

Sharp Issues Divide Chinese CP Leaders

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Negro Paper Forced to Quit

Crusading Little Rock Editor Victim of Advertising Gang Up

By George Lavan

Daisy Bates, militant Negro leader in Little Rock, and Ellis Thomas, the father of one of the integrated Negro students there, have been dealt severe economic blows by Arkansas white supremacists. Though the campaign of economic reprisal was organized locally, Northern big-business interests were involved in both cases.

Jefferson Thomas's father, a janitor at the Little Rock office of International Harvester Co., was arrested by Faubus's cops on Aug. 12 (the day Central High School opened) and charged with carrying a gun. Immediately upon his release next day he went to the Harvester plant and explained what had happened. The office manager soon thereafter told Thomas that he had discussed it with the district manager and it had been decided that Thomas should stay out until things cooled down.

On Nov. 1 Thomas was called into the office and informed his job had been terminated. He then wrote Brooks McCormick, executive vice-president of International Harvester, of his conviction that he had lost his job because of his son's attendance at Central High. In response he received a letter from McCormick expressing sorrow that his services were no longer required but that the reason was "purely one of economics."

On Dec. 7 Mrs. Daisy Bates informed New York Post reporter Ted Poston that she and her husband, L. C. Bates, would be unable to resume publishing their weekly newspaper, the Arkansas State Press, which suspended publication last month. Mr. and Mrs. Bates have put the linotype machines, presses and other equipment up for sale.

"We'll be lucky if we don't lose our home too," Mrs. Bates told Poston. "But I've promised, the eight kids in Central

and Hall high schools that I'd see them through the rest of the year — and with God's help I'll do it somehow."

The campaign against the Arkansas State Press, which has been edited and published by L. C. Bates for the past 18 years, was organized by the White Citizens Council as a reprisal for Daisy Bates' steadfastness in the fight for school desegregation. The couple's taxes have been increased, the bank called their mortgage and ordered them out of their office building.

"They beat up our newsmen and distributors," Mrs. Bates related. "They took papers away from them and tore them up. And when Negro principals and teachers in communities outside Little Rock tried to sell our papers for us, they threatened them with loss of their jobs."

Economic Boycott

Most damaging blow was the economic boycott organized against the Arkansas State Press. Not only were local white advertisers pressured to stop advertising in the Negro weekly but Northern concerns which customarily place ads in weeklies, including the Negro weeklies, were persuaded to skip the Bates' paper. "They robbed us of \$10,000 annual income in that alone," Mrs. Bates declared.

In an attempt to counter the squeeze on the Arkansas State Press, the NAACP national office placed periodic full-page ads in the paper and urged liberal organizations and businessmen to do the same. But the response was insufficient and during the past year the paper was losing \$800 to \$1,000 a month.

Socialist Fund Campaign Scores Its Best Week

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Director

"OPERATION UPTURN," I'm happy to announce, has really picked up the lag in our Socialist Publications Fund Campaign. Suggested several weeks ago by Los Angeles

Fund Director George Jones as the way to meet the December 15 deadline, "Operation Upturn" came sailing back on my desk like a boomerang, bringing with it a covey of greenbacks. It added up to the biggest leap forward since the campaign began.

The Nutmeg State (my fingers get tangled in the keys when I write Connecticut) decided to make it Operation Overfill. Last week the comrades in that lovely New England state were 20% behind schedule. This week they stand at the head of the parade with a proud score of 105%!

And Detroit, which was collecting its quota while also collecting thousands of petitions to put a socialist presidential candidate on the 1960 Michigan ballot, took a big leap forward and joined our select meet-the-deadline-ahead-of-schedule club. Congratulations on that 100%!

Perhaps the most spectacular gain was registered by Cleveland which jumped from sixteenth to fifth place. A letter from Fund Director Gene Fine tells how they did it:

"Operation Upturn reached Cleveland last week end! The movement to meet the Socialist Publications Fund Campaign in full and on time, which began in Los Angeles, swept east to Cleveland and comrades and friends responded generously. Specially heartening was the fact that several friends came through with contributions, and promises of more! As a result, Cleveland can assure you that its quota will be met in full and on time."

From Fund Director Bob W. in the Twin Cities came an equally heartening message dated, "Midnight, Dec. 5-6." Bob isn't an insomniac. He was just a jubilant Twin Cities comrade, excited over the wonderful welcome extended to Farrell Dobbs in his home town (see story this page). Bob had a special reason for feeling good. His appeal at

the Dobbs meeting for aid to our fund campaign (which another comrade reports was really eloquent) netted \$150.

So at the height of the festivities that followed the meeting Bob took time out to write: "Just a note in the midst of the party for Farrell to let you know that I think the fund will be met on time. . . . Farrell made a fine talk and the collection went much better than I hoped for in my most optimistic mood."

That same note of optimism is the theme of a fine letter from our Seattle director, Jo. She writes: "Am sending check for \$115 for fund drive. I'm sure the 'upturn' will continue to the top."

And then a "P.S." shows what a psychologist Jo is and how well she knows me. It says: "Don't worry."

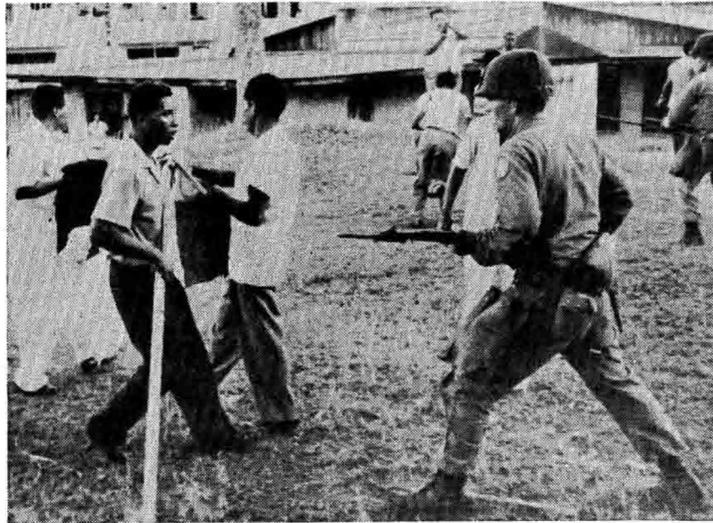
Now I really don't think I'm the worrying kind, even if I do bite my nails a little. And with the collection of letters, checks and money orders that came in this week I should be sleeping like a new-born babe. But the truth is that I'm not and I probably won't be until we're safely past next week's deadline.

Isn't that all our friends and well-wishers aren't doing the very best they can. They certainly are. But the hard fact still faces us that we have to raise a whopping \$4,364 in one short week to meet that deadline successfully. And I just can't help recognizing that it isn't going to be easy.

Maybe Chicago Director Ray Follert has got my combination figured. He sent in a healthy looking check for \$250, recognizing that it was going to take quite a push to make it; and said something nice to help quiet the butterflies in my stomach. "We still have \$250 to go," he wrote; "and I have no doubt that you have been feeling for feeling good. His appeal at

(Continued on Page 2)

That's the Way They Stand



This scene, taken during a demonstration Nov. 29 in the Canal Zone, looks almost like a tableau of rich, powerful America and the poverty-stricken, insurgent colonial people of the world. The unarmed youth is seeking to raise the flag of Panama on soil that belongs to his country, although it was leased under duress to the United States in "perpetuity." The armed American soldier, under orders, moves, bayonet fixed, against the colonial demonstrator. The Panamanian youth wants an end to American exploitation of his country. Despite the weakness of Panama, he feels himself to be part of a world-wide movement that is certain of eventual victory. Who knows what goes on in the mind of the American soldier as he carries out the duty assigned him in the Isthmus of Panama?

That Winning Payola Refrain In The 'Featherbedding' Tune

By Alex Harte

Is it possible to make a cash purchase of editorials in the daily press? Apparently it's the easiest thing in the world if you have enough cash to spread around and if the message you want to spread is aimed against labor.

For example, the Association of American Railroads recently bought advertising space in virtually every daily and weekly paper of general circulation in the country as part of its campaign against union job conditions, which the railroad bosses call "featherbedding." The 10,000 papers which received the ad also received thinly veiled requests for editorial endorsement of the rail magnates' lying claim that railroad workers draw millions of dollars in pay for work not performed. In some cases the "requests" to the newspapers weren't even veiled.

It Pays to Advertise

It is safe to assume that the AAR's "requests" will be honored in many cases. The association conducted a study of how previous ads in its campaign against "featherbedding" paid off. According to the Nov. 21 issue of Labor, weekly voice of the railroad brotherhoods, a private AAR "Analysis of Newspaper Editorials on Railroad Topics" shows that during the second quarter of this year the nation's newspapers ran 1,055 editorials on the theme that "railroads are hurt by union 'featherbedding' or make-work rules. Of these, 1,039 — 98.5 per cent — carried the line of the railroad owners."

