

# Negroes to Press For Enforcement of Their Voting Rights

By George Lavan

The increasing momentum of the Negro people's drive for first-class citizenship can be measured by Martin Luther King's announcement, Aug. 27, in Washington, of a campaign to register five million Negro voters in the South. The militant young leader of the historic Montgomery bus boycott, in an interview with the New York Herald Tribune declared the aim of the drive is to enable all eligible Negroes in the South to vote in next year's Congressional elections and in the 1960 presidential election.

## WILL USE LAW

Saying that passage of the civil-rights bill would help, Rev. King declared: "We intend to use all the facilities of the law and to appeal to the Justice Department when it is necessary."

The registration drive will be conducted by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, of which King has been elected president. It recently held sessions announced by Rev. King to draw up plans. Among decisions announced by Rev. King are the opening next month of headquarters in Atlanta, from which city the drive will be conducted, and the approval of a budget of \$200,000 to be raised by church-sponsored campaigns throughout the South.

That additional financial support will be forthcoming is indicated by the news from Chicago that the Packinghouse Workers union has already raised \$11,000 as its contribution to the Southern voting crusade. The Chicago Defender (Aug. 24) also reports: "Meanwhile lowly

domestic workers and laboring people in the South were sacrificing pennies and silver as their 'widows' mite' contributions to the effort."

## SEEK TO REGISTER ALL

Because of terror, fraudulent practices by lily-white election boards and unconstitutional statutes only 1,238,038 or one-fourth of eligible Negroes have been able to register in the South. The task the Southern Christian Leadership Conference has set itself is to register the other three-fourths bringing the total to five million, the estimated adult Negro population of the South.

The grim and vast nature of this task is seen when one recalls that in the past few years in Mississippi Rev. George W. Lee, a Negro, was shot to death for insisting upon registering. Lamar Smith, a Negro, was shot dead on a courthouse lawn before hundreds for "meddling in politics." Gus Courts, the lone Negro registered in Belzoni after the lynching of Rev. Lee, was shot and has preserved his life only by fleeing Mississippi. None of the guilty white supremacists has ever been punished for the above killings and shooting.

That this situation is not confined to Mississippi may be seen by the statistics from

(Continued on page 4)

# Mutual Aid on Petitions Proposed to Eliz. Flynn

NEW YORK, Aug. 29 — The Socialist Workers Party in this city proposed today to the Elizabeth Gurley Flynn Campaign Committee to enter into collaboration "in the collection of signatures on our respective independent nominating petitions." The party further proposed preliminary discussions of the problem of independent working class political action in the city's 1957 mayoralty and councilmanic elections.

The SWP is now endeavoring to place the following on the New York ballot: Joyce Cowley for Mayor, Lillian Kiesel for New York City Council President, Morris Zuckoff for New York City Comptroller and Alvin Bertram for Brooklyn Borough President. (See story on SWP ballot campaign, page four.)

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a leading member of the Communist Party and a Smith-Act victim, is running for New York City Councilwoman from the Lower East Side under the party designation of Peoples' Rights Party. Her committee is engaged in a drive to obtain a minimum of 3,000 signatures from Lower East Side voters needed to place her on the ballot.

The SWP proposal for collaboration in the respective signature-collecting campaigns was made in a letter from Carol Lynn, SWP Campaign Director, to Evelyn Wiener and Dr. Albert Blumberg, co-chairmen of the Elizabeth Gurley Flynn Campaign Committee, National Palace, 111 East Houston Street.

The text of the letter follows: "Dear Comrades: "We take note of the fact that you are waging a campaign to

obtain sufficient signatures to place Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a leading member of the Communist Party, on the ballot as New York City Councilwoman from the Lower East Side.

"As you know, we are now collecting signatures on a petition to place a slate of Socialist Workers Party candidates on the ballot in opposition to the candidates of the Big Business parties. [The list of SWP candidates then follows — Ed.]

"Our campaign committee would like to submit to you the following proposals:

"(1) To enter into joint collaboration in the collection of signatures on our respective independent nominating petitions for the offices and candidates indicated above.

"(2) To meet with representatives of your campaign committee for the purpose of working out the practical details involved in such joint effort to get our respective candidates on the ballot.

