot dead by a posse, three others were almost lynched; of these three, one was given life imprisonment, two (Samuel Shepherd and Walter Lee Irving) were sentenced to death. When the Supreme Court ordered a new trial for the two condemned men Sheriff McCall shot them in cold blood, murdering Shepherd and leaving Irvin for dead.

It appears certain that William Reid will receive similar treatment from McCall. He was sentenced to 15 years on the chain gang in 1950 for cutting another Negro on the hand following a card game. He escaped to New York in 1952 where he was taken into custody and extradition proceedings were begun in 1955. Reid was granted a writ of habeas corpus and released on bail in October 1956.

He was sentenced by Florida Circuit Court Judge Truman G. Futch—the same official who doomed the Negro youths in the "Little Scottsboro Case." Reid's attorney maintains that the sentence is illegal because the prisoner was not permitted to have a lawyer. In addition Futch made Reid's plea "guilty" to a charge of "assault with premeditated attempt to murder" although he could only have been guilty of aggravated assault for which he would have received a maximum one-year sentence.

Reid's life would be further endangered because he testified, in a Florida state investigation, that prison guards had illegally cut down and sold timber from private property. Several of the accused guards were subsequently fired.

Among those who have tried to help Reid, an itinerant farm laborer, is his employer William Frank. Frank appealed to Federal Judge Murphy. "This is a man," he said, "and the kind of man we should keep in this state."

In an editorial entitled "Justice for a Fugitive" the N.Y. Post says that New York State "doesn't seem to care enough to save him." The fact that McCall is the law enforcement officer in this case plus the fact that Reid testified against "thieving" prison guards, makes utterly gruesome the prospect of his return to Lake County.

Send a Letter To Front Royal

The April issue of Southern Patriot, published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, carries an arresting photograph bearing the caption, "Alone but eager in their pursuit of knowledge." It pictures five Negro students in class.

They are part of a group of 21—the only students now enrolled in the previously all-white high school in Front Royal, Va. The SCEF recently wrote to 1,500 persons in Virginia suggesting that they send letters of encouragement to these 21 blazing the integration trail.

How about people around the country joining in on this? Letters and post cards may be sent care of J. A. Dombrowski, SCEF, 822 Perdido St., New Orleans 12, La. He will forward them to the Front Royal students.

Group in South Opposes Curbs On High Court

ATLANTA, May 18 — Congressional proposals to revive state sedition laws or otherwise curb the U.S. Supreme Court were opposed in a policy statement adopted here yesterday by the board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

The SCEF, a Southwide organization working for integration, pointed out that state sedition laws would probably be used against Southerners advocating integration.

The board declared: "We are especially distressed over such legislation because, while it is ostensibly aimed at subversion, it would permit a broadside attack against liberals in the South who are speaking out in support of Supreme Court decisions on segregation and for law and order."

"The country should be aware of the fact that to many people in power in the South the definition of subversion is integration."

"Such legislation would have the effect of giving local definition to the offenses of sedition and subversion. It would clothe local prosecuting attorneys with powers of censorship that would limit the freedom of all opinion-making bodies—church, press, schools, labor unions, civic clubs."

The board also voted to support the Celler-Douglas bill which it said would strengthen the federal government's power to enforce the civil rights of all citizens. Other legislation favored by the board would extend the life of the Federal Civil Rights Commission; require records of voting and registration to be kept for three years and require that they be made accessible to federal authorities; protect public and private property against bombing and other violence, and forbid discrimination against uniformed military personnel in public places.

Board members were present from Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas and Louisiana.

Local Directory

- BOSTON Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200. CHICAGO Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736. CLEVELAND Socialist Workers Party 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Wednesday nights 7 to 9. DETROIT Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Temple 1-6135. LOS ANGELES Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. MILWAUKEE 150 East Juneau Ave. MINNEAPOLIS Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon to 6 P.M. daily except Sundays. NEWARK Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N.J. NEW YORK CITY Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852. OAKLAND-BERKELEY P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif. PHILADELPHIA Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 P.M., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5829. SAN FRANCISCO The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Rm. 4. Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone PR 6-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321. SEATTLE 1412—18th Avenue, EA 2-5554. Library, bookstore. ST. LOUIS For information phone MO 4-7194.