The campaign of the rail magnates to buy editorial space for its smear of the railroad unions has been so crude that a few newspapers have spoken out against it.

The Salem Special, a weekly in Salem, S. Dak., recently disclosed editorially that a paid ad

received from the AAR on "featherbedding" was "accompanied by instructions in which we were requested to position it (the ad) opposite an appropriate editorial." Nor does the AAR simply shrug its shoulders when a paper fails to toe the line. For example, the association canceled further ads in the Charleston Gazette one week after that paper ran an editorial exposing the "facts" contained in an AAR ad.

The reaction of J. Handy Wright, public-relations vice-president of the AAR, to the Gazette editorial was: "I do not think we should be expected to buy advertising on one page, only to have it denounced and discredited on the editorial page."

This statement was so raw that the St. Louis Post-Dispatch which has been quite favorable to the railroad owners, ran an indignant editorial declaring: "Mr. Wright is saying that the purchase of advertising space entitles the buyer to immunity from editorial criticism. These are tactics out of the robber baron era of railroading and 'damaging to the railroads' cause."

But the rail robber barons of the present era don't seem to take even a well-intended hint. The day after the Post-Dispatch editorial, Wright wrote to the Charleston Gazette explaining that cancellation of the AAR ads should not be construed as punishment. ". . . we thought it best to simply avoid giving you further offense," he explained.

A Nov. 21 editorial in Labor notes that current press "jubilation" over the TV scandals may well flow from the thought that the revelations about video rigging will turn attention away from similar practices by papers "subservient to advertisers and the big interests."

Sharpening Class War Seen for Next Decade

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 6—The city's most influential paper, the conservative Los Angeles Times, today printed a survey of opinion among local businessmen and labor leaders that forecast "stormy" labor-management relations for the next decade.

"Asked whether labor and management will be more friendly and co-operative in 1969 than they are today, every one of the contacted union representatives said no," reported the paper's labor editor Howard Kennedy. "Most of them heatedly predicted that the cleavage would be worse. Some asserted in no uncertain terms that 'class warfare' will be greatly intensified in 10 years' time."

The local bosses, apparently in a more congenial mood, "were

not nearly so pessimistic." Some saw an easing of tensions, a large group forecast no change. "Only a few business leaders said they looked forward to worsening relations when dealing with labor." They "almost unanimously looked forward to life in the 1960's under Landrum-Griffin."

Union leaders expressed worry over the fate of workers under the impact of automation and, more immediately, fear of new anti-labor laws even worse than Landrum-Griffin. They said that union political activity "must be steadily expanded during the 1960's." But they foresaw no labor party as such. For their part, the bosses said they "will be alert . . . to keep their political fences mended in national, state, and local jurisdictions."

Democratic Candidates Push Antilabor Drive

Stevenson Says New Powers Are Needed to Curb Unions

By M. L. Stafford

How the liberal Democrats — including the presidential candidates touted as "friendly to labor" — stand on the big-business drive for stiffer anti-labor laws was indicated

on Dec. 6 when the National Democratic Advisory Council issued its stand on the 1960 issues. Instead of calling for repeal of Taft-Hartley as Truman once did, the platform complains that the T-H Slave-Labor Act has "proved inadequate" in strikes affecting "great public interest." "The law should provide the President a variety of approaches" for handling such strikes — in other words, the president should be armed with even greater powers against the unions than he possesses under the Taft-Hartley Act.

The following Democratic presidential contenders participated in drafting the Council's program: John F. Kennedy, Hubert Humphrey, Stuart Symington, Edmund G. Brown, G. Mennen Williams and Adlai Stevenson. The only prominent Democratic hopeful not consulted was Lyndon Johnson, who is not currently listed as a "friend of labor," anyway.

Although the Advisory Council's program is cast in guarded language, it is clear how Sen. Kennedy, for instance, will spell out its hints for new labor "regulation." He is co-author of the "labor reform" bill passed by Congress earlier this year — the notorious Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act. He has also declared himself in favor of compulsory arbitration as a means of settling national strikes such as the one in steel.

Stevenson's Stand

Humphrey, Symington and Johnson voted for Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin in the Senate. And Adlai Stevenson, voicing alarm over the "infirmity" of U.S. military "defenses," called on Dec. 8 for legislation authorizing the President "to require in one form or another that production be continued" in any major industrial dispute.

In his speech before the Institute of Life Insurance at New York's Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, Stevenson left no possibility of doubt in anyone's mind that he will push for more laws against labor if he is elected president.

" . . . in the face of the most powerful and dangerous challenge our capitalist economic system and our democratic political system have ever confronted," he fulminated, "I have seen altogether too little awareness of the public responsibility of private power . . .

Kennedy-Griffin Act OK'd by Stevenson

Adlai Stevenson, favored candidate of the liberals for the Democratic party presidential nomination, in effect endorsed the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act in his Dec. 8 speech in New York. He said: "In September it proved necessary, for the first time in our history, for Government to establish controls over the internal affairs of the labor unions — their constitutions, their elections, the administration of their offices . . . because of the irresponsibility of a comparatively few labor leaders."

"Everyone is agreed that [the steel strike] cannot happen again; that the public interest, and that irrefragable private power is an intolerable danger to our beleaguered society. . . .

"Where private groups — like big business and big labor — are performing public functions, they must be held to public responsibility. . . . And if there are more stoppages, Congress may be expected to reflect the public temper in legislation, which would not only stop strikes but might stop or seriously cripple collective bargaining, too."

Thus Stevenson and the National Democratic Advisory Council have made it plain that the liberal Democrats will not be campaigning in 1960 to remove the legal shackles on labor, but on the contrary, will be competing with the Republicans for the privilege of adding new ones.

The policy of the top labor officials, which binds the working people to capitalist politicians, at election time will therefore insure the passage of new labor-crippling laws — unless that policy is scrapped and replaced by one that provides for the building of labor's independent party.

TV Interviews Dobbs at Scene Of '34 Strike

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 6 — There were no television cameras around during the historic 1934 truck drivers strike when pitched battles were fought in the market against armed deputies. Yesterday KSTP-TV recaptured some of the dramatic impact of those events when it set up cameras in the market to interview Farrell Dobbs, a leader of that strike and now national secretary of the Socialist Workers party.

Last night 72 people attended a meeting where Dobbs spoke on "Labor's Role in the 1960 Elections." Others came down later for the welcome-home party that followed the meeting. The audience included truck drivers who had gone through the 1934 battles with Dobbs plus a number of university students and many long-time radicals.

It was a spirited meeting and there was solid applause when Dobbs declared that the SWP was determined to field a 1960 presidential ticket.

Perhaps the best indicator of the enthusiastic response to Dobbs' declaration was that the collection for the Socialist Publications Fund netted nearly \$150.

On Tour It's Getting Easier to Talk Politics

By Farrell Dobbs

St. Louis, Mo.

Editor:

For several weeks I have been traveling about the country to promote support for a Socialist Workers party ticket in 1960. Readers of The Militant will no doubt be interested in a few comments on the response experienced so far on the trip.

Up to now I have discussed with a considerable number of people in a dozen cities either in meetings or in conversations. They have included workers, union officials, members of racial minorities, students, teachers and others.

Some belong to the SWP. Others are political sympathizers who show quickened interest in the party as the 1960 campaign approaches. Still others are former supporters of the Communist party or the Wallace movement who want to see independent socialist and labor political action. Here and there a young person turns up from Social Democratic circles, or from the Socialist Labor party, looking for a living movement capable of facing political reality.

A significant number of those with whom I have talked are just becoming interested in socialist ideas. They want to hear about socialism from a socialist instead of from capitalist propagandists. They seem to reflect a process of political re-thinking now taking root in the population.

One gets a growing impression that the general political complacency of recent years is being shattered by changing reality. Feelings of economic security, national self-righteousness and American superiority are giving way to uncertainties about conditions at home and curiosity about social forces in motion elsewhere in the world.

War has assumed a new dimension in the popular mind. Gone is the atomic monopoly held by the United States (Continued on Page 4)

Can Labor Head Off the Attack?

Congress of Labor Could Do the Job

By Tom Kerry

The leaders of American labor look with nervous trepidation toward the day when the eighty-sixth Congress reconvenes for its second session the latter part of January. And with good reason. The union-baiters have made no secret of their intention to utilize the steel industry dispute as a pretext for pressing forward their legislative attack on labor.

