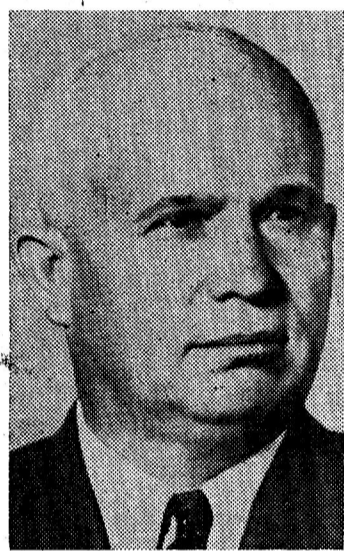


Herter Squirms Over Soviet Bid On Disarmament

By Joseph Hansen

Khrushchev's proposal that the entire world disarm completely, except for internal "security" forces, has placed the State Department in an embarrassing position.



KHRUSHCHEV

Herter found it expedient to avoid directly opposing Khrushchev's offer of joint disarmament. He called it, "propaganda," but he also felt forced to praise it as "an effort of mankind to reach the solution of one, at least, of the major problems of the world which is a great threat to the world itself."

In a press interview Sept. 22 Secretary of State Herter admitted that Khrushchev's suggestion that part of the savings resulting from disarmament go to the world's under-developed countries has aroused great interest in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Moreover, said Herter, the Soviet premier left an "important" question unanswered. How can peace be maintained among nations if some of them still insist "on going to war with each other, even with knives?"

Khrushchev made his proposal in a speech before the United Nations General Assembly Sept. 18. The Soviet spokesman eloquently described the danger of nuclear war and the burden of the armaments race.

"So much inflammable material has accumulated that a single spark would be enough to place everything on the verge of catastrophe," he said. "The world has reached a point where on the strength of no more than some ridiculous accident, such as a technical fault in a plane carrying a hydrogen bomb or

mental aberration in the pilot behind the controls, may translate war into reality."

The annual military expenditures of all states today, he continued, "total approximately \$100,000,000,000."

The number of people directly or indirectly connected with the production of arms and involved in various branches of military research reaches the staggering total of 100,000,000.

Khrushchev placed two main proposals on the table, total disarmament and — if that is unacceptable to the Western powers — partial disarmament.

Either is acceptable to the Soviet government but Khrushchev stressed total disarmament. This, he suggested, could be accomplished by stages within four years.

"This means," he said, "that land armies, navies and air forces shall cease to exist; that general staffs and war ministries shall be abolished; that military educational establishments shall be closed . . ."

"Military bases in foreign territories shall be abolished. All atomic and hydrogen bombs at

(Continued on Page 2)

U.S. Boosts de Gaulle's Phony Plan for Algeria

By George Lavan

On Sept. 16 de Gaulle made a speech announcing a plan for the "self-determination" of Algeria. As with other French "plans" for Algeria announced on the eve of the UN General Assembly session, the purpose is to prevent passage of an Arab-Asian sponsored resolution calling for UN efforts to settle the war in Algeria.

The new "plan" is phony both in form and content. Offered to the Algerian people "individually" it contains no offer to negotiate the plan or a cease-fire with the Algerian independence movement. Moreover, the three alternatives, which de Gaulle says the Algerians could vote on four years after the freedom fighters had surrendered to the French authorities, are all fraudulent.

First alternative is for Algeria to be integrated — i. e., to remain as it is now, a "part" of France proper. Obviously hatred of this status is what has kept the Algerians fighting for freedom for six years.

Second alternative would be "independence" plus the cutting up of the country by the French to keep any areas which did not vote for independence, or to carve out a French area in which to regroup non-independence voters geographically. Furthermore, France would retain control of Algeria's oil fields, pipelines and probably most of the other wealth of the country. No wonder de Gaulle describes this as an "incredible and disastrous" independence which would bring "appalling poverty."

Third alternative — the one favored by de Gaulle — is for an autonomous federation in Algeria under French auspices. Algeria would be cut up into states, forming a federation which would be largely power-

less because each state (particularly that set up for the French settlers) would have such strong "state's rights," that it could paralyze the federal government.

French imperialism's war against the Algerian people has been waged largely with U.S. arms (NATO) and money. The U.S. State Department has always fought against the UN passing resolutions on the Algerian war. Usually the U.S. delegation voted openly against the Arab-Asian sponsored resolution presented annually. Last year, however, the situation had become so scandalous that the U.S. delegates abstained from the vote.

This faltering infuriated the French imperialists and explains why de Gaulle has been so "difficult" for Washington to deal with. On Sept. 2-4 Eisenhower visited Paris and made a deal for the U.S. to give strong support to France in the coming UN debate on Algeria. The day after de Gaulle's speech, Eisenhower declared it "was completely in accord with our hopes to see proclaimed a just and liberal program for Algeria."

On Sept. 22 Secretary of State Herter speaking at a United Nations luncheon urged that the UN do nothing to hamper de Gaulle's "just and peaceful solution for Algeria."

Voice Labor Party Need At AFL-CIO Convention

Labor Dept. Harasses Teamsters

Moving in with the new anti-labor club shaped by Congress, Secretary of Labor Mitchell announced Sept. 18 that he had sent a telegram to Teamsters Union President James Hoffa instructing him to provide the names of any officers convicted of felonies and to report what action was being taken to remove such officials.

The Labor Secretary chose the national AFL-CIO convention for the announcement. He also said his department already had the wheels in motion for investigating other unions that Congressional hearings had indicated "are infiltrated with known Communists or felons."

However, he asserted, the new law would not be used to "witch hunt" honest unions. The convention received his remarks in icy silence.

The section of the new addition to the Taft-Hartley law which Mitchell has seized hold of so quickly was part of the original Kennedy bill passed by the Senate last spring.

After detailed study of the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin bill that finally became law, labor attorneys have arrived at the conclusion that it gives the government even greater power of intervention in union affairs than they originally feared.

PROBING POWERS

Under the new statute, the Secretary of Labor will have much the same power as the free-wheeling Congressional investigating committees and perhaps more so. The Department of Labor becomes converted into a Department for the Harassment of Labor.

The Secretary of Labor now has the authority to summon union officials for grilling who he believes have violated the anti-labor law, may be about to violate it, or may simply know about a violation.

Further, under a recent Supreme Court curb on the right to invoke the Fifth Amendment against possible self-incrimination, he may be able to force those summoned to testify by offering "immunity" from prosecution.

The new law prohibits any person who has been convicted of any one of a series of felonies within the past five years from holding union office. It also bars such office to anyone held to have belonged to the Communist Party during the previous five years.

By Paul Abbott

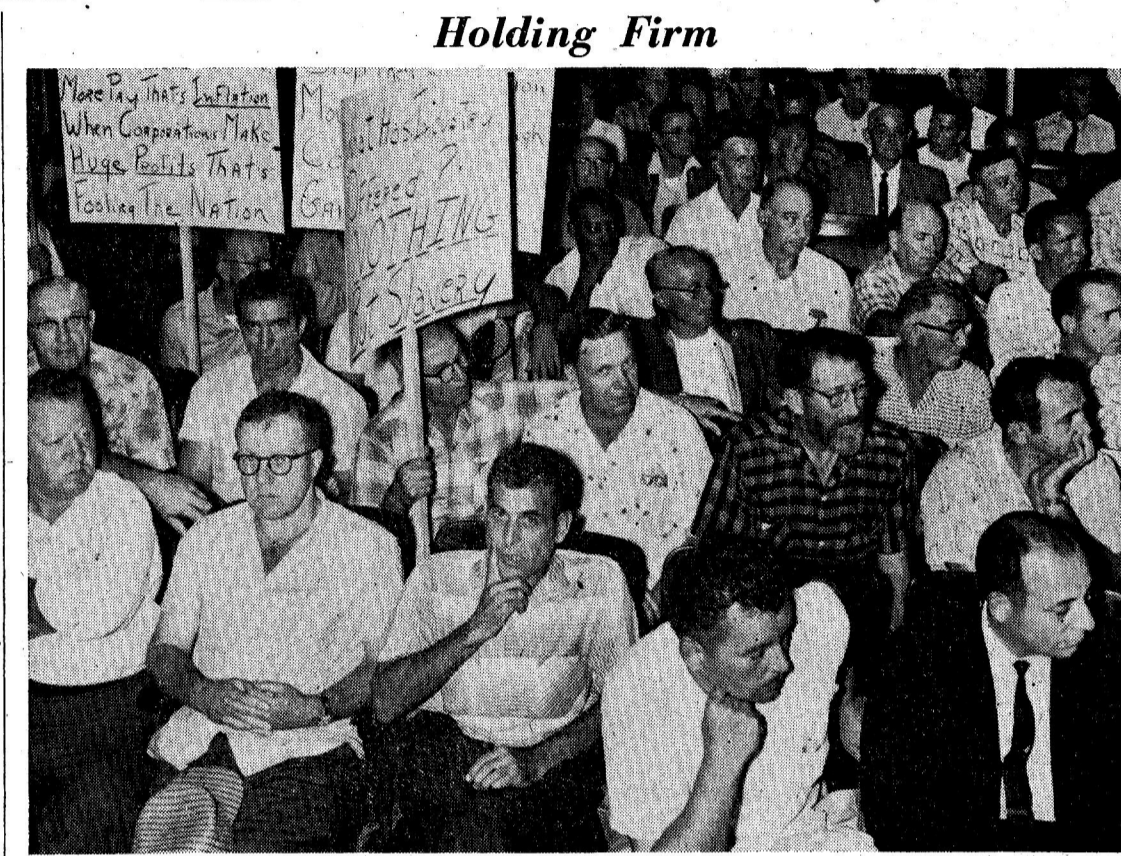
The bureaucrats heading the AFL-CIO appear to be disturbed at the prospect of a thaw in the cold war.