Farewell to Bechet

By Harry Ring

Sidney Bechet, a clarinet player, died of cancer last week. Next to Louis Armstrong, he was probably the best known of the New Orleans jazz musicians. The noted conductor, Ernest Ansermet, described him as an "artist of genius." He was much more than a talented virtuoso. One of the "originals" of New Orleans jazz, he helped create a music that is considered the only uniquely American contribution to world culture.

Yet Bechet died an expatriate in Paris. He was far more widely known and acclaimed abroad than he ever was in his own country. He had played in Europe during much of his long career and settled permanently in Paris ten years ago. He said he loved the city, describing it as "heaven with sidewalk cafes." I don't know if he ever publicly expressed his feelings about his native land. But it isn't hard to figure out why he and a whole number of other top Negro jazzmen made Paris their home.

Except for a relatively small group of people who deeply love the kind of music they played, these men were double pariahs in America. As musicians, they paid a stiff price for their stubborn refusal to play the vapid canned product that Tin Pan Alley has palmed off as jazz. There were many lean years for them; audiences for the music that was the beginning and end of their lives were not sufficient to give them a good livelihood.

As Negroes, of course, they had the added problem of Jim Crow. One of Bechet's fellow expatriates in Paris—"Big Bill" Broonzy, a folk-blues singer—observed just before his recent death that in America a Negro could live his entire life without ever being called a man. They keep on calling you "boy," he said wryly, until you get to the age where you might con-

sider the word a compliment. Then they start calling you "uncle."

For a man like Bechet, this surely must have been hard to take. The jazz world is unusually free of race prejudice and Bechet was the star of many top-flight mixed groups. What counted in his world was the quality of a man's music, not the color of his skin.

I heard him at a farewell concert in New York just before he packed his bags permanently. The hall was jammed with fans who knew they might be hearing him "live" for the last time. But by his own decision, Bechet was only the co-star that night. Sharing the feature spot and joining him in wonderful clarinet duos was Bob Wilber, a young white musician just out of his teens.

Wilber was in high school in the late forties when New Orleans jazz enjoyed its big revival. He liked the music and organized his own band to play it. He showed real talent and soon Bechet was giving him lessons. As they stood together on the bandstand at that farewell performance it was clear that Bechet was telling his audience, "Here's one of the young generation that's going to keep my kind of music alive."

I'm one of those who like Bechet's kind of music. People who know something about it tell me that it doesn't have a future—that New Orleans jazz will be replaced by the music of the young modern jazzmen now fighting for recognition and acceptance of their art.

Those who hold this view are probably right and I wouldn't argue the point. But one thing I know for sure. Regardless of the form of their music, jazz artists who refuse to compromise with the captains of America's dollar culture will always find a shining example in men like Sidney Bechet.

Notes in the News

KILROY THERE AGAIN — According to Washington columnist Robert S. Allen, when the House Appropriations Committee had the type set up on the transcript of one of its recent secret proceedings, committee members were astounded at what they found when page proofs came back from the printer. First was Lt. Gen. Clarence Irvine's testimony: "Several thousand ICBMs will be required to knock out all of Russia's numerous and widely dispersed missile sites." Next the disturbed query from Rep. Minshall (R-Ohio): "After exchanging such massive barrages of thermonuclear-armed ICBMs, what's going to happen to the civilian populations? And who is going to pay for all this after the shooting is over and everyone and everything has been knocked out?" Then came in bold type some testimony none of the committee members could remember or explain: "Kilroy: Why worry about it? If that happens, it won't matter."