In an attempt to ward off the impending anti-labor assault by Congress, AFL-CIO President George Meany proposed a few weeks ago that Eisenhower call a top-level union-industry conference to establish "harmonious" labor-management relations. The proposal was treated with scorn by big business spokesmen.

Last week, the AFL-CIO heads issued a call to its affiliates for a legislative conference to meet in Washington, prior to the opening of Congress, to head off "passage of further 'unfair, restrictive' labor measures." The call warned that labor would again be subjected in 1960, to the attempt to "shackle—the trade-union movement with unfair, restrictive laws even worse" than the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law, enacted in the closing days of the 1959 session by the Democratic Congress.

"The conference call," says the December 5 AFL-CIO News, "urged that all affiliates send delegations roughly equal to

their delegate strength at national conventions of the AFL-CIO to insure the broadest possible representation of the 13.5 million members of the federation in working out the 1960 program."

This timid, faint-hearted step, is totally inadequate to meet the needs of an admittedly desperate situation. The threat of additional union-crippling legislation is real and menacing. The employers are organizing for a showdown. The biggest corporations in the country are banding together to spearhead the union-busting campaign. Under pressure from their masters, the politicians of both major parties are dancing about like puppets on a string. Proposals to "reform" the unions into a state of impotence are being spawned in shoals.

With the unions on the defensive, the so-called "friends of labor" in Congress play their usual perfidious role. The "liberals" are racing to get their "reform measures" into the hopper. They urge upon the labor leaders acceptance of their more "moderate" proposals in order to circumvent the draconian measures of reaction.

It was this "lesser evil" gambit that sent the labor bureaucrats reeling into the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin trap at the last session of Congress and can lead to no better result at the coming session.

The legislative conference called by the AFL-CIO tops can be nothing more than a glorified lobby. "The conference," comments the Dec. 15 issue of the

Advance, organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, "will be used for the twin purpose of advising Congress of labor's program and hearing from Congressional leaders of their plans for the second session of the Eighty-sixth Congress. The leaders of both houses of Congress and both political parties have been invited to address the session."

What we have here is a routine repetition of the frequent lobbying junkets, in which the labor statesmen gather to listen

to the demagoguery of ward-heeling politicians and then wander hat-in-hand through the corridors of Congress, pleading with "labor's friends" to refrain from cutting labor's throat.

To foster the illusion that such conferences are an effective means of countering the union-wrecking offensive is to perpetrate a cruel hoax.

During the unemployment crisis last spring there was talk in union circles of a massive labor March-on-Washington to demolish the illusion that such conferences are an effective means of countering the union-wrecking offensive is to perpetrate a cruel hoax.

nationalist sentiment in Latin America, Mueller fumed about "trouble spots in this hemisphere where Yankee-hating economic illiterates and power-drunk fanatics are grabbing foreign property."

Secretary of the Army Wilbur Brucker, echoing the theme of Soviet "duplicitousness," declared it "indispensable" to keep U.S. troops deployed in Europe.

Top Gov't Brass Flays Unions at NAM Parley

NEW YORK, Dec. 5 — Top government brass used the annual gathering of the National Association of Manufacturers, which ended here yesterday, as a forum to beat the drum for a stepped-up big-business drive against labor at home and abroad. The customary anti-labor rantings of NAM spokesmen sounded almost tame compared to the government officials.

In a fierce attack on the Steelworkers, Secretary of Commerce Frederick Mueller called for two new union-curbing laws. One would ban industry-wide bargaining and a second would make industry-wide strikes a crime under the antitrust law. He asserted it was necessary to strait-jacket labor so that American "free enterprise" could meet the "Soviet challenge."

Discussing the rising anti-U.S.

nationalist sentiment in Latin America, Mueller fumed about "trouble spots in this hemisphere where Yankee-hating economic illiterates and power-drunk fanatics are grabbing foreign property."

Allen W. Dulles, chief of the U.S. international espionage network, warned that the main danger of "peaceful coexistence" lies in sinister Soviet plans to disarm in order to destroy capitalism through "secret" and "subtle" tactics of engaging in world trade. He said the American people are carrying "a prodigious burden of fat" on their backs.

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Sharp Issues Cited in Chinese CP Dispute

By Daniel Roberts

The current campaign against "right opportunists" in China is not aimed at pro-capitalist opponents of the regime. According to Frank Robertson, writing in the Dec. 2 Christian Science Monitor, the Dec. 1 issue of Red Flag, theoretical journal of the Communist party's central committee, "states flatly that . . . the present drive is directed mainly against misled party members."

Careful reading of the Chinese CP press by informed observers in many parts of the world shows that the party members in question include many who hold top party positions. This is made evident, for instance, by a recent article in the Peking People's Daily which said that the imperialists have always sought to infiltrate agents into the party to undermine it "even from within the core of party's leadership."

"Imperialist agent" is a stock Stalinist slander against political opponents, including those who oppose official CP policy from a socialist point of view. The importance of the remark by the People's Daily about hostile "infiltrators" is that it is leveled against members of the CP's top echelon, indicating that a major struggle is taking place within the party's highest leadership.

Again, the People's Daily, in discussing the "rightists" warns that "absolutely no opportunistic factions can be permitted, and absolutely no views or activities aimed at splitting the party or usurping its authority are allowed within the party." Actually, the Chinese CP does not permit oppositional factions of any kind — whether left, right or center. However, the warning given by People's Daily on the subject is further evidence of a major inner-party conflict involving the party's top command.

Crucial Issues

The evidence also indicates that what is taking place is not a mere power struggle but a fight over economic policy stemming from different appraisals of economic results. In dispute are (1) the rural people's communes and the community dining halls — that is, the CP's current policies toward the peasants; (2) the "great leap forward" — that is, the economic tempos adopted by the CP at the end of 1957 and sustained ever since; (3) such specific "leap forward" projects as the small-scale iron and steel furnaces set up all over the country last year; (4) overall conceptions of economic planning.



Premier Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China devoted more than a third of his economic report Aug. 30 to a rebuttal of the criticisms of the "right opportunists." In the report to the Standing Committee of the Second National People's Congress he defended the official position on the communes and the "great leap forward."

These issues profoundly affect the fate of the Chinese revolution. To be resolved in such a fashion as to strengthen the Chinese workers' state, a democratic discussion — without slanders and threats — is required in the party leadership, the party ranks and the working class. Furthermore, the Chinese revolution would gain if the CP leaders followed the example of the Russian Bolsheviks in Lenin's time, who informed the international revolutionary-socialist movement of their disputes over economic policies and invited socialists abroad to contribute their opinions.

All developments in China have been closely studied by revolutionary socialists throughout the world. (In this country, for instance, the Socialist Workers party convention last summer expressed the opinion that, despite the bureaucratic character of the Mao Tse-tung regime, the communes represent a "new stage and a step ahead in the economic and social development of China to which we, as partisans of the Chinese revolution, give our support.")

Great harm is done to the revolution by the Stalinist procedure employed by the Chinese CP leaders in keeping the disputes bottled up (going so far in this last month as to ban shipment of Chinese newspapers outside the country), while the dominant group conducts a reckless smear campaign against its opponents as "revisionists" and pro-capitalist elements.

These opponents remain nameless. No document of theirs of a formal oppositional character has been published. What is known outside top party circles about the disputes is limited to the brief descriptions and occasional quotations supplied in the articles attacking the "right opportunists." Nevertheless, enough snatches have appeared to make it possible to determine the opposition's viewpoint in rough outline, and hence to determine the nature of the policy conflicts.

As the Manchester Guardian's expert on Soviet and Chinese affairs, Victor Zorza, writes, "In attacking the Rightists the Chinese press has had to specify what they were being attacked for, and has given in quotation marks not only their slogans but also longer utterances which look for all the world as if they were culled from program documents or policy speeches at a high level attacking the official leadership." (Zorza's account of the inner-party dispute is contained in three articles in the Manchester Guardian, Nov. 9, 11 and 13. In addition, a Reuters dispatch from Peking, printed in the Dec. 6 New York Times, carried a summary of the dispute.)

Pro and Con

Thus on the question of communes, the dispute shapes up as follows: The supporters of the official line say that the communes have done outstanding work in irrigation and other public works as well as in introducing better agricultural methods and a variety of semi-industrial pursuits in the countryside. The peasants, they claim, enthusiastically support the communes. The creation of the communes, they continue, represents a mass revolutionary upsurge that was prepared by the campaign of socialist education carried on by the party among the peasantry in the fall of 1957 at the time of the purge against the "rightists."

(However, Defense Minister Marshal Lin Piao, while emphasizing the army's support for the communes, recently said that "since the overwhelming majority of the officers and men of our army come from the peasantry, unavoidably some comrades

sometimes consider questions from the temporary partial interests of small producers and do not clearly understand certain questions of Socialist change." As a result the army lacked a "high degree of Socialist consciousness.")