Meany refused to meet with Khrushchev, saying he "wouldn't be caught dead" in the same room as the head of the Soviet government.

Reuther and a few other officials arranged a dinner with the visiting premier at which they sought to provoke their guest by their blatant espousal of American cold-war policy and cold-war arguments.

On Sept. 21, the day after Reuther's display, the AFL-CIO convention unanimously adopted a resolution condemning Khrushchev as "more truculent and demanding in his aggression than Stalin" and warning about the "ominous development" of Kremlin policy on Berlin and German reunification.

In a press interview following the dinner, Reuther pictured Khrushchev as evasive, inflexible and overbearing. "As long as we talked about pious generalities we were in good company; but when we talked about hard ugly facts we got



Steel workers gather at a Pittsburgh rally in the eighth week of their strike. Financial aid is coming in from other unions. Several internationals pledged nearly \$3-million at the AFL-CIO convention in San Francisco and a unanimous resolution called on all unionists to contribute an hour's pay monthly to "sustain and support" the strikers. The goal is \$25-million a month.

U.S. Pressures United Nations To Bar Seat for Chinese Govt.

On Sept. 22 by a vote of 44 to 29, with 9 abstentions, the General Assembly barred the People's Republic of China from membership in the United Nations for another year.

The action was taken under pressure from the United States, which dominates the organization.

India initiated the debate to consider the question. Krishna Menon, Indian defense minister, argued that "We cannot just wish away a nation, big or small. We have to recognize the facts as they are."

To this reasonable position, Walter S. Robertson, the U.S. delegate, alleged that the Mao regime "has kept itself in power by bloody purges and by the liquidation of some 18,000,000 mainland Chinese in nine years." He also accused the Chinese government of promoting "six foreign or civil wars — Korea, Tibet, Indochina, the Philippines, Malaya and Laos."

The flimsiness of this argument can be judged from the fact that the U.S. backed membership in the United Nations for fascist dictator Franco, who has kept himself in power by bloody purges and the suppression of the Spanish working

Holding Firm



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class for more than 20 years. The U.S. also defends membership for Chiang Kai-shek, whose regime was even bloodier than that of Franco.

In addition, when it comes to recognizing new regimes in the Western Hemisphere, the State Department asks only if it really exercises power.

The Soviet delegation argued strenuously for giving the seat now held by dictator Chiang to the new government put into power by the Chinese people in their 1946-49 Revolution. Kuznetsov, in replying to Robertson, said that the rump regime of Chiang was "a decomposed political corpse which only continues to exist because of the support of the United Nations as soon as possible."

What motivates the attitude of the U.S. government — and this has been true under both Democrats and Republicans — is a stubborn refusal to acknowledge the overturn of property relations in China. By keeping its eyes closed, Washington seems to hope that by some magic the facts will go away.

Wall Street considered China one of the great prizes in World War II. The elbowing out of Japanese imperialism and the opening up of China as a vast new source of cheap labor, cheap raw materials and profitable investments was one of the main reasons for provoking Japan into the attack on Pearl Harbor.

The Chinese people had different ideas about their country. They saw nothing to gain from handing over their resources, to exploitation by American imperialism. They learned this in some two decades of bitter experience under Wall Street's agent Chiang Kai-shek.

They exercised their will in deciding what kind of government they wanted in the most decisive way possible — revolution. Americans who recall the revolutionary history of their own country cannot help but feel sympathy for the desire of the Chinese people to determine their own fate. This sympathy helps account for the growing opinion that it is high time to recognize the new government.

An increasing number of businessmen also favor recognition. They fail to see the profit in maintaining a Chinese wall on the Pacific Coast that blocks trade and cultural relations with the world's most populous country.

When we do it, you charge it's capitalist imperialism. Why can't we do it together? Through the UN? Do it together for our separate advantage? "We don't agree," said Khrushchev.

"Why not?" asked Reuther. "America has now surrounded us with military bases, alliances such as NATO and SEATO, and by these means the United States wants to obtain world domination. In the United Nations we are always outvoted. Thus it would be up to the United States to decide how the money would be used."

Quill Questions Policy Of Refusing to Challenge Big Business Politicians

By Tom Kerry

For the first time in many years, prominent voices are being heard in labor circles calling upon the unions to abandon the policy of supporting candidates of the two capitalist parties in favor of independent working class political action.

The recent national convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters adopted a resolution calling upon the AFL-CIO "to explore the question of the possibility of labor establishing an American Labor Party which could express with fidelity, integrity and intelligence the interests and aspirations of American workers."

A special editorial in the September issue of The Butcher Workman, organ of the AFL-CIO Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, asserts: "That there now is an absolute necessity for the formation of a farmer-labor coalition geared to the needs of millions in production and agriculture . . . Such would end the sickening practice of labor leaders following on the coat tails of double-crossing politicians."

At the just-concluded AFL-CIO convention a resolution calling for the formation of a "third party" was introduced by R. Soderstrom from the Illinois Federation of Labor.

DO IT NOW

In the course of the debate on political action at the convention, Michael J. Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union, told the delegates that sooner or later the labor movement would be compelled to launch an independent labor party and they might just as well do it now. He urged creation of a labor party "independent of the fakers who tried to cut our throats in the last Congress."

While as yet of a timid, probing and tentative character, this groundswell of sentiment for a fundamental change in labor's political course, reflects the deep-rooted discontent of the ranks with the bankrupt policy of keeping the unions tied to the two-party system.

Judging by the political resolution adopted by the AFL-CIO convention calling for the continued support of "friends of labor" the top union bureaucrats seem determined to carry their policy forward to the bitter end. Labor's political emancipation will be achieved only in struggle against the hide-bound union bureaucrats. The present groundswell is a harbinger of things to come.

But independence is undoubtedly the irrepressible issue in the labor movement today. At the recently concluded convention

Union Heads Seen Adjusting To Killer Law

By Art Sharon

SAN FRANCISCO, September 21 — The Third Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO now in session here reflects a mood and spirit far different from that of its founding and merger convention.

At that time the united labor movement projected major organizing drives and ambitious political plans. The future looked bright with promise or at least pregnant with possibilities.

Now four years later in the midst of the longest steel strike in history and on the heels of a shattering legislative defeat in Congress, this assemblage doesn't look so good and sounds even worse.

Despite militant rhetoric, the high brass of the AFL-CIO seem to follow the dictum: "When in confusion, when in doubt, flap your wings and run around."

CLING TO OLD POLICY

One is hard put to find a parallel in all labor history to this picture of the top leaders of 14 million organized workers complaining bitterly that they were betrayed, robbed and humiliated by their friends in Congress.

And it is astonishing how in the depth of their bitterness they still cling so firmly to the same class-collaborationist policy that delivered them into the hands of their "betrayers" — the political agents of big business. No wonder that Democratic and Republican politicians alike hold them in such low esteem.

It is hard to predict how many more bitter experiences the top AFL-CIO leaders will force the labor movement to undergo before it turns to independent labor political action.

But independence is undoubtedly the irrepressible issue in the labor movement today. At the recently concluded convention

(Continued on Page 4)

Did Reuther Really Get the Best of Khrushchev?

nowhere. And that is the simple truth.

WHO GOT WORST OF IT

The Reuther delegation patted itself on the back, naturally, as having got the best of their guest: "He certainly thinks we gave him a very bad time."

The press cooperated by picturing the three-hour exchange as "an angry, table-pounding meeting" at which Khrushchev "exploded on five out of 10 issues raised by the union representatives."

The summary of the "dinner debate" published by the New York Times indicates that the Soviet bureaucrat had little difficulty in finding sufficient flaws in the position of his American counterparts to keep the score more even than most of the accounts would have us believe.

This was not too difficult since the AFL-CIO statesmen appeared to consider the occasion unique in the opportunity it offered to demonstrate how much more adroit they are at defending American capitalism than the National Association of Manufacturers and

the United States Chamber of Commerce.

The exchange over "disarmament" was typical. Carey of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, argued that the money spent for armaments by the Soviet Union and the United States could be better used in helping poverty-stricken areas of the world.

He questioned the sincerity of Khrushchev's disarmament proposal at the UN General Assembly and Reuther followed up by lauding the U.S. proposal: "Our proposal would create the better climate in which disarmament could be carried forward, faster and more effectively."

Khrushchev answered: "I am not familiar with your program so at this moment I cannot comment on it. But we are not waiting for disarmament to render this economic aid to needy nations."

Adzhubei, editor of Izvestia, listed some of the Soviet aid projects, to which Reuther responded: "I am familiar with the steel plant in India and other enterprises. When you do it, it's part of the 'cold war,'

When we do it, you charge it's capitalist imperialism. Why can't we do it together? Through the UN? Do it together for our separate advantage?"

"We don't agree," said Khrushchev.

"Why not?" asked Reuther. "America has now surrounded us with military bases, alliances such as NATO and SEATO, and by these means the United States wants to obtain world domination. In the United Nations we are always outvoted. Thus it would be up to the United States to decide how the money would be used."

Reuther sought to meet this factual statement by proposing a "commission" with "equal representation."

Khrushchev agreed to the idea. "That would already be progress, but it won't be accepted."

"Why not expose the two positions to public air?" asked Reuther. "That's what we do with unreasonable employers."

"So long as we are surrounded by U.S. bases, we can have no agreement on this."

Reuther sought to press his point about working together

"to fight poverty." "But we do take part in these programs," protested Khrushchev.

"You do it unilaterally," said Reuther, "and that's the basis for the charge that you are penetrating economically and subverting politically."

"When the U.S. sends arms and creates bases," replied Khrushchev, "what kind of penetration is that?"

NEEDLES REUTHER

A few moments later, Khrushchev gave Reuther the needle again: "The United States exploits the wealth of other countries, under-developed countries, for profits. England and France do the same. They exploit the wealth of countries that need aid. We do not exploit any country — we only engage in trade."

