

Nutmeg State Joins Militant Fund Drive

By George Lavan
National Fund Drive Director

Last week we cited as a prime contender in a good-news contest the letter from a new group of Militant supporters in San Diego wanting in on the 30th Anniversary Fund Drive — to the tune of \$300 and showing the color of the money used in that region.

This week a letter arrived from "friends of the Militant in Connecticut" asking to be entered on the scoreboard for a pledge of \$300 and including a down payment — and not in wooden nutmegs.

The similarity of the San Diego and Connecticut letters and pledges would almost lead one to suspect plagiarism if postmarks and dates did not argue against this. Apparently as with the simultaneous discovery by Darwin and Wallace — at opposite ends of the earth — of the theory of evolution, it is a case of brilliant minds independently arriving at an identical conclusion.

We are happy and proud to enter both San Diego and Connecticut on the \$18,000 scoreboard. The good-news contest still remains open for all comers.

It was by an extremely unfortunate error at this end that Allentown was left off the scoreboard last week. We apologize all the more because it was that week that Allentown sent in a payment on its pledge.

When we emerged from the countinghouse Tuesday at the stroke of midnight with our cashbox and list of figures, the total stood at \$4,148. As you can see from the steam gauge that is pushing the quarter mark. The fund total is somewhat behind schedule figuring on a weekly installment basis. This is not an alarm or exhortation but just a reminder to the forgetful lest anybody get caught short in the last few weeks.

That reminder is not required by the cities whose names are printed at the top of the scoreboard (See page 3) in boldface capital letters. They are ahead of schedule. All who were in that front-running position last week remain there and now have been joined by Detroit and Boston.

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Youth Marchers to Protest In D.C. Against Jimcrow

OCT. 15 — The Youth March on Washington for Integrated Schools is scheduled to take place on Saturday, Oct. 25. A. Philip Randolph, President of the Sleeping Car Porters and co-chairman of the nationwide March declared last Friday: "At the rate things are going, this dramatic answer to segregationists by young people will be an event of national, perhaps international, significance." (A m s t e r d a m News, Oct. 11).

Jackie Robinson will be the marshal of the March and will lead the students in the demonstration. Ernest Green, the only Negro to graduate from the Central High School in Little Rock, will also be at the head of the March. The students, ranging from elementary school to college, will first march to the White House to seek an interview with President Eisenhower. They will then march down to the Capitol and present to six congressmen their own declaration in defense of the U.S. Constitution. The demonstration will climax with a mass rally of the students at Lincoln Memorial.

The scope of the movement is indicated by the fact that 41 buses have already been pledged from New York City. The NAACP which is sponsoring some of these is also sponsoring several buses that will leave from New Jersey.

The News Leader (Baton Rouge, La.) reports that mobilization committees have been set up in Baltimore, Washington, D.C., and Philadelphia in addition to the one in New York. The Negro weekly tells of student groups from major universities, including Harvard and Johns Hopkins in Baltimore, who are preparing to participate.

LENDS BUS
Duke Ellington has loaned his orchestra's bus to the March and the Upper Manhattan Medical Group has pledged a bus and has offered the services of five doctors and five nurses.

Many civic and church organizations are supporting the March with pledges to make buses available to the students. The same is true for many trade unions. Among them are locals of the American Federation of Teachers, International Garment Workers Union, Transport Workers Union, District 65 of the Retail Wholesale and Department Store Workers, Local 338 of the Grocery Clerks and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Wants Rights Under Treaty

A Bronx, N. Y., Supreme Court ruling has denied citizens of Puerto Rican descent the right to take literacy tests in their native language of Spanish. Jose Camacho, who was born in Puerto Rico claimed that his constitutional rights were violated when he was denied the right to vote on the grounds he could not read English. His counsel said the treaty of Oct. 18, 1898 in which the U.S. took over the islands from Spain gave the Puerto Ricans the right to use either Spanish or English. He also pointed out that the state of New Mexico uses both Spanish and English for literacy tests.

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Socialist Ticket Fights For Place on N.Y. Ballot

Most UAW Units at GM Still Striking

OCT. 16 — Two thirds of the United Auto Workers members at General Motors were still on strike today two weeks after the signing of a national contract agreement between UAW president Walter Reuther and the corporation.

The workers are striking on a local level over local supplements to the national agreements in an attempt to resolve pressing problems — particularly speed-up — which Reuther failed to deal with in the national negotiations.

GM spokesmen announced, Oct. 14, that 32 UAW units out of 124 in GM plants have reached agreement. Since then, the Oldsmobile division in Lansing, Mich., has settled, bringing the total not striking at GM to about 85,000 out of 275,000 UAW members employed by the corporation. Oldsmobile is the only major GM division to reach agreement so far and GM has yet to turn out a single completed car since the beginning of the 12-hour corporation-wide strike which preceded the signing of the national contract agreement Oct. 2.

CONTRACT NOT RATIFIED
Ford and Chrysler are operating without strikes at present though local issues are still being negotiated and the national agreement has not yet been ratified by the UAW membership at those corporations. After the Oct. 20 deadline for membership ratification of the GM contract, the international union will step into the local talks. At this point, it doesn't look as if the deadline will be met.

An example of the way things are going on the local level is the Buick, Oldsmobile, Pontiac Assembly plant at Linden, New Jersey (Local 595), where the workers voted today to reject the national agreement. The vote was 617 to 234 at a local membership meeting open to the press.

During the discussion one shop committeeman noted that it was "unusual and disgraceful to sign a national contract prior to authorizing all the locals to strike."

Every speaker from the floor emphasized that this contract did nothing to halt — much less to roll back — the "terrible speed-up." The local's president repeatedly asked for a speaker in favor of the agreement, but not a single worker responded. The three-year length of the

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Picketline Against Chiang Kai-shek



New York Independent-Socialists demonstrated, Oct. 11, at the Empire State Building offices of Chiang Kai-shek's UN delegation. Demonstrators protested U.S. intervention in the Far East and demanded withdrawal of troops from Formosa, as well as Quemoy and Matsu. "Drop Dulles — Not the Bomb," declared one banner.

Standing Army of Jobless

By Gordon Bailey

A standing army of unemployed has appeared once more as a prominent part of the American economic scene. According to Martin R. Gainsborough, chief economist for the National Industrial Conference Board, recovery from the recession has almost reached its pre-recession peak. However he said, "The percentage of the labor force unemployed is uncomfortably close to the postwar peak and a hard core of continuing unemployment is to be found in the durable goods industry."

In the previous recessions of 1949 and 1954 the subsequent pick-up absorbed virtually all the laid-off workers. Today, however, the most optimistic economists are unable to see full employment even if the present rate of recovery continues. This is revealed in an article in the Oct. 17 U.S. News and World Report which predicts a return of prosperity in 1959. While claiming that two million workers will be rehired next year the magazine says, "Unemployment, even so is to drop by only about 800,000. Why? Mainly because the labor force will grow by more than a million in the year ahead offsetting the increase in jobs."

Increase in the labor force is

one reason for a permanent body of unemployed. A more fundamental cause is the increasing productivity of American labor through improved technology and through speed-up. The U.S. News article says, "Mining and manufacturing are two broad fields in which improved methods and automation are enabling industry to get more work from fewer workers. The output of mines and factories are about 4% higher now than it was three years ago, but employment is down by about 7%."

PRODUCTIVITY RISE
An article in the Oct. 13 Wall Street Journal points out that the rate at which workers are being displaced by machines is now at an all time high. "Output of U.S. factories has expanded more than a third as much in the past 10 years as in all the previous years of American history combined. Yet there are actually fewer production workers employed in U.S. plants today than there were 10 years ago."

Reflecting the vast strides in improved technology, investment in labor saving equipment, according to this article, has climbed from \$2.2 billion in 1939 to \$17.2 billion last year.

Investment in labor saving

equipment by big business continues through both booms and recessions. In fact it is especially during business slow-downs that the giant monopolies eliminate their more antiquated plants, install more cost cutting machinery and get rid of the "less productive" workers.

For the unemployed worker depression spells tragedy. But for the big capitalist, depression provides the opportunity to improve his profit-making position in the subsequent upturn. Not only does the economic squeeze drive out weaker competitors, but the millions of workers thrown out of jobs form a pool of unemployed that threaten the standards of those still working, thus potentially weakening the bargaining power of labor.

Just as Detroit auto workers, unemployed for nine months or more, are beginning to doubt they will ever be rehired, so workers in general will come to realize that unemployment is no longer a temporary phenomenon. So far, however, the union leadership has not put forward a program to fight permanent unemployment.

On the contrary, far too many labor leaders have retreated in

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Civil Liberties Union Condemns Violation of ISP Election Rights

NEW YORK, Oct. 13 — As we approach press time, the United Independent-Socialist ticket is awaiting final court decision on its appeal from the Oct. 9 ruling of

Carmine De Sapio's Department of State which declared its independent nominating petition invalid. Fighting the Tammany-rigged decision every inch of the way, the Independent-Socialists have won important support from the American Civil Liberties Union and its New York City affiliate.

The opening round of the court battle in the State Supreme Court today marked the complete collapse of lurid charges of "fraud," "forgery" and "misrepresentation" made by the three Democratic party lawyers who filed the challenge against the Independent-Socialists. Their charges had been prominently featured in the Albany press at the time the three members of the Democratic party state law committee originally moved for disqualification of the 27,000 signatures filed by the Independent-Socialists.