The critics are said to attack the communes on the grounds that "since the Soviet Union failed in agricultural communes we should not repeat the attempt." The communes were set up too early and too fast, they argue, and were "forced upon the people"; they are a product of "petty-bourgeois fanaticism"; they are misnomers in any case since following overhauls and reorganization in recent months, they now are not much different from the cooperative farms from which they were created.

As for the community dining halls — which their supporters defend as having liberated the peasant women from household drudgery — the critics are said to have scored them as "set up in a rush and under high-handed orders," as destructive of family life, and as taking up too much labor and depressing the living standards of the peasantry.

On the mass campaign to make steel, the proponents of the drive assert that it has

taught tens of millions of people how to make iron or steel, that even the poorest grade produced was useful for increasing the stock of farm tools and that the most productive enterprises have developed into going concerns adding to the country's total steel capacity. The opponents of the campaign are said to have criticized it on the grounds that it had caused "the skimping of agricultural work," was wasteful and costly, produced iron and steel of low quality, and caused dislocation in other branches of production thus hindering the development of these branches.

On the "great leap forward" as a whole, the proponents claim general successes due to the enthusiasm of the masses and say that its shortcomings are "just one finger out of ten." No, allegedly say the critics, the shortcomings are "several fingers or the thumb"; the leap has led to "darkness everywhere" and is "leftist adventurism."

On overall planning, the critics are said to have described the country's present capital construction policy as "blind and groundless" and to have charged that it caused disproportions in the economy and lowered living standards.

Trotsky at Brest-Litovsk — A Theme for Khrushchev?

By Carl Goodman

A curious reference to Trotsky's role in the Brest-Litovsk Treaty that ended the war between Germany and Russia was made by Khrushchev in a speech Oct. 31, the text of which has just been received here.

"Lenin set the task of concluding peace with Germany to give the young Soviet state an opportunity of peacefully building socialism," Khrushchev said. "Lenin and the party had to fight hard against Trotsky, who raised leftist objections at the time and put forward his notorious slogan of 'Neither peace nor war,' thus playing into the hands of the German imperialists."

The purpose of the reference remains obscure. Some commentators think that it is an oblique way of hitting at M.10, who seems hesitant at trusting the Soviet premier in a "summit" conference that excludes a representative of China. However that may be, the reference itself involves a falsification.

Actually, as Trotsky relates in his book about Lenin (recently republished in this country), the policy he advocated was a bridge over which the majority of the Bolshevik leaders — who did hold to an "ultra-leftist" viewpoint — crossed over to Lenin's more realistic position.

At first a majority of Bolshevik leaders had favored rejecting the German peace terms and waging a revolutionary war against German imperialism.

Lenin insisted that the young Soviet government, inheriting from Czarism a disintegrating army, was at the moment absolutely unable to continue the war. In this Trotsky agreed completely with Lenin.

Trotsky, however, believed that in order to help dispel the slanders that the Bolsheviks were agents of the Kaiser — a poisonous accusation which was then making headway among British, French and German workers and soldiers and retarding the growth of their revolutionary consciousness — the Soviets should declare the war with Germany at an end but reject the German peace terms. If German imperialism then renewed the war, Trotsky favored signing a treaty even if this meant submitting to even more onerous German terms.

Lenin fully sympathized with Trotsky's considerations, but opposed Trotsky's course as being too risky. He favored signing the German terms right away.

What should be noted in reviewing the disputes over Brest-Litovsk is that Lenin never advocated that the young Soviet state should sue for peace in order to gain the opportunity of "peacefully building socialism," as Khrushchev says.

If Lenin believed, at the beginning of 1918, that the safeguarding of the Russian Revolution was the most important task, this was in order to gain the opportunity to aid revolutions in other lands — especially in Germany — during the ensuing months. That was how he and all other Bolshevik leaders posed the question.

It was only in 1924, when the bureaucracy, headed by Stalin, had usurped power in the Communist party and in the Soviet state that the switch was made from Lenin's international outlook to building "socialism in one country."

Then Bolshevik history began to be falsified, revolutionary traditions scrapped and a special legend about Trotskyism invented. Khrushchev, despite his exposure of some of Stalin's frame-ups, remains tied to the Stalinist school of falsification, as well as to the narrow nationalist outlook of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

... Fund

(Continued from Page 1) ing some uneasiness about the short time left for us to complete our collections. Please be assured that we will complete our quota on time, although the 'on time' may press the finishing time pretty closely."

Joe Skivar, in Newark, reports that it will take pushing all the way to meet the deadline. "We haven't hit on any really successful method to garner a few of the shekels floating around in this capitalist world," he writes. "Most of us are working, but evidently that isn't enough." If I know Joe that's one of the things that helped make him a socialist . . . and determined to make that quota. Still it's not easy I'll admit.

From the Bay Area and Allentown come similar messages. They're concentrating hard on completing their quotas on time; they have high hopes of making it, but no one is signing any predated checks.

The two big question marks in my mind are New York and Los Angeles. These two cities have the responsibility of raising more than half of the outstanding balance in this coming week. If they make it, we're in. If they don't . . . ?

Here, too, if efforts were the only gauge, we could say right now it's in the bag. New York Director Howard Grabel is bearing down hard for final payments on pledges, but the most I've been able to get out of him in the way of a statement is one of those cryptic observations like you hear in Westerns: "It's nip and tuck."

Los Angeles sent in a good-sized check along with a note that said: "It was a bit of an upturn this week — but not enough with one week to go. We'll know in a few days if a big last-minute drive will have to be launched."

So that's the picture. Will we make it, or will we not? Like the heroine in the Perils of Pauline, our fund campaign is dangling from a cliff edge in mid-air awaiting the hero on his horse and the audience is left in suspense. Next week, last chapter.

BOOKS

A Not So Expert Book on Labor

A HISTORY OF AMERICAN LABOR, by Joseph G. Rayback. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1959. 459 pp. \$6.

This book by the head of the Department of History, Pennsylvania State University, is not soggy with the midnight oil of academic scholarship, however much it may read that way. It is not a work of original research and independent investigation, which would have given it value, however dull the presentation. It is simply an eclectic compilation, rewrite and condensation from some of the classic works in the field, starting with the University of Wisconsin's 1918 study by John R. Commons and associates, "The History of Labor in the United States."

The closer the narrative comes to modern times, the more factually distorted, inaccurate and tendentious it becomes. Indeed, more space is devoted to the early beginnings of labor from colonial days to the Civil War than to the period of the great maturing and flowering of the mass labor movement since 1929. The rise of the CIO — the most significant and far-reaching development of twentieth-century America — is skipped through without any true appreciation of the historic magnitude of the events the author sketchily outlines.

While the author attempts to explain in his labor review the role of the radical and socialist political tendencies, he is out of his depth in this field. His reference at one point to the program of Marx indicates he has not done any serious direct study of Marx's actual writings.

Rayback can note carefully that there were five people killed in the Boston Massacre of 1770; that there were 10 killed and 50 injured in the Haymarket Massacre of 1886; but omits to tell us the casualty score in the Memorial Day Massacre of 1937 at the Republic Steel plant in Chicago. At that time, under Roosevelt's "New Deal," the police of Democratic "New Dealer" Mayor Kelly, murdered 10 unarmed workers, wounded 40 others with gunshots and injured 101 others, including an eight-year-old boy, with clubs and gun butts.

Rayback paints Roosevelt and the New Deal in the best light possible. Thus, he claims that Roosevelt's statement during the Little Steel Strike of 1937, "a plague of both your houses" was said "in a moment of exasperation." Roosevelt's statement was "clarified," however, by what the daily press called a White House "spokesman," who explained that Roosevelt meant a "plague" on "both" those who would not negotiate and those who were practicing violence — the latter meaning the unarmed workers who were being shot and clubbed to death!

Costly Victory!

Rayback's references to John L. Lewis, the founder of the CIO and leader of the United Mine Workers, are particularly invidious. Writing of the great wartime mine strikes in 1943, Rayback claims, "As with other Lewis victories, labor paid a penalty." Of the first 1946 mine strike, Rayback asserts: "His [Lewis's] action was to prove costly to labor." This refers, of course, to the anti-labor legislation passed in 1947.

The anti-labor drive in 1946 came after a wave of strikes involving more than five million workers — with almost two million CIO workers out at one time in February 1946. Lewis's leadership of the mine strikes was all to his credit and the failure of the pro-Democratic labor leaders to lead an independent class political struggle is the real reason why Congress has dared to saddle the workers with anti-union laws.