Reuther tried to punch at a Soviet weak spot: "You exploit the workers of East Germany."

Khrushchev brushed off this sally. "Where did you dream that up?"

"If you don't exploit them why should 3,000,000 of them cross the border into West Germany?"

(Continued on Page 2)

Income Differentials in USSR

By Bert Deck

The non-capitalist economy of the Soviet Union has wrought dramatic increases in production and that significant gains in Soviet living standards have resulted is no longer seriously doubted in the United States. The recent series of articles in the New York Times by Harrison Salisbury is but the latest detailed report of Soviet achievements.

But how equitably is the increased production being distributed? What has happened to the vast differences in income introduced by Stalin, whereby an economically privileged caste was lifted above the Soviet working class? Do the gross inequalities continue under Khrushchev?

By talking to various individuals throughout the Soviet Union and taking available statistics Edmund K. Faltermayer, a Wall Street Journal staff reporter, has been able to portray the spread in Soviet incomes. He finds a ratio from highest to lowest of as much as 100 to 1.

In U.S. currency the minimum wage in the Soviet Union is now \$27 a month (at the tourist rate of exchange of ten rubles for one dollar). It will rise to \$50 a month according to the target figures of the seven-year plan. However, Faltermayer found that the average factory worker makes about \$80 a month while the collective farmer makes around \$400 a year.

Of course, these wages can only be properly assessed in relation to what they will buy. The Soviet worker for instance receives free medical care. "Rents are cheap in the extreme," writes Faltermayer. Konstantin Blinkov, a lathe operator pays only 80 cents a month for a three-room apartment including utilities. On the other hand he must work a week and a half to buy a pair of shoes.

At the other end of the social scale, according to Faltermayer, is the "tiny elite of 100 or so 'Ruble Millionaires' and top government officials." Anastas Mikoyan, First Deputy Premier, is one of the Soviet Union's richest

men. His son "Vanno" drives around Moscow in a convertible that costs more than lathe operator Blinkov makes in a whole year.

Mrs. Ekaterina Furtseva, one of the members of the Communist Party's top committee, the Presidium, has admitted to a monthly salary of \$1,800 plus fringe benefits totaling another \$1,260 a month.

The highest ranking scientist, Alexander Nesmayanov, earns around \$2,000 a month counting "fringe benefits." The ballerina Ulanova earns about \$700 a month plus heavy fees for individual performances. "The deputy director of the big Kharkov tractor plant, with 30,000 workers, gets \$400 a month, not counting bonuses, the use of an official limousine and other 'fringes.'"

Besides the monthly salary and bonuses, officials enjoy the "komandirovka" — known to union and corporate bureaucrats in this country as the expense account. A recent letter in Izvestia denounced officials who used the "komandirovka" as a swindle sheet, but "despite frequent crackdowns, abuses of this type are chronic."

"Members of Russia's elite," says Faltermayer, "are attempting to pass on the luxuries and privileges of their rank to their children. And with a top income tax rate of only 13% and an inheritance tax that goes no higher than 10%, they seem to have more than a fair chance of success."

Faltermayer recalls that during the 1920's until Stalin consolidated his power, "the Soviet state was a workers' state in fact as well as theory. Even the highest officials lived on modest incomes . . ."

The Soviet Union still is a workers' state, but one severely distorted by the rule of a bureaucratic caste, whose high incomes Faltermayer details. In their opposition to this caste, Soviet workers demand not only political freedom and higher living standards but a sharp reduction in the inequality of incomes.

The Key Question: What Policy in 1960?

By Murry Weiss

In the Sept. 20 issue of the Worker, William Albertson, Executive Secretary of the New York State Communist Party, gives a distorted account of the discussion on socialist policy that has been sponsored by the United Independent-Socialist Committee.

The UI-SC has organized a conference in New York City Sept. 26-27 to which it has invited all radical parties, groups and individuals who wish to present their views on this question.

So far the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party have accepted the invitation and will be accorded special time in the general debate.

In addition three members of the UI-SC administrative committee will present divergent views: John T. McManus, candidate for New York governor on the Independent-Socialist ticket in 1958; Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, candidate for lieutenant-governor on the same ticket; and Irving Bein, treasurer of the committee.

COPS AND ROBBERS
According to Albertson's version, which is heavily spiced with a sort of cops-and-robbers view of politics, the "bad guys" in the UI-SC — the "Trotskyite sectarians" — are insisting on an independent united socialist presidential ticket in 1960, while the "good guys" — the "non-Trotskyite socialists" — are in revolt against the line of the "Trotskyites," who "until recently, dominated the Independent-Socialist Party and later the UI-SC."

Like all cops-and-robbers stories, on TV or in the Worker, the element of reality is thin.

The groupings in the dispute over what policy independents and socialists should follow in 1960 do not coincide with their attitudes towards Trotskyism. But Albertson tries very hard to give the opposite impression.

He quotes McManus and Morris Goldin as opponents of a socialist ticket in 1960 — a representation that is not fully accurate. And he stresses that the SWP is for a united independent-socialist ticket and is even "insisting on it."

He conveniently ignores the position of members of the committee who favor a socialist ticket and who are also "non-Trotskyites."

Peking Warns Of U.S. Aims

Although welcoming the Khrushchev-Eisenhower exchange of visits as a step toward peace, the government of China warns that Washington has not abandoned its imperialist aims.

A statement by Premier Chou En-lai, Sept. 6, declared: "The Chinese people welcome the forthcoming exchange of visits between the heads of government of the Soviet Union and the United States, because it will contribute to the further relaxation of international tension and the safeguarding of world peace."

"However," Chou En-lai said, "we cannot but note that the imperialists are stepping up the tension in the Far East and sowing discord in the relations among the Asian and African countries. This calls for the sharp vigilance of the governments and peoples of all the Asian and African countries."

In a similar vein, People's Daily, organ of the Chinese Communist Party, declared Sept. 15 that the visits are a setback for American diplomatic policy but added that the U.S. "has not given up its basic policy of aggression and expansion nor has it ever adopted any essential steps necessary to relaxation of tensions."

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The Turn in the Communist International And the German Situation

BY LEON TROTSKY

Written in 1930, this pamphlet is one of several written by Trotsky warning about the menace of Hitlerism and proposing united working class action to fight it.

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Soviet Union to Adopt 40-Hour Week This Year

Factory and office workers in the Soviet Union will go on a shorter work week by 1960. Tass, official Soviet press agency, announced Sept. 19 that during the last quarter of 1959 a 40-hour week will be introduced — seven hours for five days and five hours on Saturday.

Up to now office and factory workers have been working an eight-hour day, 46-hour week. In 1958-59 steel workers went on a seven-hour day while miners went on a six-hour day. The seven-year plan, launched at the 21st Congress of the Communist Party last January, calls for a 35-hour week by 1966.

Dr. Rubinstein, for example, is a vigorous advocate of a united independent-socialist ticket in 1960. She believes that such a ticket should be launched even if it means running in only one state. (She adds that she is confident it could get on the ballot in a number of other states.)

Her point is that the political situation leaves socialists no alternative but to run their own candidates. She sees no supportable candidates among the Democrats and Republicans and she believes that socialists should therefore make the fullest use of the election opportunity to advance their own program, particularly on the need for labor and the Negro people to break away from the capitalist parties and form a labor party.

William A. Price, the executive-secretary of the UI-SC supports Dr. Rubinstein's position. So does Fred Mazelis, who is a leading member of the Young Socialist Alliance and a member of the UI-SC Administrative Committee.

Muriel McAvoy favors an independent ticket against the two major parties, although she fears that the forces are too few and too weak to make it practical.

Elinor Ferry is for an independent ticket and stresses the advantages it would have in carrying on the struggle against the cold war.

All these members of the UI-SC are unaffiliated with any of the existing radical parties, and disagree with the SWP on many issues. Moreover they agree with McManus and Goldin on a number of these questions. This is the true picture.

There is much disagreement among socialists as to what to do in 1960; there is much disagreement on basic principles involved in electoral policy. To construe all this as a division between Trotskyists and non-Trotskyists is quite a departure from the political reality.

With the air of an underground operator hot on the trail of subversive plotters, Albertson "exposes" the SWP's alleged real motives in advocating united socialist tickets. He cites the SWP's position on regroupment during the past few years, "proving" that the Trotskyists, in seeking to help unite socialists in a common party, favored united socialist electoral campaigns.

Ordinary radicals may wonder why such "proof" is needed. If socialists could unite on a common program in elections, wouldn't that help pave the way for a new unified party of socialism?

But it would also help break the CP's monopoly on radicalism. The extremes to which the Communist Party went in supporting the red-baiting, cold-war Democrat Harriman against the Independent-Socialist candidate McManus shows how nervous the CP leadership was in 1958 about the possibility of a new socialist organization emerging from the regroupment process.

For its part the SWP worked for regroupment by pressing for discussion of basic principles. Its view was that the foundation of a viable party is commonly-held principles that meet the test of reality.

The SWP also proposed common action on given issues where agreement could be reached. After thorough exploration of the possibilities during the past three years, the SWP leadership acknowledged at its recent convention that organizational fusion was not in prospect and that for the moment the relation of forces among the basic tendencies in the radical movement appears to be relatively fixed.

In line with this estimate, the convention reiterated its long-held view that the Communist Party, because of its subservience to the Soviet bureaucracy, is incapable of developing a revolutionary working-class leadership in America.

The convention said again that the Soviet bureaucracy's greatest crime against the world socialist movement is its continued imposition of opportunist policies.

"Until the Kremlin bureaucracy is overthrown by a workers' political revolution establishing socialist democracy in the Soviet bloc, the American CP will remain a rival against which the SWP must wage unremitting combat. . ."