NO WITNESS APPEARS

When the Supreme Court hearing of the appeal opened yesterday, the attorney for the challengers insisted on additional time to present testimony by unidentified witnesses — presumably to substantiate the charges made in the press. However, the hearing was concluded today without a single witness to ISP "fraud" being brought forward. The case was argued solely on technicalities. Whether the ISP will be certified for the ballot now hinges on how the court rules on 16 disputed signatures in three counties. The challenge to these signatures is based on such grounds as that an address had been changed from "N.Y." to "New York" without the change having been initiated.

The Supreme Court decision, expected at any time, will be automatically appealed to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court and then to the Court of Appeals, highest court in the state. An unfavorable decision will be taken through these stages of appeal by the Independent-Socialists and a favorable one by De Sapio's Albany office and by the challenging attorneys.

ACLU RAPS DEMOCRATS

A statement of the American Civil Liberties Union, issued Oct. 10, sharply criticized the move to keep the Independent-

ECLC Scores Ballot Ban

NEW YORK, Oct. 13 — The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, in a statement today, joined the protest against the decision of Carmine De Sapio's deputy to rule the Independent-Socialist and Socialist Labor parties off the ballot.

The ECLC said: "Barnett Nova's straining for absurd technicalities to prevent the Independent-Socialist and Socialist Labor parties from presenting their candidates to the people on November 4 is not only an abuse of his powers but a threat to the democratic process." The statement was issued through the committee's director, Clark Foreman.

Mr. Foreman added that his committee hoped that an appeal to the courts would remove Nova's restrictions and allow the people to decide which candidates they wished to vote for.

Socialists off the ballot and pledged support to the court action against it. The statement stressed the "picayune" technicalities on which the disqualification was based and declared that "the complaints against the ISP were also open to question because they were made by Democratic Party Law Committee members before the Democratic Party leader who holds the office of Secretary of State."

The ACLU also reported that it had brought the matter to the attention of Governor Hariman and that he had refused to intervene. It said a reply from the Governor's Counsel declared he would not "intervene in proceedings pending before the Secretary of State or other administrative agencies or officials of the State."

The ACLU stand, which was made public by Rowland Watts, staff counsel, and George E. Rundquist, city executive director, also noted that the Independent-Socialists had reported instances of intimidation by local election officials.

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Ohio Labor Unites to Fight Phony Right to Work

By Jean Simon

CLEVELAND, Oct. 14 — Organized labor has plunged into independent political action in Ohio, and discovered that it can swim.

Meany and Reuther's "theories" that a labor party is not in the cards for the American working class are being jolted. The struggle against the employer-sponsored "Right-to-Work" without-unions constitutional amendment is driving home the lesson that labor cannot defend its rights and working conditions today without its own independent political organization.

Anti-union forces introduced the RTW law in the Ohio legislature six times unsuccessfully. The power of the working class in this state, the second industrial state in the nation, was too great for the Democratic and Republican politicians to take a chance on trying it.

TRY GIMMICK

This year, counting on the customary apathy of the voters in a non-presidential election, the RTW advocates decided to try to pass it by a gimmick.

They would take it out of the realm of "partisan" politics; they would free both the Democratic and Republican parties of responsibility for the anti-union measure, by placing it on the ballot by petition.

With Ohio election laws rigged as they are to prevent democratic expressions of the will of voters, it takes half a million signatures to place an issue on the ballot. But for big money interests, that is only a small burden. At twenty cents a signature, an army of professional signature gatherers was hired, and a highly-paid advertising campaign launched to disguise the union-busting campaign as a democratic crusade.

They had valuable assists from the McClellan committee, the big and little "labor rackets" investigations, the Taft-Hartley conspiracy trials. They also exploited the divisions within the labor movement — the purges and expulsions, the lop-sided ethics of the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Committee with its collusion in attempts to destroy the power of the Teamsters union.

Ohio labor leaders were slow to respond. Instead of challenging the RTW movement from the first with a vigorous campaign against the petition drive, they were trapped in the democratic pretense of the form of the referendum. They were unable to conduct an effective drive against the anti-working class content of the petition drive. As a result, the necessary petitions were secured and the measure was certified for the ballot.

By then the alarm in the labor movement had grown to proportions that demanded action — and "all hell broke loose." Labor created its own political organization to fight the Right-To-Work amendment, United Organized Labor of Ohio.

ALL UNIONS IN UOLO

All the unions are included — AFL-CIO, United Mineworkers, Teamsters, Railroad Brotherhoods, etc. The state and local central labor bodies began to serve as organizing centers for the mobilization of non-union as well as union and unemployed workers in their communities. The National Association

for the Advancement of Colored People, meeting in national convention in Cleveland, and the State Conference of the NAACP took a stand against RTW. All the leading church groups with a mass base issued statements against the proposed amendment.

The first phase of UOLO's campaign was a register-to-vote-No drive. The unions responded like they never responded to COPE's previous register-to-vote campaigns. By the Sept. 24 deadline Ohio had an all-time record registration. In the Cleveland area alone, Cuyahoga county, over 50,000 voters registered on Sept. 18, high point of the sign-up campaign, and results in other industrial centers throughout the state were comparable.

All but labor's most unregenerate foes publicly admitted that the RTW issue and the union drive were responsible for the unprecedented registration.

SECOND PHASE

Now the second phase of the UOLO campaign is under way, to get an overwhelming majority of the voters to go to the polls Nov. 4 and vote No.

Here the spirit in the ranks, the talents and ingenuity and the militancy emerging, are comparable only to the CIO organizing days of the 1930's. The leadership of the labor movement is being pushed far beyond its original conservative approach.

Precinct and ward committees for election day activity are being set up from the union membership on a volunteer basis, and for one purpose only — to campaign against issue No. 2, as the RTW amendment is now known.

The basic principle of UOLO's fight against Issue No. 2 is that only by mass action can this attack on labor be defeated.

From that premise other important conclusions have followed:

(1) The absolute necessity for united action led by organized labor. This meant cutting through all divisions in the working class, through jurisdictional disputes, through bureaucratic power fights, and even through red-baiting attacks.

(2) The impossibility of working through Democratic "friends

of labor" or linking the UOLO campaign against "Right-to-Work" in any way with the politicians of Democratic or Republican parties.

The need for united, independent mass action to defeat Issue No. 2 ruled out the possibility of using the official AFL-CIO Committee for Political Education since it is too closely identified with support of Democrats and mere letter-writing campaigns. A new and different agency, the UOLO, had to be created.

ISSUE OVERSHADOWS GOVERNOR'S RACE

The new situation in Ohio politics as a result of the clear-cut nature of the issue was accurately described by a columnist in the Sun Press, Cleveland area suburban weekly, who wrote in the Sept. 25 issue:

"Top pocket-book item in Ohio is the 'Right-to-Work' question on the November ballot.

"It overshadows and has become part and parcel of the governor's race and it has placed all candidates for public office

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A Letter About San Francisco Political Conference

Editor:

It is clear that there is a new mood prevailing in the left-wing political community of this area. Throughout, there are unmistakable signs of a rebirth of socialist thought and action. This mood is marked by a strong desire for unity of action among all radicals. In sharp contrast to the past is the air of friendly and tolerant discussion even when differences are most sharp and seemingly unbridgeable. A real turning point has been reached in the life of the radical movement here.

This turning point has been reached after an intense eight-month discussion and debate. And the culminating confrontation of views took place at the Sept. 27-28 Independent Political Action conference at the headquarters building of the Longshoremen's Union.

BACKGROUND

A brief discussion of the background of the conference is in place. It grew out of the experimental and exploratory political campaign around the candidacy of Holland Roberts for the non-partisan office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction early this year. The campaign was organized by a coalition of socialists from three main groups, the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party and a large group of presently unaffiliated radicals, most of whom were members or supporters of the CP. A scattering of liberal pacifists added to the campaign effort.

The Roberts campaign immediately reflected the debate that was going on in New York over the correct course for socialists. One part of the campaign staff was for a fundamental socialist campaign—the other argued for a "people's coalition" campaign with hidden persuaders for socialist ideas. They promptly earned the description of "subliminal socialists." The candidate himself finally lined up with the "subliminal socialists." While the difference was deep, the discussion was carried on in a most fraternal manner. At the end it was agreed that the debate should be put before a wider audience. It was this that led to the conference.

HOLLOW VICTORY

Most of the active radicals in the area turned out to participate in or observe this most important political debate. Some 200 persons registered at one time or another for the conference but average attendance at each session did not reach this figure. During the first day and a half of the conference, supporters of the two contending views were pretty evenly matched with a slight edge on the side of united socialist political action. However, in the crucial voting at the final session, the local Communist Party leadership went all-out to bring in enough supporters to turn the scales decisively for their position. But their victory is generally regarded as a hollow one. A widely held view was summed up by one observer, a political science student from the University, who commented, "The socialists lost the vote but won the conference."