Plain errors of fact are too numerous to mention, I note just two or three. Rayback speaks of the United Mine Workers being readmitted into the AFL in 1943 and even gives us a long paragraph explaining why the AFL Executive Council was so eager to get the UMW back into the

AFL. The AFL overlords would not have touched the strike-bent miners and Lewis with a 10 times 10-foot pole in 1943. They attacked Lewis bitterly. It was not until January 1946 that the AFL leaders agreed to let Lewis back into the fold.

Rayback places the establishment of the United Automobile Workers in 1936. The UAW was chartered as an international union under that name by the AFL at a convention held in the Fort Shelby Hotel, Detroit, August 25-30, 1935. For some unfathomable reason the June 1956 issue of the United Automobile Worker, devoted to a history of the UAW, lists the second UAW convention, in 1936, as the founding convention and does not even mention the first convention. This may be the source of Rayback's error.

Rayback also writes of Reuther as "head of the U.A.W." in 1945. Reuther was not elected UAW president until March 1946, largely as the result of his progressive role in the 1945-46 General Motors strike.

In describing the expulsion of the International Longshoremen's Association from the AFL and the attempt of the AFL to set up a rival International Brotherhood of Longshoremen, Rayback says: "By 1955, the I.B.L. reported it had won over the majority of former I.L.A.

members." Rayback does not tell us that this report was false. The I.L.A. only recently has been readmitted into the merged AFL-CIO.

Misses Big Issues

Rayback does not enlighten us much on the great central internal conflict within the labor movement between the programs of class struggle and of class collaboration; or on the great correlative issues of union democracy versus bureaucracy, and independent class political action versus support of the capitalist two-party system. Rayback's sympathies, it is pretty clear, are with the program of the labor bureaucracy (always excluding, of course, the open thieves and supporters of Republicans).

I cannot conscientiously recommend this book for new students in the field, although it is apparently intended as a text book. Prof. Rayback is not only Penn State's History Department head but acting head of that University's new Department of Labor Education. For those who have some knowledge of the field and like to follow closely all books on the subject, A History of American Labor may be of use. But be careful what you cite from it without checking other sources.

—A. P.

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Healy's Letter to Fryer

By Joseph Hansen

The latest issue of the Newsletter, weekly journal of the Socialist Labor League, prints a rather long but remarkably interesting open letter from Gerry Healy to Peter Fryer, former editor of the British paper. It deals with a moving instance of the relation between the Marxist movement and an intellectual of unusual talent and promise who found himself suddenly plunged into a racking emotional crisis.

Peter Fryer, as is well known among English-speaking radicals, was the staff member of the London Daily Worker assigned to cover the Hungarian revolution in 1956 who became sickened by what he saw. He eventually left the Communist party, became the first editor of the Newsletter and joined the Trotskyists.

As editor, Peter Fryer's closest collaborator was Gerry Healy, an outstanding British Trotskyist leader, a man of decades of experience in trade-union struggles and party building.

On August 26, Gerry Healy came into the office and found a letter on his desk. It was from Peter Fryer. The heart of this deeply troubled document was the following paragraph: "I'm very much afraid that this job is beginning to have a bad effect on my health. I mean mental health — I wouldn't admit that to anyone else, but you ought to know where we stand. I have started to wake up in the night and worry about the job. In addition to that there is a rather alarming return of an old trouble I had in the first few months after Hungary: I have really appalling dreams about the dead people I saw at Magyarovar and about Rajk; in the latter I have either sentenced him to death or have myself been sentenced to death. Worst of all, I have noticed myself acting more and more irrationally, both here and at home. In short, the strain and responsibility, which I have always found distasteful, are telling on me."

One can imagine what worry was felt by Peter's comrades, for he had dropped completely out

of sight and they had no way of bringing him help.

Several months later, however, the sick editor began to write again. But now his voice had completely changed. He wrote a denunciation of Gerry Healy that appeared in a capitalist newspaper. The denunciation was not very original. It accused Healy of . . . Stalinist practices; namely, expelling a member of the Socialist Labor League for "holding heterodox views and communicating them to fellow-members . . ."

Healy's reply is a measure of the maturity of the British Trotskyist leadership and their objectivity. Not a word of anger or bitterness can be found in Gerry Healy's open letter to the comrade whom he had welcomed so warmly and in whom he had placed such confidence.

He recalls what led Peter Fryer to join the British Communist party — his search for the truth and his desire to help emancipate mankind. Then what caused him to leave — revolution over what he saw when Soviet troops under orders from the Stalinist bureaucracy suppressed the socialist struggle for freedom in Hungary.

Healy recalls the days of close collaboration when they worked together putting out the Newsletter, building the Socialist Labor League, writing its constitution. He refers with pride to the book Peter Fryer wrote, "The Battle for Socialism." Finally, he cites the simple dry facts that refute the charge about expelling a member in Stalinist fashion.

He ends with a warm appeal to Peter Fryer not to slip back to the position that sees in Stalinism simply a personal instead of a social phenomenon, a position in which he would now put a minus sign where once as a Communist party member he put a plus. And not to confuse the discipline of a genuine Marxist movement with Stalinist monolithism, as so many intellectuals nowadays do, upon emerging from the dark shadow cast by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Frankly, he tells Peter Fryer that "You are now in your most serious crisis." But it need not be fatal. No one is infallible. The history of the Marxist movement is dotted with cases of people who have "confronted serious personal and political crises . . . and . . . the best among them have overcome such crises."

The National Committee of the Socialist Labor League "has invited you to return to the organization and discuss your opinion within its ranks."

No matter what Peter Fryer's political course may be next, and we hope for the best, what he did for the Socialist Labor League before he experienced this emotional crisis will remain to his credit and to the credit of the British socialist movement.

Healy's open letter, in turn, will certainly, one thinks, be widely approved for the thoughtful appreciation it shows for one of the most precious assets of the socialist movement — its intellectuals; and, we must add, for its firmness in refusing to make any concessions when one of them slips.

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China's Reaction to the Tour

The reaction of the Communist parties throughout the world to President Eisenhower's eleven-nation trip falls into two sharply opposed categories.

On the one hand, the Italian and Indian Communist parties have welcomed Eisenhower's visit and expressed the opinion that he is contributing to the relaxation of world tensions. Most of the parties in the Soviet bloc have also made favorable comments on Eisenhower's tour. This follows Khrushchev's example of crediting Eisenhower with genuinely seeking peace.

On the other hand, the powerful Chinese Communist party has denounced the President as a salesman of "false peace."

The headline in the Dec. 4 Peking People's Daily, for example, declared: "Eisenhower acknowledges decline of U.S. influence; aim of his overseas visits is to sell sham 'peace' goods."

When Eisenhower visited Ankara, the People's Daily reminded its readers that "Turkey's war preparations are controlled and directed by the United States." And it published a razor-edged cartoon about the U.S. ballistic base in Turkey.

We believe that the Chinese CP leaders are quite correct in what they say about Eisenhower's "peace" moves, which do not represent any basic change in Wall Street's policy of preparing for a third world war.

While American diplomats pretend good will toward the Soviet Union, America's war preparations continue. The \$40-billion-a-year arms budget is not being reduced. On the heels of Khrushchev's and Eisenhower's Camp David talks last September, Washington concluded a pact with Turkey to erect an intermediate-range ballistic base aimed at Soviet targets. The government still adamantly refuses to extend diplomatic recognition to the People's Republic of China.

We also believe that the Chinese CP leaders are right in speaking up about the warlike foreign policy of American big

business and in not joining Khrushchev in creating treacherous illusions about Eisenhower's aims. By exposing Eisenhower's "peace" maneuvers as false, they are, in fact, performing a service in the struggle for genuine peace.

By demonstratively rejecting Khrushchev's policy of painting up Eisenhower as a partisan of peace, the Chinese Communist leaders are talking up to both the Kremlin and the White House.

They are saying to Eisenhower, in effect: "China has become a world power. It is high time to dump Chiang Kai-shek and to recognize the government put into office by the Chinese people in one of the biggest revolutions of our time. In the absence of recognition and an invitation to participate in summit conferences, we refuse to be bound by any deals, even those Khrushchev may make with you." This stand, it appears to us, is unassailable. American recognition of China is long past due.

To the Kremlin, Mao is saying in effect: "Khrushchev, we don't trust you to represent us at any summit conferences. So long as we do not have our own representatives there it looks like we're being sold down the river. We're not co-operating in any rotten 'peaceful coexistence' deal at the expense of China. You'd better put up a stiffer fight for American recognition of the Chinese People's Republic."