This passage is quoted by Albertson. He asks rhetorically: "Can true friends of peace, security and socialism unite with Trotskyites whose basic aim is such 'unremitting combat'? Shall socialists unite with Trotskyites to help bring about counter-revolution in the socialist lands?" The distortions

involved in these "questions" are in the tradition of the crudest Stalinism.

First, the "basic aim" of the SWP is to help mobilize workers for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism.

The need for unremitting combat against the CP arises from the fact that, along with the labor bureaucracy, the CP leadership has repeatedly detailed these sections of the working class most ready for independent political action and revolutionary socialist struggle back to support of capitalist candidates and capitalist political machines.

Second, advocacy of a "workers' political revolution establishing socialist democracy in the Soviet bloc" is not the same as advocacy of "counter-revolution" for "workers' political revolution" is not in the tradition of reasoned argument; it is in the tradition of the infamous school that perpetrated the Moscow frame-up trials. . .

The SWP is proud of its position on the Soviet Union. It is proud of its unbroken record of struggle for the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack and its record of struggle against the Stalinist bureaucratic regime of mass murder.

It is the American CP that has some answering to do. Why did it cover up and lie about the Stalinist regime? And why in the struggle to fight the anti-Soviet capitalist rulers in the United States does it line up with cold-war capitalist politicians like Harriman against socialist-minded opponents of the cold war like McManus?

Finally, the issue at the conference and for the coming year is not whether all socialists should unite with the SWP or even agree with its views on the Communist Party and the Kremlin regime. The issue is: what should socialists do in the 1960 elections?

The SWP proposes to fight the capitalist parties and their

bipartisan cold-war program. The SWP proposes to urge the Negro people and the labor movement to break from the Democratic Party and organize a labor party. The SWP proposes an end to the demoralizing, self-defeating policy of "working within the Democratic Party."

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A CALL TO Independents and Socialists

to a

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE

on

1960 ELECTORAL POLICY

In June, 1958, a United Independent-Socialist Conference assembled in New York City to consider electoral intervention in the New York state elections in the conviction that the contending old political parties did not offer the alternatives of peace and fruitful social change.

An electoral effort for U.S. Senator, Governor and other statewide offices resulted which, though it failed to win collaboration from all existing socialist groupings, did receive significant rank and file support from various of these groupings, to the extent that the Independent-Socialist Senatorial candidate, Corliss Lamont, received more than 49,000 votes.

Now, in the Fall of 1959, the authors of the Independent-Socialist statewide political effort of 1958 renew the search for collaboration of independents and socialists on a common course for the vastly more important election year of 1960.

• Can independents and socialists of New York in consultation and in free and full interchange of views, approach a common course?
• Is it possible for independents and socialists to mount a presidential campaign in 1960?
• Can we intervene in Congressional contests in any areas in our state?
• Are there any other forms of electoral activity available to independents and socialists in 1960?
• How can independents and socialists best join efforts to thwart the renewed bi-partisan attacks on labor, and on civil rights and liberties?
• Can independents and socialists of all groupings combine efforts to further the new possibilities for peace implicit in the fast-changing world situation?

To discuss these and related questions, the United Independent-Socialist Committee has called an open Consultative Conference. We have invited the Communist Party, the Socialist Labor Party, the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist Workers Party to present their points of view on these issues at the opening session, Saturday morning, Sept. 26.

We invite all affiliated and non-affiliated socialists and independents to participate in the discussions.

Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 West 48th St., New York City
Saturday, Sept. 26 — 10 A.M. to 6 P.M.
Sunday, Sept. 27 — 11 A.M. to 4 P.M.

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Sign below. Enclose \$1.00 for registration. Please add a contribution, too, to help make the conference a success.

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I enclose _____ to help defray conference costs.

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ADDRESS _____

UNITED INDEPENDENT-SOCIALIST COMMITTEE
799 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y.

... Soviet Bid on Disarmament

(Continued from Page 1)

the disposal of states shall be destroyed and their further production terminated . . .

"Military rockets of all ranges shall be liquidated and rocket facilities shall remain only as a means of transportation and for the harnessing of outer space for the benefit of all mankind."

"At the disposal of states there should remain only strictly limited contingents of police, of militia, agreed upon for each country, armed with small arms and intended exclusively to maintain internal order and protect the personal security of the citizens."

On the "partial" disarmament plan, Khrushchev stressed the abandonment of all further testing of nuclear weapons. The principal further steps which he proposed are as follows:

"First, the creation of a zone of control and inspection with a reduction of foreign troops on the territories of the corresponding countries of Western Europe."

"Second, the creation of an atom-free zone in Central Europe."

"Third, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territories of European states and the liquidation of military bases from foreign territories."

"Fourth, the conclusion of a nonaggression pact between the member states of NATO and the states party to the Warsaw Treaty."

"Fifth, an agreement on the question of the prevention of surprise attack by one state upon another."

In making these proposals, Khrushchev was not bluffing or simply engaging in "propaganda." The Soviet Union is really capable of disarming.

Even the most bitter foes of the Soviet Union are prepared to acknowledge this. For example, Harry Schwartz, Russian expert of the New York Times, Wall Street's most authoritative newspaper, indicated this in an article Sept. 19. Schwartz listed major economic benefits which the Soviet Union's leaders expect "from any approach to complete disarmament, let alone realization of that goal."

"One is the release of consumers goods production; another is the increased pressure on the capitalist countries for trade with the Soviet bloc in order to sell surplus goods. Schwartz also sees them speculating on a depression with all its consequen-

ces which would follow a drop in government contracts for armaments."

Vice President Nixon estimated that armaments production currently ties up about one-fourth of all Soviet output. This figure graphically indicates the economic pressure in the Soviet Union for reduction of the armaments burden. The pressure is all the greater in the People's Republic of China and such countries as Poland, Czechoslovakia, etc.

The flaw in the proposal is the imperialist policy followed by all the Western powers. This is not something which the capitalist statesmen are free to take or to leave like whiskey on the rocks. It is as integral to their economic system as the drive for profits.

They can play around with disarmament proposals when it suits their purposes, as Hitler demonstrated when he set about rearming Germany; but they are incapable of actual disarmament.

Lenin explained all this long ago and Soviet officials never

failed to stress it in conducting the foreign policy of the workers state in the days before Stalin.

Lenin and Trotsky were dedicated advocates of a world free of armaments and free of the threat of war. But they saw it as realistically obtainable only through replacing the capitalist system with the rational, planned order of socialism.

They considered that disarmament proposals which leave out this fact of life can only help sow illusions in what can be expected from the capitalist system and its proponents. Such illusions serve to strengthen capitalism, to weaken the struggle for socialism, and thereby help pave the way for war.

Khrushchev's proposal underlines the fact that only a country that has surmounted capitalism can make a genuine offer to disarm. It helps encourage the mass desire for peace, which increasingly tends to take a socialist direction. But insofar as it sows illusions in Wall Street's capacity to actually disarm it hinders the real struggle for a world where war is impossible.

Advertisement

... Reuther vs. Khrushchev

(Continued from Page 1)

you open your mouth like that and represent the workers? Do you want a discussion, or is this a bazaar?"

(Curran had been presented to Khrushchev by Carey with the following recommendation: "He raises cattle and knows the importance of corn.")

CAPITALIST LACKEYS
When Reuther accused him of getting "angry," Khrushchev said: "And what we call what you represent — capitalist lackeys."

Of the group as a whole, he said: "The capitalists have certainly trained some very good cadres."

Reuther complained: "Wall Street says I am an agent of Moscow, and Moscow says I am an agent of Wall Street."

Towards the end, Khrushchev made an effort to soothe the ruffled feelings of his hosts: "Let us not aggravate our relations. . . Do you want to see a change in the social order of our country? No! We don't want to see a change in the social order of your country. I confess I myself have never been a trade-union functionary. But why shouldn't you gentlemen visit us. You won't become Communists."

Reuther refused to be placated. He threw a table of wage rates across the table to Khrushchev. "How can he say these people are wage slaves exploited by capitalism, making these kind of wages in America? How can he say that they have nothing to lose but their chains?"

"We say what we do in retaliation for what you say about us," explained the Russian bureaucrat. "Take, for example, Meany's speeches. I read most of them. They sound like Dulles — they sound like Dulles."

To which Reuther could only say, "We have our disagreements and we recall you had

some disagreement with Molotov. However, when we have disagreements, no one is exiled."

That's how Reuther gave it to the press. Murray Kempton of the New York Post implies that this version is not too dependable. "It is my understanding that at least one member of the Reuther delegation came out from the great confrontation blind drunk."

"Most of the quotations which Walter Reuther brought out of the meeting," Kempton continues, "are not now very live letters, having been dreadfully punished the morning after, when the CIO side of the debate sat down and tried to compose their notes and remember what had really been said."

Kempton even casts doubt on the references made by these "frazzled" relics of the old CIO about the unruliness of the meeting. "The phrase 'unruly' comes out of the union dodge. It refers to those occasions when some Commie gets up in the back and starts bellowing for the floor. And Reuther, of course, is the chairman. It is somewhat untidy, but Walter gets it under control. We can depend on Walter."

However, this contingent of America's labor czers did do their best to keep the cold war going in the style Wall Street has demanded of them the past 14 years. There is, therefore, genuine cause for Reuther's complaint about Wall Street's unfairness in calling him an agent of Moscow.

Advertisement

WON'T DETER WAR

Fear of the H-bomb will not prevent nations from waging war. At least this is what 68% of teen-agers polled by Gilbert Youth Research Co. believe.

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The Two Khrushchevs

Khrushchev seems to have succeeded in putting across the attractive image of a shrewd, bouncing, rough-and-tumble fighter; a working man, who made it to the top partly through luck but more through ability; a dictator all right but apparently genuinely interested in disarmament, peace and trade; a Communist, but one that gets you laughing before you have time to think. A real man of the people.