Local CP spokesmen had originally opposed convening of the conference, viewing it as cutting across what they describe as the main political job—"the defeat of Knowland." But unable to prevent their own people from participating in the conference, they threw their weight behind a catch-all resolution designed to stop the formation of a socialist electoral bloc. The resolution called for creation of the "Independ-

Harriman: No Traitor to His Class

By Ethel Bloch

This year's gubernatorial race in New York State features contention between two multimillionaires — Averell Harriman, Democrat, and Nelson Rockefeller, Republican. Many articles have recently been written about them, the gist being that because both men are so wealthy through inheritance (though themselves untainted by the greedy manipulations of their fathers and grandfathers) they do not have to struggle for their daily bread and can dedicate themselves unselfishly to the welfare of the people. Can it be true that Harriman and Rockefeller are now divorced from their economic class and its special interests and are able to serve all mankind?

In Harriman's case this would seem plausible at first blush because he enjoys the endorsement of the state's AFL-CIO leaders and, perhaps even more convincing to some, the support of the Communist Party leaders. (True, the AFL-CIO bureaucrats opposed Harriman when he first threw his hat in the gubernatorial ring in 1954 — they wanted Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. at the time. But once Harriman had the nomination cinched, they obediently swung into line behind the Democratic Party's choice. And the CP leaders in turn swung behind "Labor's choice.")

NEGATIVE SUPPORT
Since there is precious little in Harriman's record to commend him as a champion of the working people, the union and CP officialdom have been compelled to say a lot more about what's wrong with Rockefeller than about what's right with Harriman. For example, the Communist Party paper, the Worker, has devoted a good deal of space to the readily established fact that oil tycoon Rockefeller has a vested interest in U.S. intervention in the Mideast. Quietly ignored is the fact that banker Harriman played a decisive role in shaping that intervention.

The first major move by U.S. capital to cut itself in on lucrative British oil holdings in the Mideast came with the Iranian crisis of 1951. At that time Iranian Premier Mossadegh had nationalized the country's oil industry owned by British oil barons. Seizing the opportunity for the U.S. to move in, President Truman selected Harriman to negotiate a "settlement" between Iran



and Britain. **AS BLUNT AS A S**
A good account of how Harriman handled the situation appeared in the magazine Business Week, Aug. 4, 1951. It gave a glowing description of how Harriman "worked a miracle in Iran — averted explosion of oil issue which threatened to blow West out of Middle East." The article describes his arrival in Iran — his being rushed in a limousine to the Shah's magnificent palace. There he stood at the bedside of the ailing Mossadegh and told him with "Yankee dollar bluntness" that the U.S. wouldn't help Iran to produce or sell its oil.

The Iranians had naively hoped they could simply hire foreign engineers and then just go ahead and market their oil. But Harriman set them straight on that "pipe dream," reported Newsweek. He reminded the Iranians that oil was controlled by an international cartel and that nobody would dare buy from them. If they didn't accept a "reasonable offer" from Britain, Harriman told them there would be no more U.S. aid. If they did settle, he hinted, such aid might increase.

Under the pressure of these threats, Iran agreed that Britain should continue to produce and sell its oil.

"Win or lose," declared Newsweek, "the Harriman mission has blazed a trail for a new U.S. policy of direct participation with Britain in Middle Eastern affairs... and the Harriman mission has proved how effective direct U.S. intervention can be as a catalyst and lubricant for settling Middle East quarrels."

The imperialist policy behind Harriman's "trail blazing" in the Mideast reached its climax, of course, with the recent U.S. armed intervention in Lebanon.

Truman's choice of Harriman for that particular mission was based on a well-established record. Harriman first entered the government as a National Recovery Act administrator during the depths of the depression. Roosevelt, deeply aware that the very life of the capitalist system was at stake, needed and sought out men who were rooted in big business but yet cool headed and clear thinking about the job that had to be done. (Interestingly enough, it was during

that same period that Roosevelt brought Nelson Rockefeller into the government.)

Since those early New Deal days, publicists have tried to create the impression that when Harriman became active in politics he disengaged himself from his business enterprises and had no active concern with profit-making.

HARRIMAN'S INVESTMENTS
But from 1391 to 1946 he was a full partner in Brown Brothers Harriman and Co., a multimillion dollar banking and investment house. Today he is a "limited" partner in a 5½-million dollar investment firm. From 1931-1942 he was chairman of the board of the Illinois Central railroad in which he owns shares valued at \$47 million. In 1956, he was reportedly one of the biggest stockholders in the Union-Pacific Railroad, with stocks valued at over \$4 million.

In a Sept. 28 article about the two millionaire candidates, Life magazine explains that Harriman's "bent for foreign investment led him in the 1920's to a deeper contemplation of America's role in a world economy increasingly dependent on it."

Life could have added that a corollary of Harriman's "contemplation" of the U.S. role has been a continuing preoccupation with the Soviet Union. Over the years he has pushed an aggressively anti-Soviet line.

At the height of the wartime alliance with the Soviet Union when Harriman was ambassador to that country, the late James Forrestal wrote in his diary, "He [Harriman] stated his strong apprehensions as to the future of our relations with Russia unless our attitude toward them became characterized by much greater firmness... He said the outward thrust of Communism was not dead and we might well have to face an ideological warfare just... as dangerous as Fascism or Nazism."

SCORES 'SOFTNESS'
Harriman has been sharply critical of the Eisenhower administration whenever it has shown any tendency toward coping with popular world pressure by easing up a bit on the cold war. Writing in the April, 1956, Atlantic Monthly on the "Soviet Challenge and American Policy," he asserted that the Soviet "coexistence" policy is undermining the U.S. and bitterly assailed the administration as being taken in

by it. He is quite aghast at the prospect that Washington is being duped into a "softer" policy.

Consistent with his anti-Soviet jingoism in his support to the witch hunt. One of his first appointments as Governor was that of Arthur Levitt to the Advisory Committee of the State Legislature. Levitt was the man who sparked the witch hunt in the New York school system. Another Harriman appointee to that committee was Miles Lane. His claim to distinction is that he prosecuted the first 13 Communist Party leaders under the Smith Act and had a hand in the frame-up trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

On taking office, Harriman renewed the state "security risk" law and ordered sixty formerly exempted state employees to fill out loyalty questionnaires. Last year he renewed the risk law again over the protest of civil-liberty, labor and liberal groups. A great one for weeding out "subversives" everywhere, he has warmly commended the labor officialdom for driving Communists out of unions.

In the present campaign, an

effort is being made to depict Harriman as an opponent of Tammany Hall. The creators of this myth would like to forget that his very first appointment was that of Tammany boss De Sapio as Secretary of State, making him the first governor of the state to include a Tammany leader in his official cabinet.

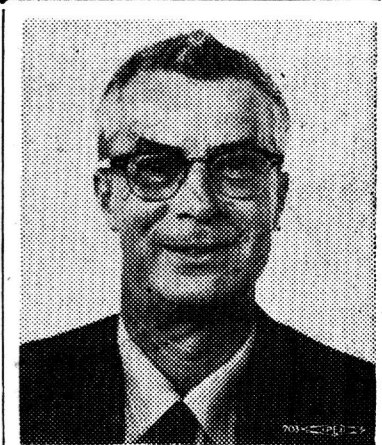
HARD WORKER

Harriman once told an interviewer "It is the duty of everyone, rich or poor, to work." These words have an ironic ring today as nearly half a million New York workers tramp the streets in search of a job while Harriman joins hands with the Legislature to deny them any meaningful aid. But it must be conceded that Harriman has worked hard. While paying all necessary attention to swelling his personal fortune, he has put in 25 years of devoted political service to his class. Through the vehicle of the Democratic party, he has labored to safeguard Big Business profits at home and abroad — including the profits of his personal friend, Nelson Rockefeller. (Next week—the Rockefeller record.)

Interview with Scott Gray

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK—Scott K. Gray, Jr., the Columbia valley fruit farmer and long-time labor attorney, who is now running for Attorney General ticket, came into New York yesterday for a TV appearance. He was on WNEW-TV with three guest interviewers: Mrs. Charlotte Bass, 1952 Vice-Presidential candidate of the Progressive Party; William A. Price, Independent-Socialist campaign coordinator; and Nora Roberts of the Young Socialist Alliance.



SCOTT GRAY

This morning before he started back home, I spent an hour over coffee with Scott Gray, discussing the Independent-Socialist campaign. While this is his first bid for office as a socialist, he's not a newcomer to politics. He spent the war years in Washington as a New Deal Democrat, first as a liaison officer then as counsel to the Senate Small Business committee. On his return to Albany in 1948, he broke with the Democrats, "primarily on the peace issue. I felt Truman's foreign policy was dangerous."

WAS ALP CANDIDATE
At the same time that he resumed his law practice, specializing in labor cases, he became chairman of the American Labor Party and Henry Wallace's Albany campaign manager. During the next several years he ran for Congress, for the State Senate and for other offices on the ALP ticket.

While representing a number of unions in the area, he also undertook the defense of local witch-hunt victims before the McCarthy and House un-American Activities committees. "The pressure kept building up steadily on account of this," he recalls. "Things got really hot when my partner was labeled 'subversive' by one of the committees. We began losing one client after another. They practically put us out of business."

Deprived of his law practice, Gray took over operation of the fruit farm. "I was pretty much out of activity — trying to get the fruit trees planted," he explained, "when Jack McManus called me up and asked if I would accept the Independent-Socialist nomination."