This, too, appears to us to be a reasonable position which every socialist should thoughtfully consider in examining the content of the alluring slogan of "peaceful coexistence" which Khrushchev and the Communist parties under his control are now pushing so assiduously.

The cry for peace is on everyone's lips today. But how can a single real step toward genuine peace be taken until China, representing one-fourth of humanity, is recognized as existing and her government brought into consultation?

Let's end the economic and diplomatic blockade of China! Let's listen to what the Chinese government is saying!

Sobolev Backs De Gaulle

"The Soviet delegation considers that the proposal of President De Gaulle can play an important role in the settlement of the Algerian problem, provided it does not remain a declaration, and provided it is bolstered by concrete measures which, while taking account of the legitimate right of the Algerian people to free and independent development will, at the same time, secure the accommodation of the mutual interests of the parties."

This declaration was made by Arkady Sobolev, head of the Soviet delegation to the United Nations on Dec. 3. Sobolev read his statement during the current UN debate on Algeria. In past debates on the question, the Soviet delegate denounced French imperialism and sided with the Algerian people in their struggle for national independence. But this year the Soviet representative not only certifies De Gaulle's patently fraudulent "self-determination" scheme as genuine, but seems alarmed that De Gaulle might overdo his magnanimity toward the Algerians and sacrifice French interests. Or do we misunderstand that part of Sobolev's statement which calls for De Gaulle not only to take into account the Algerian people's rights but to "secure the accommodation of the mutual interests of the parties" as well?

What Khrushchev means by "peaceful coexistence" stands out somewhat more glaringly in the light of his new Algerian policy. Khrushchev, like Stalin before him, is proposing a status quo deal to imperial-

ism through which the Soviet bureaucracy will help prop imperialist rule in the colonial world (and wherever else the masses challenge it) in exchange for a pledge by the capitalist countries of non-aggression against the USSR and of increased trade with the Soviet-bloc countries.

For their part, the imperialists are seriously inspecting Khrushchev's package. For instance, on Nov. 4, Joseph Harsch, special Washington correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor, revealed that as far back as the fall of 1956, U.S. Secretary of State Dulles began experimenting with "the doctrine of admitting Moscow to a responsible voice in Western councils, in the hope that [Moscow] might become more responsible in the exercise of responsibility."

In connection with De Gaulle's proposals on Algeria, Moscow's stand, first announced by Khrushchev in his foreign-policy speech Oct. 31 impressed Harsch "as the nearest thing yet to some evidence that the experiment may be working as the Washington planners . . . hoped it would." The Soviet leaders, he says, are behaving as though they "belonged consciously to a concert of great powers linked together in a common effort to maintain peace, stability and order in the world."

Sobolev's speech in the UN was designed, we believe, to strengthen the impression in Washington that Moscow is truly "responsible" in matters affecting imperialist interests.

"The Shame of New York"

On Oct. 31, the Nation published a special issue entitled "The Shame of New York" — an exposure of the city's "multi-billion-dollar rackets, its executive suite deals for power on the political, the business and the underworld levels." It was written by Fred J. Cook and Gene Gleason, a crack writer-reporter team on the New York World-Telegram. Cook had been commissioned before by the Nation to write special issues, including one last year on the FBI. He invited Gleason to collaborate with him on "The Shame of New York."

On Nov. 23, Gene Gleason "confessed," after long grilling at the District Attorney's office, that a charge of attempted bribery, which he had leveled against an unnamed city official was false. Public mention of the bribery incident was actually made by Cook and confirmed by Gleason on a Nov. 22 TV program. Gleason had told Cook about the bribery offer when it allegedly was made and Cook had told his city editor about it at the time. When Gleason admitted, after the broadcast,

that the incident did not occur, the World-Telegram fired both him and Cook.

The Nation, in a Dec. 5 editorial states: "There is no doubt that somewhere along the line Gleason told an untruth; but it is by no means clear whether the sudden and unexplained retraction is more to be believed than the original accusation." The Nation, however, emphatically declares that "Our confidence in Fred Cook is wholly unimpaired" and that "The facts set forth in 'The Shame of New York' remain to be challenged . . ."

It appears clear to us — as it did also to the National Guardian (see its Dec. 7 issue) — that Fred Cook and the Nation are the victims of a dirty move to discredit their indictment of New York rackets, politics and big business. The indictment thereby becomes all the more pertinent. We recommend that our readers obtain and circulate the Nation's special issue. They can do so by sending 50 cents to the Nation, 333 Sixth Ave., New York 14. Ten copies are \$4 and 50 copies \$7.50.



"Roll out a red carpet? Of all people, you'd think General Franco would have sense enough to choose a free-world color for the President's visit!"

Unionists Voice Militant Ideas At Australian Peace Congress

(The following is a condensation of an article that appeared in the December issue of the Socialist, published by L. Anet at 13 Bindea St., Jannali, Australia. — Editor.)

The holding of a Peace Congress in Melbourne Nov. 7-14 despite witch-hunting was a defeat for the Australian capitalist class and particularly for the leading representative of that class, Mr. R. G. Menzies.

The gathering, called the "Australian and New Zealand Congress for International Co-operation and Disarmament," was divided into eight conferences: Trade Union, Scientific, Artists and Writers, Citizens, Youth, Churchmen, Municipal and Educationalists.

Attendance was 1,081 of whom approximately 600 were delegates from various organizations and the balance were observers or individuals.

The most representative conference was the Trade-Union conference with 368 in attendance of whom 81 were observers and 287 were delegates from trade unions and jobs. Whilst full time trade-union officials were in a minority amongst delegates they dominated the trade-union conference.

The Youth conference, generally agreed to be the poorest organized, produced pious platitudes calling for universal disarmament under the United Nations and free co-operation between the world's peoples.

The Municipal conference expressed its concern with the federal defense vote of £200 million and its effect on local public works.

The Churchmen affirmed that all war is civil war and called for forgiveness of each nation, universal co-operation and world brotherhood.

The Educationalists called for improvements in national educational facilities and the international flow of ideas. One revealing incident was the carrying by 56 votes to 49 of a resolution calling for uniform world copyright laws against the vehement opposition of Communist party members.

The Citizens conference resembled the old-time "Peace" congresses. It was a hodge-podge agglomeration of 454 delegates who mostly agreed that Mr. Khrushchev had the answer in his disarmament proposals although some delegates did call for independent working-class action.

The conference reported a survey of 4,000 people showing a majority of six to one in favor of a total ban on nuclear weapons and stopping all nuclear tests immediately.

Among otherwise vague declarations was a proposal to organize a march to Canberra, specially seeking the support of the trade unions, to call for a ban on nuclear tests.

The Writers and Artists conference included persons who could be termed, at best, dilettantes. It was politically divided into a majority of Communist party supporters, a minority of other socialists and a small grouping not at all associated with the left.

It must be said that the Communist party majority virtually wrecked this conference by an apparently insane move to squish the "revisionists." Much of the discussion revolved around the admission of the Hungarian writer Tibor Meray to the conference and attempts by Communist party members to use procedural technicalities to prevent his speaking. Ten of the "revisionists" asked the conference to include a statement in the final resolution that some (unnamed) countries lacked artistic freedom.

The majority did not accept this addendum, and it was included in the final resolution as a minority opinion. The foolishness of the majority's stand was demonstrated by the fact that the minority opinion was endorsed not only by J. B. Priestley and his wife Jacquetta Hawkes, but also by the Indian Communist party member, Mulk Raj Anand.

The Scientists conference was a great disappointment. The 62 present included some of the cream of scientists in this country; unfortunately insufficient time was provided for discussion. They endorsed the 1958 Pugwash declaration and the 1959 Vienna declaration of 70 scientists from 19 nations.

The Trade Union conference was spread over six sessions. The theme was how trade unionists could work for peace. With the exception of several militant speeches, the conference did not come alive until the second evening when Mr. D. Rydstrand called for a 24-hour stoppage to celebrate as disarmament day the day after De Gaulle tests the French nuclear bomb in the Sahara.

He made the very important point that the proposed Charter of Hope would be a Charter of No Hope unless it had some constructive proposals for militant union action.

This short speech received the greatest applause of the evening and the proposal was enthusiastically endorsed by several supporting speakers.

The call for militant action was carried a step further the following day by Mr. A. Greenhalgh from Cockatoo dock. He asked, "How many workers work on war jobs? How many of us are lending our muscles to the cause of war? Let us take steps now to progressively withdraw our labor from war plants."

The same point was taken further by Mr. E. McCormick, a Melbourne wharfie, in the finest speech of the conference. He cited the example of Japanese dock workers who had refused to unload war heads, and how when those war heads were finally unloaded they had lain in a warehouse for 18 months because Japanese workers had refused to touch them.