Khrushchev thus appears to have accomplished one of the objectives of his trip — to displace the unpleasant image of the Stalin to whose position he fell heir. The Soviet government is now seen by most Americans in terms of a human being with whom you can talk and argue and bargain — not like Stalin a sinister monster addicted to blood purges, frame-up trials and slave-labor camps.

Despite this, most commentators find Khrushchev something of a riddle. On the one hand he seems to be dedicated to the Soviet economic system. He boasts that it will "bury" capitalism. This has led some to consider him more "dangerous" than Stalin, whose burying involved not so much capitalism as the system established under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky.

On the other hand Khrushchev amazes them with his evident bourgeois characteristics. He seems most at home among the top American bankers and industrial tycoons. They in turn recognize in him one of their own kind. To them it is uncanny that this figure runs the Kremlin. By rights he ought to be running General Motors.

Yet when Reuther and some of his AFL-CIO cronies sought to engage Khrushchev in a debate in which they took the affirmative on "Resolved, capitalism is best and so is Wall Street's foreign policy," the Soviet premier took the communist side and denounced them

for what they are — "capitalist lackeys." However, on some of the issues such as lack of democracy in the Soviet Union, denial of the right to strike, suppression of the Hungarian workers revolution, and so on, Khrushchev could only bluster, evade answering, or shift the subject like an ordinary capitalist politician trying to cover up his party's crimes.

What is the key to understanding this two-sidedness? Khrushchev reflects the dual nature of the Soviet bureaucracy. This caste defends the planned economy as the source of its special privileges. To capitalists, who envisage destroying the planned economy, the bureaucracy and its representatives therefore appear to be communist in nature. The Soviet Communist Party leaders defend an economy that was established by a proletarian revolution under Bolshevik leadership, an economy whose very existence is a standing threat to the future of world capitalism.

But the caste is parasitic. It is primarily interested in its own special privileges. It is not willing to sacrifice these for the sake of the world-wide socialism of the future or for the sake of helping other countries take the road to socialism. It wants to be left alone to enjoy its privileges — call it "peaceful coexistence" or maintenance of the status quo. The caste constantly tends toward restoration of bourgeois property rights. This gives it the bourgeois complexion which Trotsky was the first to note, to analyze and to fight.

The caste, of course, is complex, ranging from those consciously bourgeois in outlook to some who share the aspiration of the Soviet workers for proletarian democracy. Khrushchev, however, as choice of a wide section of the bureaucracy, combines in himself the twofold character of the caste as a whole with singular obviousness.

How to Know Your Friends

The "speak-bitterness" exhibition being put on nationally and locally by AFL-CIO leaders reflects more than their own anger at their "betrayal" by the Democratic majorities in Congress. It is a reflection of the deep crisis of labor's whole political policy.

The indicated path — that of starting labor's own party — is too bold a step for the timid and myopic bureaucracy which dominates the union movement today. It will probably take an upsurge in the ranks comparable in spirit and scope to that which built the CIO — to create labor's own party, to organize the South and white-collar workers, and do all the other things which should be done.

Until union militants in greater numbers push for the creation of a labor party, the labor leaders will continue their bankrupt policy of "rewarding friends," i.e. the liberal Democrats.

What is the criterion for a friend of labor? What he promises before election day?

Wendell Phillips, the great abolitionist leader who threw his weight behind the post-civil war labor movement, gave some keen advice on this to a union audience back in 1872. Phillips said:

"If you want power in this country; if you want to make yourselves felt; if you do not want your children to wait long years before they have the bread on the table they ought to have, the leisure in their lives they ought to have; if you don't want to wait yourselves, write on your banner, so that every political trimmer can read it, so that every politician, no matter how short-sighted he may be, can read it, 'We never forget! If you launch the arrow of sarcasm at labor, we never forget; if there is a division in Congress and you throw your vote in the wrong scale, we never forget. You may go down on your knees, and say, 'I am sorry I did the act'; and we will say, 'It will avail you in heaven, but on this side of the grave never.'" So that a man, in taking up the Labor Question will know he is dealing with a hair-trigger pistol, and will say, 'I am to be true to justice and to man, otherwise I am a dead duck.'"

Applying this simple rule solely to the vote on the recently-passed anti-labor law would mean forever disqualifying for labor endorsement 95 out of 97 members of the present Senate and 352 out of 404 members of the present House of Representatives.

McClellan's Racket

It is incredible that the union leaders who are now bemoaning the "killer" anti-labor law passed by the 86th Congress did not bring to public attention the most obvious aspect of the Senate hearings which laid the basis for this latest union-busting legislation.

Who were these Senators who for two years were blackening the labor movement with charges of racketeering and cooked up the bill they claim was designed to defend the democratic rights of the union membership?

All we have to do is examine the chairman of the Senate's Labor Investigating Committee — Senator John L. McClellan, the Democrat from Arkansas, the state that has been given world-wide notoriety by Little Rock.

Any Senator from that state would automatically be suspect when it comes to talking about democratic rights in unions or anywhere else. But if any union leader were elected to office the way McClellan was elected to the U.S. Senate it would long since have become a national scandal.

The last time McClellan was actually elected was in 1948 when he received 216,402 votes. Only 11.1% of the population of Arkansas voted for him. In 1954 McClellan won the Democratic primaries and was unopposed in November, so no election was necessary. He was "re-elected" to the Senate with no vote cast.

What is true for McClellan holds

good for other Democratic politicians in Arkansas and throughout the South. His fellow-Senator from Arkansas, J. William Fulbright, was elected in the presidential year of 1956 by 331,689 votes — only 19% of the population. The total vote cast for U.S. Senator was 399,705 or 22.9% of the total population.

The infamous Orval Faubus was elected Governor of Arkansas in 1954 with only 208,121 votes — or 10.8% of the state's population.

Compared with elections in the North these figures are scandalous. Take New York. In the 1956 race for U.S. Senate, 44% of the total population voted. Jacob K. Javits received 3,710,753 votes or 23.5% of the vote while 20.5% went to the losing candidate, Robert F. Wagner.

Wagner received a higher percentage of the people's vote than Fulbright and almost twice the percentage of votes that McClellan polled in 1948.

The McClellans are kept in office only because they are permitted to trample on the Bill of Rights which they are sworn to uphold. They are not only racists but vicious labor baiters as well. They will do all in their power to keep Negroes from exercising their Constitutional rights to vote and, at the same time, they hope to use the "killer" labor law to prevent unionization of the workers in the South. Negroes with a vote and workers with a union spell doom to the McClellans.



"He beat us to the moon; but we sure scored on the can-can."

Lloyd Barenblatt Explains Why He Faces a 6-Month Jail Term

By Harry Ring

"The United States Vs. Barenblatt."

That's the coldly official title of a major test case in which the Supreme Court imposed a sweeping curb on the First Amendment and gave the House Un-American Activities Committee a new lease on life.

An interview last week with Lloyd Barenblatt, the man in the "case," dispelled some of the preconceived notions that come to mind when you think of a person who challenged the right of the House Un-American Activities Committee to exist.

A specialist in social and experimental psychology, Lloyd has taught at the University of Michigan and Vassar College in New York. A youthful-looking 36, he is soft-spoken, good-humored and modest to the point where the center of the stage obviously is not attractive to him.

RAISES BASIC ISSUE

He insists he's just "an average American who likes malds and movies." But in 1954 when a House Committee subpoena came to him at Vassar, he decided to fight back. He challenged the committee on the ground that its very existence violated the First Amendment.

"I felt the basis of the committee had to be challenged by some one," he said. "I was aware that at the time I was subpoenaed the Supreme Court had never reviewed the committee's abridgement of the First Amendment."

"I want to make it clear," he added, "I don't think there's anything wrong with the Fifth Amendment. Its use before the committee is an honorable one."



LOYD BARENBLATT

But it didn't afford a real test of the powers of the committee.

In 1955, Lloyd was declared guilty of contempt of Congress for his defiance of the committee and he began the process of appeal that led to the Supreme Court decision in June.

On the basis of the 1957 Watkins decision, there had been some hope that the high court might uphold him. In its opinion on Watkins, the court had declared the House Committee inquiries without legislative purpose — that the committee's aim was "exposure for exposure's sake."

But in the Barenblatt case, the court contended, in a five-four decision, that it had merely ruled that a witness must be clearly informed of the purpose of the investigation and the relevancy of questions asked. It conceded that the questions to Barenblatt infringed on his rights under the First Amendment but blandly asserted that such infringement was valid when balanced against the needs of "national security."

SETBACK FOR RIGHTS

The ruling was a sharp setback for civil liberties in general. For Lloyd Barenblatt it also means that unless the high court agrees to rehear his ap-

peal he will enter a federal penitentiary in November for six months, less time off for good behavior. The punishment also includes a \$250 fine.

The interview with Lloyd made clear that the decision to stand up to the witch hunters was shaped by his entire background. "I'm a rabid reader in several areas," he explains. "I have an intense interest in the philosophy of ideas and the philosophy of science. But what I'm really most interested in apart from the field of psychology is social problems."

He developed his interest in social problems much the same way as did many others of his generation. He was born on New York's East Side. "Educationally, I'm a New York City product all the way," he says. "DeWitt Clinton High School and City College. My father was a garment cutter, my mother a millinery worker. My father was unemployed during a good part of the depression. I did part-time work while going through school so I wouldn't say life was very easy."

After a two-year Air Force hitch in World War II he did graduate work at the University of Iowa and the University of Michigan with the aid of the GI Bill and teaching fellowships. He received his instructor's appointment at Vassar in 1950. And then in 1954 came the fateful subpoena to testify about "communist infiltration" in Michigan education.