"I've been tremendously alarmed again at the drift — that's really not a strong enough word — toward war and the utter insanity of our foreign policy. I felt that here was a party that would permit a discussion of the real issues with the electorate, and candidates that were firmly com-

mitted to peace. After I talked it over with my family, and they felt the same way, I accepted the nomination."

"How do I feel about running on a socialist ticket this time? Well, from way back I've felt that the problems of our economy could only be solved by socialist means. Also I think it's a hopeful sign that so many divergent groups have been able to sit down in amity and work together in the campaign so vigorously. It may become a growing force on the left for a unified socialist movement that could attract support from organized labor."

"I think it's becoming more and more apparent," he added, "despite the fears of Eisenhower, that the Democrats aren't going to become a socialist party."

As a former union attorney, how do you feel about the Congressional labor investigations, I asked?

HITS MCCLELLAN GROUP
"I can't see McClellan as a champion of union democracy," the Independent-Socialist nominee said. "The whole objective of this committee is to weaken and destroy the unions. It's just not true that they're simply interested in some regulations for union democracy."

"However, there is a problem, and a very serious one. But I see the solution of it in the resumption of activity by the membership on a shop and local level."

"I think our socialist campaign helps in this. It raises these issues and helps show the workers that only through their own participation — not only in shop affairs but in politics — can they get things done."

... Indep.-Socialist Ballot Fight

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Meanwhile, the Independent-Socialists are vigorously pressing their opposition to the reactionary foreign and domestic policies of the two capitalist parties. A wide audience is being reached through radio and TV appearances by the candidates (see listing page two), participation in a series of election symposiums and debates and mailing of campaign literature.

Calendar Of Events

CLEVELAND
Hear Richard B. Tussey, union representative speak on "Labor's Fight to Defeat the Phony Right-to-Work Amendment." Friday, Oct. 24, 8:30 P.M. YMCA, 2200 Prospect Ave. Auspices: Cleveland Militant Forum.

DETROIT
FRIDAY NIGHT SOCIALIST FORUM. A talk and discussion on "The Formosa Crisis." Speaker: Robert Himmel, Jr., Socialist Workers Party, candidate for Secretary of State. Friday, Oct. 24, 8 P.M. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave.

LOS ANGELES
National Guardian Tenth Anniversary Jubilee. Sat., Nov. 8, 8:30 P.M. "Living Newspaper" in Songs and Satire. Embassy Aud., Ninth and Grand. Tickets \$1.25. Call AN 8-7777.

Hear Della Rossa on "The Beat Generation and Its Literature." Friday, Oct. 24, 8:15 P.M. 1702 E. 4th St. Ausp.: International Socialist Review.

NEW YORK
Sun., Oct. 26, 8 P.M. George Lavan, Militant Staff Writer, speaks on "School Desegregation and Little Rock." In addition hear a report of the Student March on Washington by a participant. Question and discussion. 116 University Place (Near 13th St.) Contrib. 50 cents. Ausp.: Militant Labor Forum.

Also, two major open-air rallies have been scheduled and a final city wide indoor rally. An upstate tour by candidates will include appearances in Albany, Buffalo, Syracuse and Schenectady.

GARMENT DISTRICT RALLY
The first of the open air rallies sponsored by the city campaign committee will be held in the heart of New York's garment district at 7th Ave. and 38th St., on Wed., Oct. 22. The rally will run from 11:30 A.M. to 2 P.M., a time when the area is filled with garment workers on their lunch periods. The rally will feature speeches

by Corliss Lamont, candidate for U.S. Senator, John T. McManus, candidate for Governor, Annette T. Rubinstein, candidate for Lt. Governor and Captain Hugh Mulzac, candidate for Comptroller. If his schedule permits, Scott K. Gray, Jr., candidate for Attorney General, will travel down from Troy for the rally.

The candidates will also speak at a rally Saturday afternoon, Oct. 25, at Harlem's traditional rally point in front of the Theresa Hotel at 7th Ave. and 125th St. It will run from 1 to 4 o'clock. A good indication that a favorable response can be expected at these rallies was provided by the very successful rally staged this Monday afternoon by the Young Socialist Alliance at Columbia University, with Dr. Rubinstein as the main speaker. Despite a steady rain, an average of 125 students were present throughout the lively two-hour meeting to hear the Independent-Socialist nominee and spokesman for the YSA.

NEW YORK
Sun., Oct. 19, 5:50-3 P.M. Interview. WOR-Radio, 710 kc. Sat., Oct. 25, 1 to 2 P.M. "Right Now" program. McManus and opposing gubernatorial candidates are guests of Ron Cochran. WCBSTV, Channel 2.

NEW JERSEY
Sun., Oct. 26, 12:30-1:00 P.M. Interview. "Between the Lines." WNEW-TV, Channel 5. Oct. 26-27-28-30 and Nov. 2, 9:35 to 10 P.M. Statements by McManus vs. other gubernatorial candidates. "People's Choice" program; WNEW-Radio, 1130 kc.

MINNESOTA
Sun., Nov. 2, 3:30 P.M. League of Women Voters Forum. All candidates for governor and senator (will include Wayne Levenson). WTMJ-TV. Thurs., Oct. 23, 5:15 P.M. Radio: WHA and WHA-FM.

MICHIGAN
Sun., Nov. 2, 3:30 P.M. League of Women Voters Forum. All candidates for governor and senator (will include James Boulton). WTMJ-TV.

by Corliss Lamont, candidate for U.S. Senator, John T. McManus, candidate for Governor, Annette T. Rubinstein, candidate for Lt. Governor and Captain Hugh Mulzac, candidate for Comptroller. If his schedule permits, Scott K. Gray, Jr., candidate for Attorney General, will travel down from Troy for the rally.

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Indep.-Socialists Issue Platform

NEW YORK — The United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee last week began public distribution of the final draft of its election platform. The original draft was adopted at the initiating conference of the Independent-Socialist ticket held here June 13-15. The final draft of the platform includes several minor revisions and two additional paragraphs in the section entitled, "For democracy, for planned economy, for socialism."

The first of the additional paragraphs is: "The traditions of the American people and the high development of the American economy assure that American socialism will not only be based firmly on the Bill of Rights but will also give these rights far more substance than they have ever had under capitalism."

The second is: "We see man not solely as a competitive individual but also as a social being who finds fulfillment when he can identify himself with the cooperative goals of an entire people. Only in a society characterized by cooperative institutions can a worker, understanding the common goal to which his labor is devoted, feel the social usefulness of his work — and the intellectual, the artist, the writer, whose creative talents are today shunted into escapist and commercial forms, find the richest areas of communication." Copies of the platform may be obtained by writing to Independent-Socialist Party, 799 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y.

Socialist Candidates on TV, Radio

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Sun., Oct. 19, 5:50-3 P.M. Interview. WOR-Radio, 710 kc. Sat., Oct. 25, 1 to 2 P.M. "Right Now" program. McManus and opposing gubernatorial candidates are guests of Ron Cochran. WCBSTV, Channel 2.

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Socialist Workers Party
WHAT IT IS — WHAT IT STANDS FOR
By Joseph Hansen
54 pages 25 cents
Pioneer Publishers
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

Wisconsin Socialist Workers
SEE, HEAR James Boulton. Candidate for U.S. Senator: Mon., Oct. 27, 10:05 P.M. Newscast Interview. WASU-TV.

Every Test Kills
By Linus Pauling
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Vol. XXII — No. 42 Monday, October 20, 1958

Meany on Class Government

It's a "lot of bunk" to talk about labor seeking to establish its own government in America. At any rate that's what AFL-CIO President George Meany told the convention of the International Chemical Workers Union, Oct. 8. "I don't want a government run by Wall Street... or a government run by labor," Meany said. "We have no such thing in mind."

What Meany wants has little relation to the reality of American life. Big Business and Labor, motivated by conflicting interests, are the two basic social powers in America. And in all history there has never been a society dominated by conflicting class interests that was ruled by an impartial government. America is no exception. The fact is that we do have a Wall Street government and will continue to have it until it is replaced by a government run by labor.

Both major parties use their power of government to carry out domestic and foreign policies beneficial to Wall Street and inimical to labor. To counter this, Labor engages in political action. Meany concedes Labor had to enter politics to preserve its very existence. But, he in-

sists, Labor's political efforts must be confined to defending its present status and must be exercised within the framework of the two-party system. For Labor to set up its own party and aim for power, he asserts, "would mean an end to democracy."

Here, too, Meany is not attuned to reality. It is Big Business rule that has curtailed democratic rights in America, and most specifically for Labor. This is indicated by the current coast-to-coast campaign to legislate the union shop out of existence.

Meany and the rest of the top union brass hope to preserve the status quo because of the handsome emoluments they derive under it. But the ranks of labor cannot settle for a status quo that offers them chronic unemployment, deteriorating job conditions, inflation and the threat of war.

Whether Meany likes it or not, that's why Labor will inevitably build its own party and substitute its government for that of Wall Street. And that won't mark the end of democracy, but its real beginning.

Guardian of 'Socialist' Purity

Although the leaders of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation insist they have sole right to the word "socialist," they seem intent on discrediting by their actions all that socialism stands for.

At the unity convention of the SP-SDF two years ago, the leaders decided not to run candidates against "labor-endorsed" capitalist politicians. But apparently not content simply to throw in the towel, they seek to smear those socialists who refuse to follow their example.