Delegate McCormick wanted all equipment and weapons for Woomera similarly declared scab by the Australian trade-union movement.

However, militant speeches were in a minority and the final trade-union resolution made no reference to independent working-class action. In the name of "unity" the militant demands were left out and an appeal was made for "complete and general world disarmament with suitable and related control measures."

AGAINST THE TREND

An executive of the Olivetti typewriter company of Italy has been elected president of the Underwood typewriter company in this country. Olivetti is reported to have gained control of Underwood's common stock.

Ceylon Government Resigns as Crisis Hits Ruling Party

The governmental crisis in Ceylon deepened considerably last week. As a result Prime Minister Dahanayake dissolved the Ceylonese parliament Dec. 5 and scheduled a new election for March 19.

Dahanayake's move was precipitated by growing criticism from all sides and dissension within the ruling Sri Lanka Freedom party. Dahanayake had headed Ceylon's "caretaker" cabinet since the assassination of Prime Minister S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike.

Among the opposition, the Lanka Sama Samaja (Trotskyist) party has gained in the last two months, the New York Times notes, "for leading the agitation for a fair inquiry into Mr. Bandaranaike's assassination . . ."

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The New Shanghai Amazes Traveler

An interesting report on changes in Shanghai appeared in the Dec. 5 Christian Science Monitor. A former resident, who lived in the city for many years, returned during the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Chinese Revolution. He was "amazed" at what he saw.

Shanghai had "grown greatly, with long rows of two- and three-story houses being built at a rapid rate. For there is still a housing problem, with seven or eight people living in one room. Industry, too, has expanded and every piece of spare ground in the city and suburbs is now occupied by factories, large or small.

"People in industry are treated well . . . They have especially built social centers, free medical treatment, and six months' sick leave on full pay. Workers are encouraged to play sports—with equipment which their factory supplies."

The American Way of Life

The Late Late Show

You think the exposure of rigged quiz shows, payola, kickbacks, dubbing in of canned laughter after soggy gags have about exhausted the field for TV investigations? In that case you not only have tired blood but tired brain cells. Do you realize that TV is putting on countless hours of the most blatant subversive propaganda?

I'm referring to the movies. I have long been personally monitoring the Late Show and Late Late Show. But some patriotic housewives of my acquaintance tell me that things are just as subversive on the Early Show and Afternoon Show.

And before his physical and mental collapse, a colleague in Philadelphia, where they run old movies from midnight till dawn, gave me the most horrendous accounts of TV propaganda there.

The sinister forces behind this conspiracy to brainwash America try to disguise their programs by showing a certain number of Westerns and musicals, but the bulk of the shows are war and spy movies.

The war is between good nationalities and bad nationalities, and the spying, naturally, is done by agents of the bad ones. No patriot can object to that, of course. Where the sinister part comes in is that the Russians and Chinese are always shown as good people, almost as good as us. (Americans, of course, are the goodest of the good people.)

On the other hand, our free-world allies, members of NATO and SEATO, the Germans and Japanese, are invariably portrayed as villains.

The atheistic, communistic Russians come into your living room as strong, determined, good-natured people. Defeatism about our chances of winning World War III is spread by such lines as "These Russians can never be conquered."

Germans (not just Hitler's clique, but all Germans) are depicted as perfect s.o.b.'s. They look mean. They talk in harsh, guttural, animal-like sounds. They kick dogs and hit children. Their women have no sex appeal and make one fancy he smells sauerkraut.

This is the fare being dished out to Americans at a time when our government and newspapers are trying to inculcate feelings

of friendship towards our allies in Bonn!

Our good, strong allies of today, the Japanese, are shown as bloodthirsty beasts and torturers. They appear physically and morally repulsive. Statements are made such as "The only good Jap is a dead Jap."

The Chinese, who, as we know from the news broadcast which may have just preceded the movie, are bad people, are shown as fine fellows. They are physically attractive, kindly, hard working, love children, and always win out in the end.

You can see the effects of that diet. All the good influence exerted earlier in the day by newspapers, schools, pulpits, news broadcasts, even a televised speech by Eisenhower, is completely undone by the Late Show and the Late Late Show.

Hollywood Not to Blame

The apathy about the red menace thus sown is absolutely unnecessary. Hollywood is now making pictures truly representing the world as it is. Good nationalities are shown as good and bad ones in all their repulsiveness. The good ones belong to NATO and SEATO, as any fool knows.

Why doesn't the TV industry show these modern movies, thus strengthening the defense effort by showing the moral superiority of our new free-world allies over our new foes? Why do the TV tycoons doggedly persist in showing old movies which have the moral qualities of nations 100% reversed?

Is everyone asleep? Am I the only one alert to the danger? Wake Up America and Take a Look at the Late Late Show!

—G. L.

DEMOCRATIC TAXATION

U.S. corporations had total sales and receipts of \$685 billion in 1958 and paid income taxes of just over \$20 billion—about 3% of the total. A worker with two dependents who earns \$3,000 a year will pay about \$240 in income taxes, about 8% of the total.

Headlines in Other Lands

Ceylon Government Resigns as Crisis Hits Ruling Party

The governmental crisis in Ceylon deepened considerably last week. As a result Prime Minister Dahanayake dissolved the Ceylonese parliament Dec. 5 and scheduled a new election for March 19.

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State Dept. Blocks Cuba from Buying British Jet Planes

Striking confirmation of the truth of Castro's charges that the U.S. government is intervening in Cuba's domestic affairs appeared in the news last week when the British Foreign Office refused to exchange 17 propeller-driven planes, sold to Batista last year, for an equal number of jets.

The State Department informed the British Embassy Oct. 16 that it objected to sale of the jets to Cuba. "It is no secret," the British were told, "that the United States does not like and is unhappy about the arms shipments to the Caribbean area."

Castro assured Britain that Cuba wanted the jets for defensive purposes only. And it was known in London, according to Lawrence Fellows of the New York Times, "that the Foreign Office had favored selling the jets to Cuba, contending that the fighters would modernize the Cuban Air Force but not enlarge it."

When the final decision was announced Dec. 2, Viscount Alexander, Labor party leader in the House of Lords, asked Lord Lansdown, Foreign Office Under-Secretary, whether the decision was made "after special representations by Washington."

Lansdown replied: "We acted independently of the United States, but reached a decision which they also share."

Meanwhile Dr. Antonio Nunez Jimenez, director of Cuba's Agrarian Reform Institute, announced that he had obtained \$100 million worth of credits from France, the Netherlands and Germany. But he said that he found European countries were under the same kind of coercion that prevented Britain from selling jets to Cuba.

"There is a great pressure on European countries by North American interests," said Nunez, "to prevent these credits from being granted to the Cuban revolutionary government."

Nunez said that the credits would be used to buy agricultural and industrial machinery and equipment to drain the Cienaga de Zapata, a vast swamp, to enable Cuba to grow the rice she needs.

"We therefore urge the Government of Canada to press, in the councils of the world, for an immediate and permanent end to the testing and production of nuclear weapons, and for measures to prevent the spread of such weapons to countries that do not have them . . ."

1952 Wasn't Taft's First Experience With 'Eastern' Rule

Editor: It might be added that Taft's defeat at the 1952 Republican convention by the "eastern financial interests," commented upon in the last issue of the Militant, was not his first experience of the kind.

Eastern business men and publishers, a veritable blitzkrieg of propaganda was mounted in his behalf all across the country. The importance of this force in the calculations of the Republican aspirants for the presidential nomination in 1960 is indicated by Joseph Alsop in his Dec. 6 column. Nixon, he says, has been "apprehensive, too, about the strong combination that fought Taft and backed President Eisenhower, forming again to fight Nixon and back Rockefeller... [but], the dangerous combination has also quite signally failed to form. The Eastern 'international press,' that Sen. Taft blamed so heavily for his defeat, is either silent on the subject, or positively pro-Nixon. The Eastern financial interests, also mentioned in Sen. Taft's famous memorandum, have not lined up behind Rockefeller either."

how the ruling oligarchy selects candidates for both the Republican and Democratic parties — sometimes years in advance, — let me recommend Ferdinand Lundberg's "America's 60 Families."

Suggests Christmas Fund for Victims Of the Witch-Hunt

Editor: Christmas is coming, and there are still a number of witch-hunt victims in prison. For instance Lloyd Barenblatt is serving a term for contempt of court for having invoked his rights before the House Un-American Activities Committee. Henry Winston, Robert Thompson and Gilbert Green are Smith Act victims still in prison. Morton Sobell is in Atlanta penitentiary, Hugh Bryson is in a West Coast prison, etc. It would be a good thing if the radical movement had a fund to send gifts to all of them and their families at Yule time.