A former University of Michigan student, Francis Crowley, had been hauled before the House Committee and, after first defying it, caved in and provided the names of 40 people supposedly involved in Communist activity. Lloyd was among the 40 and one of the four selected for a public grilling by the committee.

"Crowley was a student at Michigan when I was teaching there," he said. "He was a personal friend of mine. Came to Michigan down and out and I put him up, clothed him, fed him and housed him until he got on his feet and was able to graduate."

He continued to see Crowley during the four years after he left Michigan. "I had considered him a friend of mine. It was quite a surprise, finding out this thing was in the works with the FBI and the committee for some time while he was maintaining a pretense of friendship for me."

ECONOMIC HARDSHIP

That was the setting in which Lloyd decided to make the First Amendment fight. The odds were formidable. He had no organizational backing. His contract had expired and despite a satisfactory four-year record Vassar declined to renew.

He has been jobless about half the time since. Four different jobs were lost as each new stage in the court fight brought further publicity.

The problem of legal aid was thorny. His first lawyer decided the fee was small and the case wasn't good for his practice. The second, a civil liberties lawyer, demanded an even stiffer fee. Fortunately, he finally secured the services of David Scriber, a New York civil liberties lawyer, who has fought the case all the way. In the high court appeal he had the collaboration of the American Civil Liberties Union.

There was the need to accept financial help from friends of limited means. "That was a very tough part of it," Lloyd said. "I felt they were dipping into their mortgage money, their grocery money."

The prospect of prison and the \$250 fine, which is no small amount for him, is not "joy-

ful." But he "has no regrets. I did it with the consequence clearly in mind. I don't think it's the worst thing to go to prison for a principle."

Elaborating that principle, he said: "The freedom of the people to exchange and form ideas and to be the highest authority in the control of their government is the most radical of all political and social philosophies. I believe that the Constitution, specifically the Bill of Rights, is the most radical document in this respect that has ever been framed."

"It's difficult to bring this concept into practice," he continued, "in a world where special interests, property interests, play such an important role. But to me this is the meaning of the American spirit. With the attainment of this philosophy in reality, people can move forward to the kind of society which will solve their problems and allow them to live in the security, happiness and abundance which the human mind makes possible."

\$50 A BITE

The agent of a New York tenement was fined \$100 after two children were bitten by rats in his building.

Headlines in Other Lands

Right-Wing Officers Executed for Role in Attempted Iraq Coup

Thirteen Iraqi army officers were executed by the Kassim regime Sept. 20. All had been involved in the unsuccessful attempt at a military overthrow of the government last March. Justification for the attempted coup was that Kassim was moving toward "communism." Also executed were four civilians who had been members of the regime of the late Nuri as-Said, the pro-Western premier who was slain in the popular uprising of July 14, 1958.

24-Hour Strike Hits Argentine Railroads

A one-day general strike by Argentine trainmen Sept. 18 brought a total shutdown of the country's rail system. The workers have declared that they will walk out every fifth day until the government meets their demand for an adequate pension plan. Moves by the Frondizi regime to load the burden of a virulent infation on the backs of the workers through a hold-the-line policy on wages has provoked increasing ferment. A national general strike was threatened for Sept. 23.

French Students Resist Draft

French university students, with substantial faculty support, are putting the heat on the de Gaulle regime to ease up newly imposed curbs on draft deferments for students. The new regulations are part of a move to cope with the incessant demand for manpower for the war of subjugation against Algeria. The French high command estimates that a minimum of 400,000 troops is indispensable for prosecution of the war.

To maintain this minimum troop level, draftees are being kept in service beyond their two-year term. This has aroused much protest and led to the present move to impress some of the estimated 150,000 defer-

BOOKS

FRANCIS BACON, Philosopher of Industrial Science, by Benjamin Farrington. (Available from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, \$1.25.)

Francis Bacon (1561-1626) is best-known as a prose writer and essayist of the first rank and as the founder of English materialism and the inspirer of English empiricism. According to Professor Farrington, he was not only an epoch-making innovator in modern philosophy but also the earliest herald of modern industrial science.

Bacon gave a new direction to English thought by detaching natural philosophy from theology and reason from religious faith, and joining them to science in the form of a materialist physics. He insisted that men should turn their attention from the texts of scholars and the dogmas of the church to study the operations of natural phenomena.

NEW METHOD

This "commerce of the mind with things" was the basis of a new method of acquiring knowledge, the experimental method, which drew restricted generalizations from collected and observed data and checked their validity continually by reference to the results of practice. Bacon anticipated the laboratories of today in his description in the *New Atlantis* of the imaginary Solomon's House where many kinds of experiments with nature were systematically carried on.

In addition to the impetus his writings gave to the scientific investigation of nature, Bacon furthered the study of social development in a materialist manner. He was one of the first modern thinkers to single out the importance of technology and inventions in promoting the progress of civilization. He noted that such mechanical inventions as printing, gunpowder and the compass had done more to change men's lives than any "empire, sect or star."

In developing the implications of this fundamental proposition of historical materialism, Bacon was able to assign new functions and broader aims to human knowledge. In feudal Europe positive knowledge served religious dogma, while the betterment of man's lot on earth was subordinated to preparations for life after death.

Although Bacon remained a believer in the Bible and God, he was imbued with the secular attitudes of the rising capitalist society in England. He saw that an increased knowledge of nature, brought about by the methods he projected, would be above all useful to promote the powers of material production, augment wealth, and "administer to the relief of man's estate." Men could greatly improve their conditions of life by making themselves "masters and possessors of nature."

Professor Farrington emphasizes that Bacon was the quickest to grasp the immense potential of marrying science to industrial production which has so thoroughly changed the modern world. His great idea was "simply that knowledge ought to bear fruit in works, that science ought to be applicable to industry, that men ought to organize themselves as a sacred duty to improve and transform the conditions of life."

Professor Farrington sets forth Bacon's work in a different light than it is usually depicted in university courses. There Bacon is primarily presented as a mere reformer of the rules of induction. He was much more than that, declares Farrington. "This very original and unorthodox figure in the history of British philosophy" was not so much "a reformer of logic" as "a reformer of society."

In a footnote to *Capital*, Marx said of Bacon and Descartes that "they anticipated an alteration in the form of production, and the practical subjugation of nature by man, as a result of the altered method of thought." Professor Farrington has sought to document this appraisal of Marx in detail by placing Bacon in his social-economic setting and portraying him as the Philosopher of Industrial Science.

Although he somewhat underestimates the Lord Chancellor's contributions to the new methods of bourgeois thought, the author has brilliantly and convincingly demonstrated Bacon's version as a prophet of the Industrial Revolution, that was to come.

— William F. Ward

Century-Fox, which is headed by Skouras.

The film was South Pacific which presents a love affair between a Polynesian girl and a white American. A line in one of its songs says, "You have to be taught to hate."

Seek U.S. Capital For Israel

Large-scale American capital investments are essential for the development of the Israeli economy, according to Zionist leaders who opened a sale drive in New York for the sale of \$75,000,000 in Israeli bonds by the end of this year.

Dr. Joseph Schwartz, head of the bond drive, said Israel must increase its industrial production almost 100% by 1965 to meet the needs of an expanding population. With two million people in the country now, the figure is expected to increase by half a million in the next five years.

It was reported that foreign investments in Israel have totalled \$20 million annually since 1950 and the government hopes to increase this to \$50 million a year by 1965. Over \$400 million in Israeli bonds have been sold abroad since 1951 with the bulk of the money coming from this country.

Protests in Iceland Bring Removal of U.S. Commander

Mounting protest by the people of Iceland against the arrogant conduct of U.S. forces resulted in the removal Sept. 18 of Brigadier General G. L. Pritchard, commander of the base there. Since the entry of U.S. troops in Iceland during World War II there has been strong resentment of their presence. The demand for elimination of the U.S. base has consistently enjoyed wide support. The Pentagon acted to remove Pritchard after a recent incident evoked a new storm of protest. An American sentry at the Keflavik airport forced two Icelandic officials at gun point to lie in a puddle of water for ten minutes while he determined if they had a right to be there.

Spyros Skouras Not Proving His Point in Africa

Spyros Skouras, the film magnate, who debated Khrushchev on the virtues of capitalist democracy at a Hollywood luncheon is getting a poor press in Africa for his failure to match deeds to words. The Royal Theater in Salisbury, South Rhodesia, ran a Red Cross benefit performance Sept. 7. Africans and Asians who tried to buy tickets were told the theater was for "whites only." The theater is owned by a subsidiary of Twentieth

He'll Do All Right If He Gets It

Editor:
Now they've got slogans plastered all over town on buildings and buses — "Texas for Christ." He'll sure be well off if he gets it. The oil men who own it now certainly are.

Maybe if he does get Texas, he'll run water into my street. We pay 50 cents a barrel and it ain't oil.

Mrs. T. L.
Texas

"Management Would Blanch to A Deadly Pallor"

Editor:
I think readers of the Militant will enjoy reading this letter which appeared in the Denver Post Sept. 18.

R. H.
Denver

The recent setbacks to organized labor suggest the intriguing possibility that conservative forces may bring about changes in the American political scene that radical groups have been unable to effect.

Labor possesses the ultimate weapon against management, should it ever be driven to use it; namely the formation of a socially-inclined Labor Party in the United States. Before this threat the toughest repre-

sentatives of management would blanch to a deadly pallor.

Such a political party would draw to its membership innumerable intellectuals and idealists who have been trying, with indifferent success, to find a spiritual home among the Democrats. Brain and brawn would unite to inject some real issues, some hot controversy into a political scene which at present can't be beat for sound and fury, signifying nothing.

If the honeymoon is over in the marriage of labor and management in the United States (and a long honeymoon it's been, indeed), perhaps each partner will at last reveal its true nature, will assert the long-dormant urge to express its individuality, and "togetherness" will be a thing of the past.