Thus, when the United Independent-Socialist electoral coalition was established in New York last June, the SP-SDF, refused to participate though urged to do so and though free to present its views and help shape the policies of the new organization.

This refusal to participate was bad enough. The SP-SDF leaders made matters worse when, in the midst of the United Independent-Socialist battle for a ballot place, they threatened court action to prevent the new coalition from using the ballot designation, "United Socialist." The provocation fizzled when the United Independent-Socialist campaign committee decided to reserve its fighting energies for its capitalist opponents and changed its ballot designation to "Independent-Socialist."

Now Irving Suall, national secretary of the SP-SDF, has leveled a smear attack on a second independent-socialist electoral

effort—that of the United Liberal and Socialist Party in the state of Washington.

In a Sept. 26 letter to the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, Suall writes: "The 'United Liberal and Socialist Party' program fails to make any criticism of the Soviet dictatorship... The failure of the 'United Liberal and Socialist Party' to speak out on the nature of the Soviet tyranny indicates that organization has nothing to do with genuine socialism."

The following is a direct quotation from the program adopted at its formation, Sept. 9, by the United Liberal and Socialist Party: "Our opposition to the cold-war policies of the U.S. government cannot be construed as support or defense of the bureaucratic regime in the Soviet Union or its hostility to the socialist aspirations of the people within the Soviet orbit as demonstrated by the brutal repression in Hungary."

True, this stand has nothing in common with the SP-SDF's exploitation of Kremlin crimes as a pretext for supporting the imperialist cold war against the Soviet Union. Despite its opposition to the policies of the Soviet regime, the United Liberal and Socialist Party refuses to water down its support to the progressive property relations in the Soviet Union or its opposition to American capitalism. It is this that associates it with "genuine socialism"—Suall's protests notwithstanding.

The Militant Army

By Carolyn Kerry

Subscription Campaign Director

Supporters of The Militant throughout the country are celebrating the 30th Anniversary of our paper by launching intensive subscription campaigns hinged on the special Militant "Six-for-Five" Club subscription plan. Orders for the prepaid books of six subscriptions, which sell for five dollars, are coming in from individuals and groups of Militant supporters in cities from coast to coast.

Our group of Militant supporters in Los Angeles have taken a quota of 300 subs for the period of the campaign which terminates on December 15. New York has already ordered 20 of the six-for-five subscription books. The Twin Cities, Minneapolis and St. Paul, have ordered a like amount. The first week of the campaign registered a total of 22 subscriptions received with New York sparking the campaign with a total of nine for the week.

Oakland writes: "Can you send us five of the club subscription books? We are hoping this will be our minimum order and just a beginning."

Chicago has a new wrinkle which we pass on as an example for others to emulate. "We will try," they write, "to set the tone during the subscription campaign that everyone attempt to get at least one sub a week. And reports will be based on effort and secondly on achievement. To demonstrate this we will hang up a scroll each week listing the comrades who went after a sub. Those who get a sub will have a star after their name." We think the idea of giving recognition for effort as well as achievement is a good one. With this approach we can expect top re-

sults from Chicago in the form of many new subs.

Buffalo sends us an order for three Club Subscription books as a beginning and, as an earnest effort of their determination to expand the circulation of The Militant on the Niagara Frontier, they enclose five subscriptions—three one-year subs and two for 6-months.

Milwaukee sends four subs as a beginner and a decision by the group to increase their sub quota. "One of these new subs," writes the campaign director, "is from a fellow worker of mine who is from the Middle East but is now an American citizen. He used to argue with me about the Moslem religion and 'atheistic communism' as he called it. I told him to watch James E. Bouton, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, on a half-hour TV program on Sunday, Oct. 5. He was impressed with the program and wanted more literature. He took 'America's Road to Socialism' and the Mil-

itant sub and some of our election campaigners to show his Arab student friends. He now tells me he is 'much interested in the movement to bring socialism to America.'"

We would like to hear from all Militant supporters what their plans are for the campaign, what experiences they have to relate in their contact with new subscribers, etc. New York has informed us that they intend to award three prizes for the top sub-getters in the campaign. The first prize is to be a copy of the recently published Diary of Leon Trotsky in Exile, the second prize a bound volume of The Militant and the third a bound volume of the International Socialist Review. A chart showing the weekly score in the competition will be posted.

Join the 30th Anniversary Campaign Army! Send for your "Six-for-Five" subscription book NOW. Campaign Director, The Militant, 113 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.

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The Militant Across 30 Years

Peerless Record in Civil Liberties Fight

By John Thayer

For the Militant the defense of civil liberties and of victims of the witch-hunters has been a 30-year crusade. Its guiding motto has been: An injury to one is an injury to all! On that basis it has defended and will defend every working-class organization, newspaper and individual whose civil rights are under attack.

The very first issue of the Militant (Nov. 15, 1928) carried an article on new evidence further proving the innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti who had been legally murdered the year before. "There is no doubt that there will be more evidence forthcoming in the future," the article predicted, "that will strike further blows at the toppling evidence of lies under which the martyrs were buried... The case of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings, buried alive in California's prisons for more than 12 years, is in point... The hope of Mooney and Billings, of the Centralia IWW and of every other labor prisoner in the country lies in the protest movement of the masses."

The Militant would continue to agitate for Mooney and Billings, urging united efforts and financial support for their cases until the happy day it could write victory editorials for Mooney (Jan. 14, 1939) and for Billings (Oct. 20, 1939).

Though almost every issue of the Militant in its first years carried news of its fight for the right to be sold on the streets and to sponsor meetings in the face of attacks organized by the Communist Party, whose strong-arm squads often used blackjacks and brass knuckles, the paper did not swerve from its principles on civil liberties.

GASTONIA STRIKE
Thus the lead story of the July 1, 1929 Militant is on Gastonia. The story begins: "The eyes of all enlightened workers must turn today to Gastonia, North Carolina, the scene of the first great battle for the unionization of the South and the attempt to halt this work by the

time-honored method of murder frame-up against nearly a score of strikers headed by Fred Beal... The Communists, the most dynamic element in the working class, have played their part in the vanguard of the battle at Gastonia... But the Communists cannot and should not wage this fight alone... The issue of Gastonia has become a national issue which cries out for the formation of the broadest possible supporting movement."

Throughout the two frame-up trials and when Beal fled to the USSR, the Militant continued its support of the framed-up CP strike leaders. When Beal returned in 1938 disillusioned with Stalinism, only to be betrayed to the North Carolina jailers, the Militant was one of the few papers to continue his defense. As previously in his case, this was motivated by the belief in defending all labor prisoners, for Beal's changed ideas were not those of this paper but nearest those of the IWW.

It is impossible outside of a book to describe all the civil liberties cases championed by the Militant in its 30 years. They involve all working-class organizations attacked, anti-fascists threatened with deportation to Mussolini's Italy, social democrats, Communists, anarchists, unionists, liberals, pacifists, conscientious objectors, Jehovah's Witnesses, Japanese-Americans during World War II, etc.

When during the Stalin-Hitler Pact the Roosevelt administration launched an anti-CP witch-hunt, the Militant carried such headlines as, "Browder Convicted on Flimsy Charges" (Jan. 27, 1940) and editorials, "We Demand Browder's Freedom" (April 11, 1942).

While mourning the loss of Leon Trotsky, assassinated a few months before by a hireling of Stalin, the Militant still stuck to its principles. This is testified by a story headed "Olson Bars Stalinists From California Ballot; Socialist Workers Party Offers United

Front to Fight Ban" (Oct. 12, 1940) and on March 22, 1941 "SWP Fights Bill to Ban CP From Ballot in Wisconsin."

BRIDGES CASE

On July 21, 1939 there was an attempt to deport West Coast longshore leader Harry Bridges. This paper declared editorially: "We don't care a tinker's dam where Bridges was born — we know that the deportation threat has always been a measure applied to weaken the labor movement... Stop the deportation of Bridges by a mass solidarity protest." This was but the beginning of a long series of articles and editorials defending Bridges in all the subsequent attempts to deport and otherwise victimize him.

The April 18, 1939 Militant called attention to "a vicious anti-labor bill introduced into Congress by Rep. Smith of Virginia." It was in 1941 that this vicious Smith bill, enacted into law, was first used against 28 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and of the Minneapolis Teamsters. Unfortunately not all the labor press realized the importance of this momentous trial while certain others cheered on the prosecution. The Militant's full reporting of the historic Minneapolis Labor Trial

makes those issues of great historic value.

In the post-war witch-hunt the Smith Act was dusted off and used with devastating effect. The July 26, 1948 Militant featured a statement from Farrell Dobbs, then campaigning for President on the SWP ticket, which began: "The indictment of the 12 Communist Party leaders under the notorious Smith 'Gag' Act is a monstrous blow against civil liberties, another step in the direction of establishing a police state and thought-control in this country."

The following issues carried an open letter from the SWP, offering to help form a united defense committee for the indicted CP leaders, and a radio speech delivered by Dobbs denouncing the Smith Act and the new indictments.