WARM RECEPTION FOR ICE SHOW — The Russians are an "incredibly warm people," Dick Button, the Olympic champion figure skater, told newsmen on returning from an engagement in the Soviet Union. He said that his visits in the Moscow and Leningrad areas left him with the feeling that the system and its development is the kind "that you can't have a proper perspective on without seeing it—it's phenomenal." The "biggest fear" of the Russian people, he reported, is that the U.S. wants war.

RELAX THEM OR SHAKE THEM UP? — "Music hath charms to soothe the savage breast, To soften rocks, or bend a knotted oak," Congreve said. And Shakespeare put it like this: "The man that hath no music in himself, Nor is not moved with concord of sweet sounds, Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils. . . . Let no such man be trusted." Did Louis Armstrong, jazz's hottest trumpet, want to apply some such text when he blew into Geneva and offered to provide the foreign ministers conference with music? "I don't know nothin' about politics," Satchmo was reported to have said, "but if I could get them cats to sit still and listen, well then, Daddy, maybe I can relax them a little."

YOU THINK YOU'VE GOT TROUBLES — Clare Booth Luce, wife of the millionaire publisher of Time, Life and Fortune, suffered another ordeal after having to resign as ambassador to Brazil because of accusations in the Senate that the assignment was a political payoff. She had closed up her homes in Connecticut and Arizona and fired nine servants. Two new cars—a station wagon and an air-conditioned limousine—were at the dock waiting to be shipped, as were crates of her finest linen and silverware. Several air-conditioning units and a trunkload of hot-weather clothes were also packed. It was reported that she felt that

she could use the new clothes but the press did not indicate how she solved her servant problem.

HEROES WEREN'T HORSES — The Dallas Morning News published a complaint from a reader about the westerns on TV. The complaint wasn't about the amount of violence and gore. "Many television programs erroneously depict the period from 1872 to 1890," said William E. Wells of Crowell, Texas. "Wagon Train" is not a true program. In those days 95 per cent of the wagons were pulled by ox teams. In all the western scenes being presented today, no ox teams can be seen anywhere. This will not give an accurate account of earlier conditions to our younger generation."

PLIGHT OF MEXICANS IN U.S. — A group of prominent Americans has urged the United Nations to give "immediate and serious consideration" to a petition calling for investigation of the treatment of Mexican immigrants in the United States. The petition was submitted by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. The supporting group includes James Aronson, Reuben W. Borough, Hugh DeLacy, Waldo Frank, Rockwell Kent, Dr. Corliss Lamont, Rev. William H. Melish, Dr. Otto Nathan, Scott Nearing, Rev. George L. Paine, Dr. Linus Pauling, and Prof. Arthur L. Swift, Jr.

IN FOR LIFE? — The government will now have to decide if it is going to keep the Rev. Maurice F. McCrackin imprisoned indefinitely for refusing to pay a \$250 fine imposed along with a six-months jail term for refusing to pay income taxes which the Cincinnati clergyman felt the government would use for war preparations. Now finishing his sentence, McCrackin says he doesn't intend to pay the fine. Reporting this, the American Civil Liberties Union recalled the McCarthy-like statement of the federal judge who sentenced him. The judge attacked the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Peacemakers as "notorious pacifist organizations with overwhelming Soviet sympathies," and called the pacifist clergyman a "traitor."

FORGOTTEN REFUGEES — Some 115,000 refugees from fascist Spain are living in difficult conditions in France. Among them are 4,000 over the age of 65, 3,000 chronically ill, 3,500 survivors of German concentration camps and 5,000 disabled in World War II. Some of them are surviving on as little as \$10 a month. Spanish Refugee Aid, Inc., is appealing for funds to help these forgotten refugees, particularly the older ones and those in desperate need of medical attention. The organization has 1,600 active cases of whom Mme. Chatelet, Perpignan representative, writes: "They are dying of hunger, badly housed without enough heat, and in great solitude. . . . Their bitterness and despair is immense." The address for contributions is Spanish Refugee Aid, Inc., Room 421, 80 East 11th St., New York 3.