Many observers of the American political process deplore the lack of basic ideological differences between the two major parties. They feel the nation's interests would be better served by a conservative-liberal polarization. That this type of re-alignment might come, however, as the result of the foolishness of the rich and mighty is a possibility that would probably have occurred to no one.

Big management and its sympathizers in Congress manifest little foresight in pressing labor too far. And labor leaders aren't worth their champagne cocktails if they fail to see that the strike is not by any means their last trump card.

Ruth Knittel
Ft. Collins

The Mountain Gave Birth to a Mouse

Editor:
The labor leaders and their "friends" in the Washington State Legislature racked up quite a record this session. From the entire session they have one single piece of legislation that they feel they can brag about. A law was passed establishing a state minimum wage of \$1.00 an hour. The original bill called for a \$1.25 minimum but an amendment chopped it down to a dollar and then it barely squeaked through. Truly the mountain labored to produce a mouse!

But the union officialdom can see the shiny side of the smallest bone that's thrown to them. Explaining the cutback from \$1.25 to \$1.00, a pamphlet issued by the United Labor Lobby says: "Although this was disappointing, we realize that the bill would have been in danger of failing on final passage with the original amount still in effect. Since this is our first statewide law, and does increase the minimum wage for most women and minors from 65 cents to \$1.00 an hour, it is still a distinct step forward."

What the pamphlet doesn't mention is that tens of thousands of migratory farm workers in the state, more than half of them women and minors, are NOT covered by the new law. Nor are thousands of women employed as domestics, etc.

Jack Wright
Seattle



Scene from New York's giant Labor Day Parade where 115,000 unionists turned out to demonstrate their readiness to resist the employer-government attack on labor.

...AFL-CIO Leaders Adjusting

(Continued from Page 1)

tion of the Sleeping Car Porters, for example, the resolution on political action condemned both the Republican and Democratic Parties and called for the formation of a labor party.

Delegate Soderstrom of the Illinois Federation of Labor has introduced a resolution at this convention calling for the entry of labor into the political field with its own party. This resolution goes before the convention tomorrow.

And in a current issue of the Butcher Workman a special editorial cries out for the reestablishment of "class consciousness . . . to strengthen the anemic blood which has been coursing through the structural veins of the labor movement far too long."

The Butcher Workman further warns "that it is foolish on the part of labor to tie itself to the Democratic Party when that label is woven in the same sweatshop of reactionary thinking as Republicanism. When the chips are down on labor, both service the gas chambers which suffocate everything liberal."

The editorial goes on to call for "the formation of a farmer-labor coalition geared to the needs of the millions in production and agriculture. It would soon catch on and become the balance of power, if not THE power, in the everlasting fight between right and wrong. Such would end the sickening practice of labor leaders following on the coat tails of double crossing politicians."

But even this editorial draws up short with the advice that "in many cases labor could still follow the doctrine of Samuel Gompers to 'reward your friends and defeat your enemies.'" This bit of prudence is meant to assure the really genuine "friends" of labor that they have nothing to fear.

ACTION ON 'KILLER' LAW

The top labor leadership's "practical wisdom" on electoral policy is of a piece with the real thinking at the convention on the new tough anti-labor law just passed. The convention has become the place and occasion to prepare for accommodation to the new onerous regulations. That's the way the labor leaders acted when the Taft-Hartley Act became law and that's the way they are proceeding with the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin bill. At the convention Secretary of Labor Mitchell announced that he and Meany had already agreed on a working liaison to put the law into motion.

President Meany has blamed James Hoffa of the Teamsters union for provoking the passage of the law.

Calendar of Events

NEW YORK

Murry Weiss, Socialist Workers Party national committee member, discusses "Socialist Election Policy in 1960." Question and discussion period. **Fri., Oct. 2, 8 p.m.** Contrib. — 50 cents. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES

Hear Claude De Bruce, Chicago chairman, Committee to Combat Racial Injustice, on "The Road to Negro Equality." **Fri., Oct. 2, 8:00 p.m.** Phyllis Wheatley House, 809 Aldrich Ave. No. Auspices: Twin Cities Labor Forum.

MINNEAPOLIS

Murry Weiss, Socialist Workers Party national committee member, discusses "Socialist Election Policy in 1960." Question and discussion period. **Fri., Oct. 2, 8 p.m.** Contrib. — 50 cents. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

age of the new law. He called Hoffa — the chief target of McClellan's attack — the number one enemy of the labor movement. Hoffa in turn has blamed the weak and faltering leadership of the AFL-CIO for the actual passage of the measure. He also charged that the Building Trades section of the AFL-CIO had sought special immunity in the law, then stopped fighting against its passage.

This was verified in a speech by Congressman Shelley at this convention when he related how the legislative agents of the Building Trades worked at cross purposes seeking to get their special interests protected in the new law. And sure enough the new act does contain a special section giving the Building Trades what it wants on hiring procedures.

Meany took the floor to hotly deny that the Building Trades Department did anything wrong. And by means of this intervention he brought before public view his most critical internal problem — the preservation of the unity of the AFL-CIO.

DIVISION IN AFL-CIO

There is a deep fissure in this organization, and it is the historic one between the craft and industrial unions. Four years of unity have done little to settle

the jurisdictional conflicts. A short twenty minutes away from the convention hall, a machinist local of the Steel Workers had its picket lines broken by a raiding section of the Building Trades at the convention opened.

At conventions of the craft departments prior to the AFL-CIO meeting the principal order of business was the fight against the industrial unions over jurisdiction. The Metal Trades Department went so far as to publicly threaten to refuse recognition to the Steel Workers' strike.

The response of many of the craft unions to the appeal for aid to the steel strike at this convention has been something less than enthusiastic. The narrow, reactionary view of the craft union leaders reveals itself at every turn.

This is the background to the differences that come increasingly to the fore between Reuther and Meany. Their quarrel has been confined to executive sessions of the Executive Council up to now but the stage seems to be set for public quarrelling. More and more open divergences appear between these two parts of the AFL-CIO, as the craft departments seek to extend their "jurisdictions" at the expense of the industrial unions.

Seattle Steel Strikers Refuse Maintenance Jobs

SEATTLE — The striking members of Local 1208 of the United Steel Workers at the Bethlehem plant here are still solid despite steadily increasing financial pressure. The membership has voted unanimously to reject for a second time a management proposal that some of

the men come into the mill to do a maintenance repair job.

The Longshoremen's Union has been helping by providing some work from its hiring hall. About 200 steel workers show up at the hall on Wednesdays and Thursdays when the banana boats come in.

The local welfare committee has announced that numerous members have applied for relief and obtained it. Those having the most difficulty getting relief are the single men and the married couples without children. They are getting some help from the union's district strike fund.

One of the sore points with the members is the absence of an adequate local strike fund. At a recent meeting a motion was unanimously adopted to put \$250 a month aside for a strike fund as soon as this one is over.

The company proposal to do the maintenance job was the same as had been unanimously rejected last month. Work on the recuperators in one of the mills has to be done before full production can resume.

This time the company requested that a committee be sent into the mill to see for themselves if the repair work was needed. The committee went in and took pictures and the work is needed.

Furthermore, it would provide work for about 50 men and if it isn't done before the strike ends there may be a delay of about two weeks after the settlement before the mill goes back into production.

But one worker pointed out that the union might be forced back into the mill by a Taft-Hartley injunction and that the company wanted the repair work done to rebuild stockpiles before forcing the union on strike again.

Another member said that the steel workers had the eyes of the whole labor movement on them and it would be hard to explain why they are crossing their own picketline. For these reasons the previous decision not to work was unanimously reaffirmed.

They Earn \$2 a Day

By Lillian Kiezol

Scratch the surface a little and the jimcrow system in the North is laid bare. Just as mean and filthy as anything in the South. Backed up, as in the South, by government agencies.

The Farm Placement Bureau of the Pennsylvania State Employment Service is forcing unemployed Negroes to take jobs picking beans and tomatoes on New Jersey farms that pay \$2 to \$4 a day. The only explanation offered by Julius Abrams, an agent for the bureau, is: "You gotta have this . . . because if you didn't you wouldn't have any crops." He continued indifferently, "Somebody has to work the farms."

The "somebody" are Negroes who have to slave on the farms ten to twelve hours a day. Willie Tinsley, 51-year-old laborer, said, "I work 12 hours every day and I never made over \$2.40 in all the time I've been going down there."

Hugh Brown, another laborer, has this to say: "Most of the folks who are recruited are on unemployment compensation rolls. Unless they agree to work on the farms, they are threatened with being cut off from their compensation checks. What makes me boiling angry is that they only seem to recruit Negroes for this work. I've never heard of any white folks going to work on those farms."

While they are forced to work for starvation wages under wretched working conditions they are also prey for racketeers. Contractors who drive them to the farms each day in rickety, obsolete buses are paid for "services rendered" by the farmers. However, the workers are also clipped for the ride.

"Some contractors receive as much as one-third of every worker's daily salary," reports Art Peters who investigated Jersey farm con-

ditions in person and exposed them in the Sept. 5 Philadelphia Tribune. "Salaries received by the Philadelphia laborers are not much more than that received by the migrant workers from the South," who earn as low as \$2 a day. "Some farmers pay by the hour. The average hourly wage is 70 cents, but the worker usually does not get more than 45 cents of this. The difference goes to the contractor. Other farmers pay 'piecework' . . . one farmer paid his Philadelphia help 35 cents per basket of beans. The contractor got 15 cents for every basket picked by the workers."

Abrams flatly denied that child labor is being exploited. But Barbara Chisolm and Elizabeth Anderson, both 12, told Tribune reporters that they worked in South Jersey practically every day. They said: "We earn about 80 cents a day for picking beans."