When the Foley Square frame-up trial began, the Militant sent Dobbs, who had himself gone to prison under the Smith Act, as its courtroom correspondent. Here are headlines of some of the stories he wrote: "Trial of CP Leaders Threatens All Labor's Rights"; "CP Trial Shows Juries Packed by Rich"; "Wall St. Sets Up Clamor to Speed CP Trial"; "Police-Spy Atmosphere Permeates Trial of CP"; "Paid FBI

Stool Pigeons Paraded at CP Trial." In all the many subsequent Smith Act frame-ups and fights for appeals and now for amnesty the Militant has been in the forefront.

ROSENBERGS

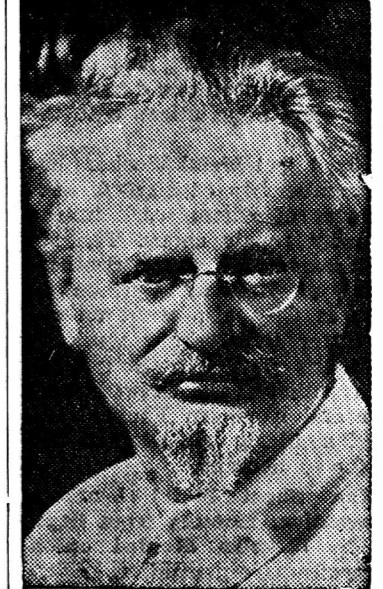
In the fight to save the Rosenbergs are such editorials as "Demand Clemency for the Rosenbergs" (Dec. 8, 1952) and, upon Judge Kaufman's denial of clemency, another (Jan. 12, 1953) entitled "The Witch Hunters Demand Blood." Feb. 16 a front-page editorial urged: "Demand Clemency for the Rosenbergs" in the campaign for Presidential intervention. The front pages of the Militants of June 1953 had main headlines, cartoons and front-page editorials on the need to save the doomed couple until the June 29 issue, under a drawing of the couple as a burnt offering on the altar of the witch hunt, announced: "Revolusion Sweeps World at Murder of Rosenbergs."

Wherever the freedom of the American people is under attack, the Militant is on the firing line, doing its utmost in defense. And you may be sure that will be true of the future, too. For the Militant lives by its credo: An injury to one is an injury to all!

Trotsky Diary in Exile Published by Harvard

By Joseph Hansen

TROTSKY'S DIARY IN EXILE — 1935, by Leon Trotsky. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1958. 218 pp. \$4.



LEON TROTSKY

Trotsky's last year in France was a difficult one. The government required him to live away from Paris, the intellectual center of the country, and even away from any of the provincial centers. They kept him under constant police observation. Deprived of secretarial assistance, his normal writing outlets blocked, Trotsky turned to keeping a diary.

This form of literary production was not congenial to the world's leading Marxist. He was a politician, not a monologist. However, the three notebooks from which this volume was translated offer a rare view of Trotsky's feelings in his third exile from his native land.

It has been assumed by some writers, Victor Serge in particular, that Trotsky in his last years was a "lonely" figure. The legend is repeated in the jacket placed on the book by Harvard University Press. "Here Trotsky lived with anguish," we are told, "was beset by loneliness, and sustained himself by pride and fanaticism." That Trotsky felt anguish over the fate of his family and closest collaborators as they fell victim to Stalinist persecution is quite true. It is also true that he would have appreciated the collaboration of another leading figure from his or Lenin's generation. But the rest is belied by the diary itself.

Engaging in the most important work of his life sustained Trotsky in these difficult years. Many of his disciples have explained how they became convinced that Trotsky made his greatest contributions after 1924. The diary now reveals that Trotsky was aware of this:

"For a long time now I have not been able to satisfy my need to exchange ideas and discuss problems with someone else. I am reduced to carrying on a dialogue with the newspapers, or rather through the newspapers with facts and opinions."

"And still I think that the work in which I am engaged now, despite its extremely insufficient and fragmentary nature, is the most important work of my life — more important than 1917, more important than the period of the Civil War or any other."

"For the sake of clarity I would put it this way. Had I not been present in 1917 in Petersburg, the October Revolution would still have taken place — on the condition that Lenin was present and in command. If neither Lenin nor I

Analyzing the degeneration of the first workers state and the parallel rise of fascism in Europe, building and educating a new revolutionary socialist leadership in the period of the death agony of capitalism, utilizing every means possible to warn about the danger of another world war and an imperialist attack on the Soviet Union — such tasks were sufficient to occupy an intellect even as powerful as Trotsky's.

We have the works he produced in this period. They range the globe, probing in the most profound way the social and political movements of our time and how they bear on the trend toward socialism. The diary indicates little of this, for Trotsky does not discuss here the activities which he considered "the most important work of my life." He records instead his worry about the fate of his younger son, Sergey, a remembered conversation with Kamelev about Stalin's thirst for revenge, a dream about Lenin, impressions of books as he read them, a walk with his wife, Natalia, in drizzling rain, a visit by the police, a trip to the barber, his delight with the autobiography of Mother Jones...

Some of the most moving passages record Trotsky's feelings as he and Natalia realize that Stalin intends to take their son's life. Poignant memories rise of youth with Natalia in the days before such witch-hunts as our time knows.

Comments on the fascist reaction then rising in France and the incapacity of both the Stalinist and Social Democratic movements to meet it give us the odd feeling that the diary was not written 23 years ago but right now. Only de Gaulle's name is missing.

Harvard has included in the volume a testament found on Trotsky's desk after the assassination, affirming his socialist convictions. In it he speculates on the possible course of the illness he was afflicted with. In case of a "long-drawn-out invalidism," Trotsky says, "I reserve the right to determine for myself the time of my death."

This attitude toward one's own life was not unique with Trotsky; it was fairly general among socialists of his generation. In his autobiography, Trotsky mentions the impression created by the suicide in 1911 of the Lafargues (Marx's daughter and son-in-law); and Lenin, it will be recalled, asked for poison when he suffered a stroke.

As it turned out, Trotsky was not faced with making such a decision in his own case. He was struck down at the height of his intellectual vigor by an emissary of Stalin.

The diary, as published by Harvard, ends with Trotsky's arrival in Norway. One wonders why they did not include the rest of the diary in this volume. Although Harvard has had the Trotsky archives since 1940, this is the first item they have published. It is to be hoped that they will not wait another 18 years before making available to the English-speaking public the rest of the diary and the even more important material that was left in their care.

...Militant Fund Drive

(Continued from Page 1)

A congress of poets was once polled as to their choice of the most beautiful line ever written in English. Almost unanimously they came up with, "Enclosed find check." I cite this because it appears that most of the local fund directors belong to the same literary school.

Another possible clue to the brevity of the letters is furnished in the mounting pile of biographies about America's tycoons. It seems the money-accumulating bent, and especially its continuous continued practice, warps the individual psychologically. It is a matter of record that most "self-made" capitalists became so tight that they guarded their words as carefully as their cash. A question such as, "How do you do?" would bring a suspicious glance and the most grudging reply. Their psychological reaction was: "What's he trying to do? Worm a tip on the market out of me?" or, "The less I say the less chance of giving anything away."

I am loath to draw this conclusion about the local fund drive directors. I trust the dearth of details about how the enclosed money was raised, what the donors said, and future plans, is otherwise explained and that the next batch of letters will show they remain as sound in psyche as in their socialist conscientiousness.

FUND SCOREBOARD

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Newark	\$ 265	\$140	53
St. Louis	80	40	50
Twin Cities	1,742	746	43
San Diego	300	115	38
Chicago	1,000	371	37
Detroit	600	209	35
Boston	450	150	33
Seattle	550	136	25
Oakland	300	65	22
New York	4,500	853	19
Allentown	112	20	18
Philadelphia	528	97	18
Los Angeles	4,600	782	17
Connecticut	300	50	17
Cleveland	750	100	13
Buffalo	1,500	150	10
Youngstown	300	25	8
San Francisco	440	30	7
Denver	50	—	—
Milwaukee	250	—	—
Pittsburgh	10	—	—
South	200	—	—
General	—	69	—
Totals through Oct. 14	\$18,827	\$4,148	23

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Hands Off Workers' Blintzes

By Lillian Kiezel

A hot, old-fashioned personality contest has developed out of the New York State gubernatorial race between Governor Averell Harriman, Democratic candidate and Nelson Rockefeller, Republican candidate.

These millionaire office-seekers and their running mates are touring the state shaking hands with people, asking for support, and in general trying to make the voter believe he has something in common with them — somebody to vote for, that is.

Joseph Alsop observes in the Oct. 13 N.Y. Herald Tribune that "By any practical test, the biggest moments in the N.Y. gubernatorial campaign have been gustatory. First Nelson Rockefeller publicly ate a cheese blintz. And then Averell Harriman hastily topped Rockefeller by joyfully consuming both a cheese blintz and a plate of gefülltefish."

This sort of campaigning comes easily to Democratic and Republican politicians who prefer to duck issues. Thus in Poughkeepsie Harriman helped bolster the morale of beleaguered Democrats in a Republican stronghold by surprising women with baby carriages and helping them cross the street.

On the other hand, Frank Hogan, Democratic candidate for U.S. Senator, considers this work quite distasteful. He was endorsed by both parties in all five

of his campaigns for Kings County District Attorney and has evidently grown a little complacent. But now he is opposed by Republican Kenneth Keating, who is a glad-hander from way back, and Hogan's campaign managers insist that he go out "and meet the public." He was on a tour of Nassau County supermarkets on Oct. 4 instead of seeing a Columbia University football game as he had desired.