"(3) To engage in preliminary discussion of the ways and means of advancing the concept of independent working class political action through the medium of our respective participation in the 1957 Mayoralty and Councilmanic elections.

"In view of the urgency of the task and the time limits involved we urge an immediate and favorable response."

# Auto "Big 3" Reject Reuther's Price-Wage Deal

By Joseph Keller

General Motors, Ford and Chrysler, the three corporations which monopolize 97% of automobile output, have replied "no" to United Automobile Workers President Walter Reuther's offer of a 1958 wage deal if they cut auto prices \$100 per car.

All three, in essence, made the same type of counter-proposal. They asked the auto workers to "set the example" by agreeing first to accept "sacrifices" in their wages and maybe the companies would then consider cutting prices.

They seized upon the fact that Reuther himself had linked prices and wages in his proposal that, as he put it in his Aug. 17 letter to the "Big Three," "both" the corporations and the workers accept "responsibility" for initiating a national campaign to halt inflation.

## REUTHER EXPLAINS

Even before the auto companies had made reply, Reuther felt impelled to explain on Aug. 21 over NBC-TV ("Today") that in offering to give up the offi-

cial and just demands of the auto workers, he did not mean that he would accept an outright wage cut.

Harlow H. Curtice, GM president, suggested in his reply to Reuther that "you announce now your union's willingness to extend intact our national agreement for a period of two (2) years beyond May 29, 1958."

This would mean that the existing three-year contract would become a five-year pact and would, in effect, freeze existing wage-and-hour terms. The precedent for the proposal by Curtice was established by Reuther himself in the five-year contract he signed in 1950.

Henry Ford 2d, Ford Motor Company president, replied to the UAW leadership: "Or, let's turn the proposal around. . . Suppose I were to say to you: 'If you will accept an immediate reduction in wages to the levels prevailing at the introduction of our 1957 models, we will take this into consideration in determining how much we will increase prices of our 1958 models.'"

The reply of Chrysler president L. L. Colbert said: "Would it not be just as logical for the automobile industry to ask the members of the UAW to take an immediate and sizeable wage cut. . ."

All three monopoly corporation heads demanded that the UAW divert its energies from defending the living standards and working conditions of the UAW members to helping the corporations speed up production.

Sentiment in the UAW about Reuther's new proposal, which was never presented to the membership for discussion and approval, is very far from unanimous. An intimation of distrust, if not outright opposition, to his scheme is contained in the Aug. 24 Ford Facts, paper of the UAW Local 600, largest union local in the country.

Local 600 President Carl Stelato states in a front-page review of Reuther's plan: "We want to make it crystal clear where we in Local 600 stand. Whether prices are raised, lowered or remain the same we will be seeking the fulfillment of our

contract demands as adopted by the General Council and the membership of Local 600.

"We in Local 600 are prepared to stand firm on the resolution adopted by the 16th Constitutional Convention, 1958 'Collective Bargaining,' in which the delegates made it clear that the shorter work week with increased take-home pay will be the key demand for 1958. . ." (Emphasis in original.)

## REUTHER MEANS IT

This statement emphasizes that Reuther's proposal is entirely out of line with the basic program adopted by the last UAW convention.

The corporations complain that Reuther is engaged in just a publicity stunt. But he has reaffirmed several times that he means business. There is no reason to doubt that he is ready to give away much if not all of the auto workers' correct and sound demands for his dubious "anti-inflation" plan.

The effect of Reuther's "roll-back-of-prices" scheme might well be to mobilize a certain type

of "public" pressure on the auto workers to sacrifice their necessary demands.

Both Reuther and the corporations are experts in the "battle of statistics" and Reuther may even have the edge. But, in any event, statistics will not settle any issue of this nature. The corporations will take their pound of flesh unless the auto workers are prepared to wage a serious struggle.

A battle is precisely what Reuther fears most. He insists in his letter to the "Big Three" that a way be found "to raise collective bargaining above the level of a struggle between competing economic pressure groups."

He has given his hand away in advance. He has shown the corporations how little heart he has for a militant battle. He is doing nothing to mobilize and prepare the auto workers to win the kind of protection against rising living costs and unemployment they really need.