Southern Negro families are lured to come North and work on the farms with promises of "big money" and find themselves in virtual slavery. Trapped by lack of money they cannot return home and must work and live in filth, misery and despair. Here's how the Tribune describes it: "Maggots and flies swarmed over open garbage cans . . . not a child in the camp was wearing shoes. Many of them had grotesque scars on their dirt-crustured bare feet and legs — a few were suffering from dysentery — the direct result of malnutrition and deprivation."

Conditions on the South Jersey farms have been known to government agencies for years. But they don't give a damn that every wage and hour standard on the books is flouted. And, worse still, that the farm laborers live in squalor while the farmers' families live in luxury. It is the jimcrow system.

Notes in the News

MICHIGAN JOBLESS — The Michigan Militant Newsletter reports a state Employment Security Commission finding that there are now 232,000 jobless in the state, compared to 485,000 a year ago. The Newsletter points out that this is an improvement but not as big as it looks. Part of the unemployment drop is due to a "shrinkage" of 98,500 in the work force. This includes thousands who left the state to look for work elsewhere and others no longer listed as seeking employment because they simply gave up hope of finding a job. Michigan residents may receive the Militant Newsletter by mail by writing to 3737 Woodward, Detroit 1.

PENNSYLVANIA WELFARE FIGURES CLIMB — Two thousand people a day were being added to Pennsylvania relief rolls at the end of last month, according to Gov. Lawrence. There were 354,556 welfare assistance claims in the state in mid-August, the highest figure since the 1950 recession. Lawrence said the steel strike is responsible for some of the increase but that the number would have gone up without the strike. He said that the August figure involved only 16,000 steelworkers' families and that the trend "shows Pennsylvania is still suffering severely from the recession, and the outlook for a speedy, miraculous recovery is not as bright as many would like to believe."

PITTSBURGH ARMORED TRUCK STRIKE — Brink's, Inc., the money transport agency, has been shut down by a drivers' and guards' strike in Pittsburgh since June 3. City police are being used to guard delivery of payrolls and other shipments of cash normally performed by the agency. The strike was called by Teamsters Local 249 when the company insisted on reducing the number of men on each truck from four to three and from three to two. The company won national headlines when it was robbed of a million dollars in Boston.

IT PAYS TO JOIN THE UNION — Union members average 8% more pay than workers in non-union shops, according to a study made public by the AFL-CIO last month. The study was based on wage surveys of 18 industries made by the Department of Labor

in 1951-57. More than 1,000 union shops were compared with an equal number of non-union shops and the union jobs were higher paid in almost 80% of the cases. The study could not show the influence on wages in non-union shops brought about by pay increases in organized plants. Competition for labor and efforts to forestall unionization often compel open-shop employers to increase wages. Nor did the study attempt to compute vacation pay and other fringe benefits which are generally greater in union shops.

MAYBE THEY KNOW WHAT THEY'RE DOING — The Columbia Broadcasting System has made a unique contribution to combating juvenile delinquency in New York. Until things simmer down, CBS is withdrawing all vocal version of "Mack the Knife," the song from Bert Brecht's Three-Penny Opera. It describes the exploits of the hero, a cutpurse and cutthroat who remains successful as long as he pays off the chief of police.

SUES HOTEL CHAIN — C. D. Edwards, a New York Negro, has filed suit in Dallas, Texas, against the Statler Hilton Hotel for \$100,000. He charges that the local branch of the international chain refused to honor a reservation made and confirmed in New York. When he arrived in Dallas, he said, the hotel informed him it would be a violation of Texas customs to rent him a room. Edwards, who had to spend hours finding other lodgings, is demanding \$50,000 for personal injury and \$50,000 for breach of contract.

THEY LIKED THE ANALOGY — Reporting Khrushchev's arrival in the U.S., New York Post labor columnist Murray Kempton observed: "Nikita Khrushchev is an authentic, the real thing. He alighted on Andrews Field yesterday as a vice president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union might descend upon Unity House. He even bore along in his wake his son-in-law, the editor of Izvestia. You could almost hear the echo: 'Alexei is a bright boy, so I made him educational director of the local.'" A New York garment cutter reports that someone tacked the clipping on his shop bulletin board. In another garment shop it was pasted alongside the time clock.

B'klyn NAACP Sponsors Drive For Willie Reid

A campaign has begun in New York to save Willie Reid from being returned to Florida where slow torture, in the form of the chain gang, or sudden death, in the form of Sheriff Willis V. McCall awaits him.

The papers to send Reid back to Florida are all signed and sealed. Democratic Governor Harriman made them out and signed them. Republican Governor Rockefeller has refused to countermand them.

To make Rockefeller change his mind and keep New York from being a party to the racial injustice perpetrated against Reid, the Brooklyn NAACP is sponsoring a campaign to stop the extradition. The campaign will get underway with a mass meeting Thursday night, Oct. 1, at 8 P.M. at the Siloam Presbyterian Church (260 Jefferson Ave., Brooklyn) at which Willie Reid will tell his own story. Sharing the platform with him will be Ted Poston, the distinguished journalist whose coverage of civil-rights stories has frequently taken him to Florida where he has gained first-hand knowledge of the methods of Sheriff Willis V. McCall, the notorious racist, who figures in the Reid case. Also scheduled to speak is William Peters, author of the recently published book, *The Southern Temper*.

The Reid case began in 1950 in Lake County, Florida. Reid, a migratory farm worker was in a fight resulting from a crap game. In the fight his opponent suffered a cut from which he soon recovered. Ordinarily this would have brought a charge of aggravated assault — for which, under Florida law, the maximum penalty is two years. But Sheriff McCall and Judge Futch, who presided, at Reid's "trial" chose to prosecute a charge of "assault with premeditated intent to murder," for which Reid was given a 15-year sentence.

It is of interest that the Negro victims of the "Little Scottsboro Case" in Groveland, Florida, were arrested by Sheriff McCall and sentenced by Judge Futch during this same period. (One of the Groveland prisoners was in the same cell with Reid.) As is well known, when the U.S. Supreme Court stopped the execution of Irwin and Shephard by ordering a new trial, Sheriff McCall shot both handcuffed prisoners on a pretext of their "trying to escape." One survived his wounds and told the whole story.

Although Reid paid over \$400 (his gambling winnings) to obtain a lawyer through the jailer, he went to trial without counsel and was denied the right to plead not guilty. The judge did not even explain what the word "premeditated" in the charge meant. It is almost a commonplace that fights stemming from gambling games are spur-of-the-moment, rather than premeditated actions.

As if 15 years on the chain gang wasn't bad enough, Reid had the misfortune to be questioned by state investigators probing corruption among the guards. A number of firings resulted and Reid was unjustly marked down as the one responsible for guards losing their jobs. Thereafter he was a target for beatings, brutalities and particularly for incarceration in the sweat box.

The sweat box is a sadistic torture device about the size of a refrigerator. Its top is adjusted so that the prisoner locked in it cannot stand up. It is too narrow for him to sit down. He must remain in a crouching position. The box is out in the sun and its interior temperature

U.S. Court Upholds 'Placement' Law

SEPT. 22 — Southern opponents of school integration scored a new victory yesterday when a U.S. Court of Appeals upheld an Arkansas school placement law. The measure, which is designed to help block school integration, was modeled after an Alabama law which the U.S. Supreme Court said was valid "on its face."

The placement law permits racist officials to assign pupils to schools other than those they request on the basis of 15 different qualifications including such vague factors as "home environment," "social and psychological relationships" and "learning ability." The one qualification that really counts — having the right color skin — is, of course, not mentioned.

is unbearable. Once a day the prisoner is given a slice of bread and a pail of water. At the prison camp where Reid was held, the guards thought it "fun" to dose the sweat-box prisoner with castor oil every other day. Florida prison regulations set two weeks as the maximum a man can be kept in the box. After one week a doctor checks the heart of the prisoner.

Reid was repeatedly thrown in the sweat box. His fear that he could not long survive such treatment was reinforced by the death of a friend following similar treatment. He determined to escape to save his life. This meant jumping off a moving truck under the very eyes of guards armed with shotguns and pistols. As he himself puts it, a man has to be pretty desperate to try such a thing. This time luck favored him and despite his leg chains he was able to get away. He was tracked with bloodhounds but by then he had managed to break the leg chain. The ankle cuffs remained on till he made his way to New Orleans where he got some tools to remove them. (It is a five-year offense in the South for anyone to file iron off a man's legs.)

Reid has been held for over two years in New York jails. At present he is out on bail put up by the NAACP national office. Reid's case is in its final stage, an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. Since the extradition papers are already signed, an adverse decision would mean his immediate return to Florida.

About Time They Acted —

The head of a suburban military academy near Seattle was arrested Sept. 21. Along with his wife he was charged with keeping a 14-year-old cadet locked in a bathroom "guardhouse" on bread and water for several days. The complaint said the couple and school guards beat the boy with swagger sticks, dousing cold water on him to keep him conscious. "Colonel" Thomas Hopkins, the school head, was also accused of using judo on the boy. Authorities say the school has been under investigation for three years.

Local Directory

- BOSTON**
Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200.
- CHICAGO**
Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736.
- CLEVELAND**
Socialist Workers Party 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Wednesday nights 7 to 9. The Militant, P.O. Box 1904, University Center Station, Cleveland 6, Ohio.
- DETROIT**
Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Temple 1-6135.
- LOS ANGELES**
Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238.
- MILWAUKEE**
150 East Juneau Ave.
- MINNEAPOLIS**
Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon to 6 P.M. daily except Sundays.
- NEWARK**
Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N.J.
- NEW YORK CITY**
Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852.
- OAKLAND-BERKELEY**
P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif.
- PHILADELPHIA**
Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 P.M., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820.
- SAN FRANCISCO**
The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Rm. 4. Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone PR 6-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321.
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