The N.Y. Times reports that most of the people when accosted by the candidates don't know what to say. For example, candidate De Luca approached a woman on the street and said: "I'm George De Luca, your Lieutenant Governor and this is Frank Hogan, your next Senator. I hope you'll vote for us." The woman answered: "I'll be looking."

However, some people find the words. Mrs. Mila Litbach, an elderly widow, complained to Rockefeller that she could not find a decent apartment at a rent that she could afford to pay. To which Rockefeller replied: "There are two \$100 million bond issues for housing under consideration now. If we can get that passed it will help relieve the shortage of apartments for elderly people who live alone like you." "I should live so long," said Mrs. Litbach with a shrug.

Finally, some people are too angry to stay and talk. One man on the Lower East Side just walked away when Rockefeller said hello. In answer to reporters who wanted to know why he did this, he replied: "Can I put 'hello' in the bank?"

McDonald Ousts Fontana Officers

David J. McDonald, President of the United Steelworkers Union, has ousted the elected officials of the Fontana, California local of the USW and placed his own representative in charge. Harold Rasmussen of Indianapolis has been appointed by McDonald to replace the elected officials. The local officers who have been summarily dismissed were elected last May on a program of support to the Dues Protest Movement led by Donald C. Rarick. Rarick and his supporters were subjected to whipped-up attack by the McDonald machine when they tried to present their program at the recent USW convention. A resolution calling for their expulsion from the union was rammed through.

Sheet Metal Convention Votes 30-for-40 Demand

The 700 delegates to the Detroit convention of the AFL-CIO Sheet Metal Workers unanimously voted for a resolution making the 30-hour week with no reduction in pay the number one demand in their next negotiations with the railroads.

The Sheet Metal Workers has a membership of 105,000, one-quarter of whom work in the railway repair shops. The recent convention of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen in Kansas City also went on record for the 30-hour week at 40-hour's pay. The Shopmen's Convention of the Great Northern and Northern Pacific railroad similarly has adopted the 30-for-40 demand.

The Sheet Metal Workers convention, meeting from Sept. 15 to 19, also decided on a stepped-up organization drive and for numerous demands in the various fields — railway, shipyards, production industries, building construction, atomic plants, etc. — in which its craftsmen are employed.

In the railway field, demands in addition to 30-for-40 included: a job stabilization agreement to protect the members who are hard hit by the recession since the companies can lay off easiest in the maintenance crews; severance pay of up to two years for high seniority workers laid off; paid vacations of from three to four weeks; elimination of restrictions in the holiday clauses; and improvements in the Railway Retirement Act (rail workers don't get social security benefits).

President Michael Fox of the AFL-CIO Railway Employees Department told the convention that "One of the most serious

problems on the railroads is the contracting out of work" by the companies, often to open-shop firms.

Calling for a counter-offensive against the labor-haters he told the applauding delegates, "We should go down the line together knocking reactionaries over and defeating these right-to-work laws in every state where they are being proposed."

The convention voted a fifty-cent increase in per capita dues and reelected all incumbent officials.

MICHIGAN JOBLESS

Unemployment in Michigan climbed to a new post-war high of 16.4% of the labor force in August. The national average for the same month was 7.8%. In Detroit 295,000 or 19.2% of the labor force were jobless.

...UAW Locals Still Striking GM

(Continued from Page 1) contract also came under fire because it put off the fight for a 30-hour week for 40 hours pay, which speakers said "would allow us to benefit from increased productivity." The chairman of the shop committee reported that local negotiations on relief time and speed-up were marked by corporation "arrogance." "We don't want to change a nut here and a bolt there," he said, "We need more men on the line at Linden."

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THE MILITANT

They Fought Against Racist 'Justice'



Jimmie Wilson, above, 55-year-old handyman in Montgomery, Ala., who had been sentenced to death for robbery because of \$1.95 he allegedly stole from a white woman. An all-white jury convicted him. On Sept. 29, Gov. Folsom commuted Wilson's sentence to life imprisonment, to end "this international hullabaloo," as he called the world-wide outcry against the latest example of Jim Crow justice. Petitions, telegrams, letters came from England, Ireland, Italy, Denmark. Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana directed his envoy in Washington to inquire about the case.

In this country, the four Buffalo housewives, shown in picture at right, sparked a drive to save Wilson's life. They are left to right, Mrs. Vera Spruill, Mrs. Rita Johnson, Mrs. Deirdre Griswold, and Mrs. Ruth Stone. The four, in conjunction with the Independent-Socialist Party, organized a Save Jimmie Wilson



Committee in Buffalo, which circulated petitions addressed to Gov. Folsom. According to a Sept. 3 Associated Press dispatch from Montgomery, Folsom received petitions bearing 4,000 Buffalo signatures. The committee sent more signatures later. In addition the four women, acting for the committee, were instrumental in getting

New York Governor Harriman to wire Folsom asking him to review the Wilson case. They also were successful in getting Mayor Sedita to wire Folsom on Wilson's behalf. (They made their request to the mayor over TV.) Finally, at their urging, the Buffalo City Council passed a resolution protesting Wilson's death sentence.

Chrysler Local 212 Members Hit Reuther on Grievances

By Larry Dolinski
Socialist Workers Party
Candidate for Lt.-Gov.
of Michigan

DETROIT, Oct. 11 — Last Monday I had the opportunity to attend a membership meeting of UAW Local 212, of which I used to be a proud member. It was the "Briggs local" then, but Briggs company has been taken over by Chrysler. So today it's the "Chrysler local," but the old plants are the same and so are many of the problems of the workers.

Speed-up has plagued the 212 workers since the beginning of the year. With the problem still unresolved, UAW president Reuther is asking the local to first approve the new agreement he just negotiated with Chrysler and then take its problems to arbitration.

Local 212 was traditionally one of the most militant in the union. In the open-shop days, Briggs was one of the toughest outfits in the area. Local 212 had to be militant to be born and to stay alive. There were good fighters in its ranks and

we won some of the best contracts in the industry. We were looked to for leadership by other locals. It is the home local of a number of International union officials, including Emil Mazey, now second in command to Reuther.

MILITANCY STILL THERE I can report that 212, unlike some of the officials it produced, has retained much of its old militancy. In a number of its plants, recent company offensives have been met by walkouts. The meeting I attended was a strike meeting. The International representatives at the meeting were trying to get the workers back on the job pending negotiations.

One worker after another took the floor to express dissatisfaction with the way International officers are handling grievances. Many members suggested that the International officers, and the local officers too, get back on the production line to refresh their memories about the problems of the workers.

"Let them find out what it's like to work in a sweatshop,"

said one. "Let Emil Mazey, who's from this local, get back on the line and find out that conditions are worse than the pre-union days," added another.

Of the hundreds at the meeting, less than a handful supported the policies of the International. Reuther himself came in for frequent criticism. "He's playing ball with the bosses," charged one speaker, "and ignoring the real aims of the union . . . defense of working conditions."

One committeeman said he'd rather give up the few cents increase than give up the conditions yielded by Reuther. The workers insisted that their officers get back to real bargaining on behalf of those they are supposed to represent. And they wanted it spelled out that the company could not keep increasing production rates.

EVICIONS

In Detroit's Wayne County, during the first six months of this year, 1,706 families were forced out of their homes because of inability to keep up their payments.

Minn. SWP Nominee Gives Stand in Reply To Radio Audience

MINNEAPOLIS—The campaign for William Curran, Socialist Workers candidate for the U.S. Senate, is now in full swing. A recent highlight of the campaign was Curran's appearance, Oct. 7, on the popular Night Beat program for an hour and a half, with the bulk of the time devoted to answering questions telephoned in by the radio audience.

One listener called in to ask Curran, "Don't you people get discouraged in working for socialism when you never yet have been elected to office?"

Curran replied: "On the contrary, we are very optimistic and very confident. Things all over the country are looking up for us socialists. We believe that the capitalist mode of production has outlived its usefulness and can no longer raise the standard of living of the American workers and the majority of the people. All it can offer are war and depressions. We believe that in order to prevent war it is necessary to do away with the cause of war, which is the profit system."

"We see evidence that an ever greater number of workers are coming to the conclusion that a sane system of planned production for use based on the needs of the people—a socialist system—is the only practical solution to the ever-increasing threats of war and depression. We socialists are very confident. We have a big idea, and that idea, penetrating the consciousness of the American people, can become an important factor almost overnight."

ON VIOLENCE

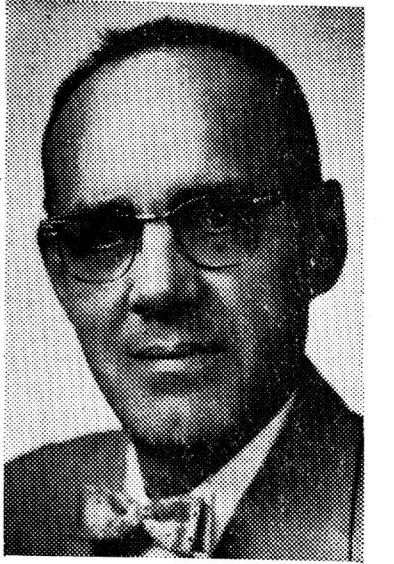
Another member of the radio audience wanted to know if the Socialist Workers Party advocates the use of force and violence. Curran replied: "No, we do not advocate force and violence. We prefer a peaceful transition to socialism. Only a mentally unbalanced person would advocate force and violence. History has shown that no ruling class has ever given up its position peacefully. We can certainly hope it will be different here. We think, however, that before the American people have a chance to vote socialism in, they could be challenged by a fascist organization. The people would have to defend themselves."