The Real Miracle in Drugs

Schering used to be one of those notorious German drug manufacturers that operated strictly for profits and sneered at human welfare. Then came World War II. The United States government took over Schering and in 1952 sold it to a group of Americans who could be counted on to make the healing of the sick their primary concern. The purchasers were the well-known Wall Street philanthropists Merrill, Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Beane; Kidder, Peabody & Co. and Drexel & Co.

advance medicine, it tries to get these products and sell them at a profit" and "the consumer of today must contribute to the benefits which the future will bring, just as the Government expects the taxpayer to do."

Here is one example that came to light: Last year Schering bought a quantity of estradiol, a synthetic hormone compound, from a French drug firm. After bottling it, Schering's cost was 11.7 cents for a 60-tablet bottle. This was sold to druggists for \$8.40 — a mark-up of 7,097%. The suggested retail price was \$14 a bottle.

That's where the detail men come in. Last year, \$300 million was spent to promote the sale of prescription drugs and a battery of 20,000 detail men were gainfully employed convincing doctors that Brand X was just the one needed to put his patients on their feet.

Notes in the News

YES, VIRGINIA, THERE IS A SANTA — But not all bearded, fat, jolly, traditionally costumed Clauses are what they seem. At least not in Harlem. For four days Narcotics Squad Detective Edward Egan, looking like the real thing, handed out cookies, candy and toys. He bounced children on his knee and even went so far as to promise dolls and bikes. In a booming voice he led the youngsters in song. "Jingle Bells" was a signal to two detectives disguised as "idling laborers" that a suspected dope pusher was in the vicinity; "Rudolph the Red Nosed Reindeer" meant an "addict" was about to run. Arrests were made. In Harlem this year, little Virginia, who once asked a newspaper if there was really a Santa, might well be told, "Yes, there is, Virginia. Santa's a cop!"

scandals over rigged quiz shows! And while FCC is squirming over the quiz shows, it might be interested in also knowing that 48% polled would like "canned laughter and applause" eliminated from TV.

PREGNANCY A CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT — The American Civil Liberties Union has challenged in the State District Court of Appeal the right of Judge Michael J. Gatto of Pittsburgh, Calif., to jail two young unwed mothers for becoming pregnant again "without leave of the Justice Court."

"TRUE" CONFESSION — After four months in a New York City jail awaiting trial for a murder he never committed, a 17-year-old has been freed. A Kings County grand jury threw out the boy's "confession" because it was proved he was miles away from the scene of the crime. Then why did he confess? Eight detectives worked on him for eleven hours — until he said what they wanted him to say.

CAVEAT EMPTOR — The Federal Trade Commission is calling a conference Dec. 21-22 to explore ways of making the public an "educated buyer" — reversing the age-old maxim of "buyer beware" to "buyer be alert." So? In this day of the aminotriazol-contaminated cranberry, DDT'd lettuce, dextrosed "coffee," shady weights, rigged quizzes, can the "buyer be alert" — and still buy, that is? The FTC would do better to enforce a little "education" at the source, where "tricky advertising" and poisoned merchandising originate.

WHICH MILK ARE YOU DRINKING? — The government has suggested to the milk industry that it watch the residue of penicillin or pesticides in milk. A recent analysis of milk samples showed that only 3.7% were contaminated with residues of penicillin and only 2 1/2% with pesticides.

SMITH COLLEGE JOINS — Smith College, Northampton, Mass., has joined the schools demanding an end to the non-Communist affidavit required of students who apply for Federal loans. Five other colleges and universities refused from the beginning to accept loan funds because of the so-called "disclaimer," and eleven others, including Harvard and Yale universities, have now withdrawn from the program.

WANT TO MAKE A FAST BUCK? — Even if atomic energy is never used again for military purposes, disposing of radioactive wastes is a problem that will remain. Solution of the problem is pressing because with the development of atomic power plants, the waste accumulates at a dangerous rate. All attempts to reach international agreement on the solution of this problem have proved unsuccessful. But, one thing is for sure, scientists, especially oceanographers, are opposed to further dumping of atomic waste into the seas, warning that "it may destroy marine life to which man ultimately may want to look as a bigger source of food."

CAN THAT LAUGHTER — A recent Gallup survey showed that 66% of those polled would like to see TV under strict regulation. No more

SAFE BOTH WAYS — A Swedish cigarette maker puts out an all-tobacco filter-tip cigarette. The filter is for smokers who fear cancer from tobacco. A special wrapping made of powdered tobacco is for those who believe the paper causes cancer.



A New Example for Marx

"The textile industry, where the industrial revolution began, is quietly making big news with new industrial efficiency." That's the opening paragraph in an instructive "News Roundup" in the Dec. 4 Wall Street Journal. The editors of the big businessman's favorite paper are probably not students of Karl Marx, but they offer some striking facts confirming the laws of capitalist production which Karl Marx established.

loom wove about 170 threads ("picks") a minute. "Now the average is around 190. Some machines already in use handle 220. Others in production will handle 250." A 1950 broadcloth mill required 70 workers per shift. Automated machines are now described that require only 29. "And this may be just the beginning."

more than double that of 1958." What happened to the number of textile manufacturers beautifully illustrates one of the laws of capitalism worked out by Marx: "Many inefficient textile mills have simply faded from the scene. There were 9,242 individual textile plants in the country in 1952. Today there are only 8,470..."

... Labor

(Continued from Page 1) mand that Congress take action to provide relief for the unemployed. The conservative AFL-CIO tops were horrified at the idea. Yet, the pressure for action was so great, they were compelled to compromise and call an unemployment conference in the nation's capital.

Use Kennedy-Griffin Act In San Francisco Strike

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 5 — The first attempt to apply provisions of the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law has occurred in the small but important strike of the lithographers here. NLRB attorneys are seeking an injunction under the new anti-labor law to force the union to drop its traditional ban on struck work.

sent in from a plant where a strike is in progress. The government claims that this violates the so-called hot cargo clause of the new antilabor law.

... Easier to Talk Politics

(Continued from Page 1) when the capitalists started the cold war. The Soviets also have H-bombs and if they can hit the moon, their rockets can surely hit the USA. Knowing this, people realize that another war would mean a horrible slaughter in this country.

Local Directory

- BOSTON: Boston Labor Forum, 286 Huntington Ave., Room 200.
CHICAGO: Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9738.
CLEVELAND: Socialist Workers Party 10600 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818.
DETROIT: Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Temple 1-6135.
LOS ANGELES: Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-1953 or WE 5-9238.
MILWAUKEE: 150 East Juneau Ave.
MINNEAPOLIS: Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon to 8 P.M. daily except Sundays.
NEWARK: Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N.J.
NEW YORK CITY: Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852.
OAKLAND-BERKELEY: P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif.
PHILADELPHIA: Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 P.M., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820.
SAN FRANCISCO: The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Rm. 4. Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone PR 6-7286; if no answer, VA 4-2321.
SEATTLE: 1412-18th Avenue, EA 2-5554. Library, bookstore.
ST. LOUIS: For information phone MO 4-7194.

Police Brutality Under Spotlight In Minneapolis

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 1 — Local authorities have finally been prodded into taking some measures to curb widespread police brutality and violations of civil rights. Mayor Peterson, Police Chief Winslow and two representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union are slated to meet today to discuss plans for establishing a board of review to handle complaints against the cops.

O'Connor was released when the cops discovered they had the wrong man. Since then O'Connor's persistent requests for a public statement of exoneration have been ignored by the police and he has suffered difficulty in finding employment or establishing credit. He is now suing for wrongful arrest.

Twin Cities Busmen Gain Higher Wages

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 1 — A 22-day Twin Cities bus strike ended yesterday with a victory for the union. The new three-year agreement provides for wage increases of 17 cents an hour. Union work rules remain unchanged and some fringe benefits were won. However, the union dropped its demand that the contract retain the cost-of-living escalator clause.

Calendar Of Events

- NEW YORK: Xmas Eve Social at 116 University Place. Join the "staff" in a celebration of the holiday. Thurs. Dec. 24, from 3 p.m. Xmas buffet at 6 p.m. Contribution \$1.
NEW YORK: Celebrate New Year's Eve in a congenial and friendly atmosphere at 116 University Place. Dancing and refreshments. The date? Dec. 31, from 9 p.m. until the whistles blow. Contribution \$1.50.
"Send-Off" Reception For Bill Price: Join UI-SC friends and others wishing Bill well in his new job with the Committee for First Amendment Defendants. Lloyd Gough and his concertina, refreshments, a gourmet buffet served at 5:30 p.m., Sunday 4-7 p.m., Dec. 13, at the Weissmans, 325 East 17 St. \$2.50 at the door.

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