Discussing one listener's query about the long-standing divisions in the socialist movement, Curran pointed to the United Independent-Socialist ticket in New York State as a heartening example of growing unity among socialists. He hailed it as a big step toward putting socialism back on the American map as a practical proposition.

The SWP nominee will be heard on the radio again over station WTGN on Tuesday, Oct. 21, at 8:15 p.m.

Meanwhile, the Socialist Workers campaign committee is circulating an attractive four-page folder outlining William Curran's program. It spells out the socialist stand for an end to the war threat, opposition to segregation, for full employment, restoration of the Bill of Rights, a guarantee of the cost of production to working farmers and the need for independent working class political action.

The campaign headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party, at 322 Hennepin Ave., is open daily from 12 noon. It's phone



WILLIAM M. CURRAN

number is FE 2-7781. The Militant, International Socialist Review and other socialist literature are available there, including campaign folders.

WISCONSIN CANDIDATE

MILWAUKEE, Oct. 11—Speaking at a luncheon here today, Wayne Levern, Socialist Workers candidate for Governor of Wisconsin, declared: "The United States is rich enough to afford a Right-to-Farm Law for the subsidizing of those on-the-land, working farmers who want to go on despite the enormous competitive advantage of the corporation factory farms. They should be guaranteed an annual security income at the expense of the soulless, land-devouring corporations. The existing farm relief programs all fail to meet the human problem at the market-price level. Our taxes serve only to save the rich 'farmers.'"

Ohio SWP Scores Open-Shop Bill

CLEVELAND — The Socialist Workers Party of Ohio is urging a "no" vote on the so-called "right-to-work" amendment which appears on the Nov. 4 ballot. An SWP statement points out that under capitalism the workers' only "rights" to a job are those they are able to enforce through their unions.

Branding the proposed amendment part of a national employer-inspired union-busting drive, the statement declares it part of an effort "to place the blame for inflation caused by a war economy on the wage demands of the organized workers, and to treat corruption in the labor movement as though it were inherent in unionism instead of in our whole delinquent society." The SWP also declared its opposition to official union endorsement of the Democratic candidate for Governor. It said this endorsement "is based on the false notion that he is a 'friend of labor' and an opponent of the Right-to-Work amendment. The only difference between Republican O'Neill and Democrat DiSalle is that O'Neill openly supports issue No. 2, while DiSalle advocates other forms of legislative restrictions on labor."

Ohio Labor Unites

(Continued from Page 1) sands of supporters and contributors in the ranks are concentrating on getting out the vote against Issue No. 2, not on supporting Democrats. The raft of letters to the editors of the newspapers throughout the state are on the issue, not on the candidates.

If the Right-to-Work amendment is defeated Nov. 4 it will unquestionably be a powerful demonstration of the correctness of independent political action for labor. If RTW passes, it will only prove that labor acted too late along these lines, because no one even suggests that Issue No. 2 can be defeated by working through the two capitalist parties.

Regardless of which way the vote goes, the groundwork for a labor party is being laid by its new approach to its political battles in Ohio.

... Army Of Jobless

(Continued from Page 1) the face of recession. They have not even made the normal demands for wage increases, arguing that "with so many in the industry unemployed it is best to wait till everyone is back to work."

UNION LEADERS RETREAT

These "leaders" forget that the organizing battles of the CIO were fought when at least ten million workers were out of a job and every worker had grim recollections of even worse conditions. The unemployed gave aid and sympathy to the strikers and helped win the crucial battles.

First and foremost the unions must fight for a 30-hour work week at 40-hours pay. Labor launched the struggle for an eight hour day in 1888, over 70 years ago! Isn't it time to catch up with the age of automation?

Within the factories a struggle must be waged against the speed-up. This is the employers' cheapest way for raising labor productivity — and the most expensive to the workers' health and well being. The unions must demand a decisive voice in scheduling assembly line speeds. No increase in work schedules should go into effect until agreed to by the workers in the plants.

The whole labor movement must fight for the interests of the workers thrown out of a job. No worker should suffer loss because automation or speed-up has displaced him. No change has been made in the state unemployment benefit systems since the days of full employment. The last session of Congress only provided for federal loans to states applying for them to extend benefits another 13 weeks. In August, some 60,000 workers exhausted even the extended weeks of benefits.

Labor must demand that a jobless person receive benefits for as long as his unemployment lasts. Workers cannot stop eating just because 26 or 39 weeks have expired. Furthermore, benefits should be paid at the rate of full trade union wages.

"We Advocate a Change to Socialism"

(The following is a text of a statement read on behalf of Daniel Roberts, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for U.S. Senator from New Jersey, over WNEW, New York, Oct. 13.)

1957 and 1958 have been years of depression. At one point recently the Bureau of Labor Statistics admitted to five and a half million unemployed. But the government always understates the true figure. At the peak of unemployment there were probably seven million jobless in the country.

As a result of the depression during the past year, conservative economists, who had boasted in the post-war period that the boom and bust cycle of capitalism had been done away with, now admit that it is very much in operation. The American economy is depression prone. After the present period of recovery we can expect another bust, and it may come without the economy having reached boom levels in the intervening time.

What has prevented a deep-going depression such as we had in the 1930's is the enormous federal outlay for armaments. World War II pulled the country out of the depression of the 1930's. The Korean War rescued the economy after the 1949 recession. Arms spending has propped it ever since. Capitalism can ward off a new depression only by increasing

the war-making budget still further.

THE ALTERNATIVES

What an insane system! Arms production meets no needs of the American people. It is a criminal waste of human labor and natural resources. Arms production satisfies only Big Business which profits from the manufacture and sale to the government of the instruments of death. Arms production imposes a staggering burden of inflation and taxes on the working people. It impoverishes the nation although it enriches the billionaires. It leads to war.

Depression or war—these are the alternatives under capitalism. They are the same whether Democrats or Republicans are in office, because both parties are committed to the perpetuation of the capitalist system.

These alternatives tell us that the capitalist system is outmoded, and that we must get rid of it, if we are to enjoy economic and cultural progress—indeed if we are to survive. The Socialist Workers Party advocates a change to the system of socialism.

Socialism would replace private ownership of the country's industries, transportation and banks—now owned or controlled by some 60 extremely wealthy families—with public ownership. Production would be planned to meet the needs of the population. In the first in-

stance it would provide nutritious food, decent housing, adequate medical care and education for everyone in the population. A socialist society would at the outset cut the work week to 30 hours without reduction in pay. It would also eliminate the man-killing speed-up prevalent today in major industries.

One of the first things to go under a socialist order would be the arms budget. Industries now turning out missiles, A-bombs, fighter planes and the like would be converted to turning out useful goods. Production would be for peace, not for war. For use, not for profits.

How would socialism be established? Through democratic action of the working people of America who are the majority in the country, says the Socialist Workers Party. This will require a political struggle. The government is not neutral. Today it represents Big Business through the Republican and Democratic Parties.

WORKERS NEED OWN PARTY

To combat capitalist rule, the working people must organize their own political party. They must strive to win state power and when successful must use that power to smash the Big Business stranglehold by means of instituting public ownership of the basic industries.

A basic industry of the working people — a workers and

farmers government, as it also might be called — would have to thoroughly overhaul the present structure of the government so as to render it far more democratic. In addition, it must provide for control of factories and whole industries by elected workers councils.

Freedom of speech, press and assembly, trade-union rights, including the right to strike — all of these would be enlarged under socialism. The goal of a socialist society — universal well-being — can be attained only through unrestricted participation of the people in shaping economic and political decisions. The idea that people somehow can be made happy without their consent has nothing to do with socialism. A socialist America, of course, would wipe out segregation and discrimination on account of race or nationality.

Will socialism work? Yes, we say. Despite extreme bureaucratic distortions we can look for proof in the experience of Russia. Because of public ownership of industry and planning, Russia has been transformed in 40 years from the most backward country of Europe to the world's second industrial power. This is the gauge of the workability of these forms. True, since 1923, when privilege-seeking office holders usurped control, the Russian working people have been saddled with a bureaucratic dictatorship. This

was the result of extreme difficulties under which the Soviet economy had to operate. These difficulties included isolation from the world economy, foreign military intervention by the main capitalist powers (including the United States) in the early years of the Soviet Republic, and devastation brought by the Nazis during World War II. But the very successes scored by the economy are emboldening the Russian working people to move against bureaucracy and reestablish socialist democracy. The Russian people will never willingly return to capitalism.

It will be much easier to build socialism in the United States than it proved to be in Russia. We can envisage the change to socialism as immediately giving us far greater material well-being and far more individual freedom than the majority of us know today. On November 4 register your desire for a society of peace, abundance and freedom. Vote for Daniel Roberts for U.S. Senator on the Socialist Workers Party line.

A Correction

Geography of Hunger, a book referred to in last week's Militant, was written by Josue de Castro rather than Gasset y Ortego, as it was given last week.