(Walter Reuther's Economics — See Page 3.)

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# Government's Atomic Groups Admit Nuclear-Test Dangers

## Congress Liberals Aid FBI

AUG. 28 — Stingy when it comes to protecting the constitutional rights of the Negro people, the U.S. Congress is in a generous mood when it rushes, before adjournment, to aid the FBI protect its secret files from unfortunate defendants who want full access to the evidence against them.

Republican Congressmen are not the only ones ready to help the FBI play the role of a political police. The Liberal Democrats are also assisting in the process of transforming this country into a land of police spies, informers and keepers of secret files. Indeed, Senator O'Mahoney (D-Wyo.) is the sponsor of one bill to keep the FBI file secret.

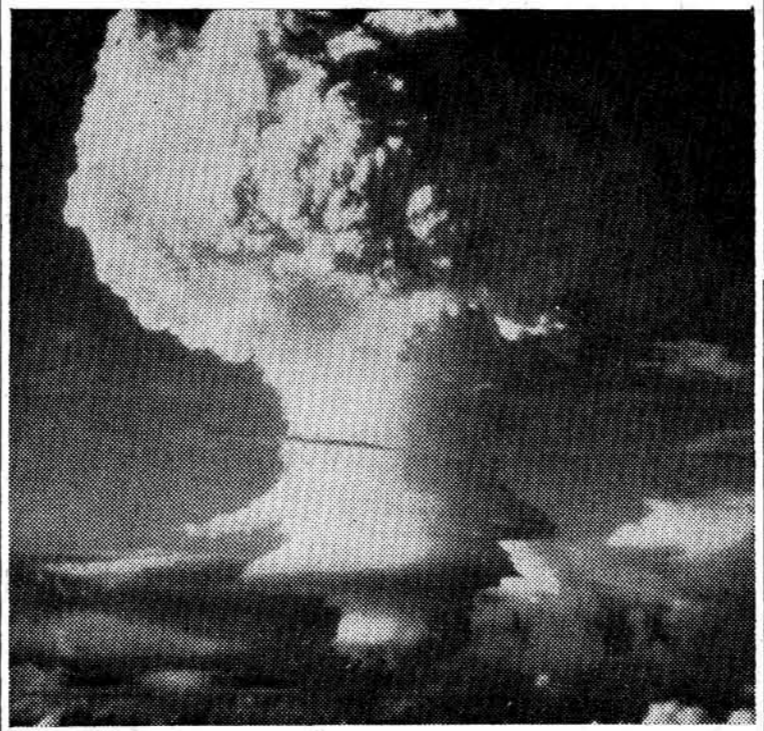
The Supreme Court decision in the Jencks case last June reaffirmed the traditional protection of individuals in federal cases against police frame-ups. It placed the complete testimony of a prosecution witness, that given in secret as well as in court, at the disposal of the defense.

This procedure is routine in civil and criminal cases at the state level. But on a federal scale it has been violated on a massive basis, especially in witch-hunt prosecutions. A political case often involve the testimony of stoolpigeons who are anxious to accommodate the cops with whatever story they tell, the testimony tends to grow to meet the prosecution's needs.

The Supreme Court decision of June 3 would have substantially crippled the frame-up power of the FBI. So the Justice Department organized a big pressure campaign for a bill to preserve their secret files. One of the arguments used for such a bill was the need to protect innocent persons who are named in files on mere hearsay, unverified tales. But what innocent persons can feel protected with the knowledge that they may be listed in files, unaware of the nature of charges, unable to eliminate the charges and never knowing how or when such false information might be used against them?

Yesterday, the House of Representatives passed an Administration bill upholding the secrecy of the FBI files. All that remains is for the differences between a House and Senate version of the bill to be ironed out, and much of the good done by the Supreme Court in the Jencks case will be undone.

## The Deadliest Threat



This poisonous mushroom cloud was released by the explosion of a giant United States hydrogen bomb at the far off Eniwetok testing site in the Pacific. Such explosions have spread radiation poison throughout the globe. It is now revealed that the Northeastern U.S. has received an above average amount of this fallout.

## Wiretapping — A Sinister Anti-Union Weapon

An Editorial

A sinister weapon against the labor movement and the civil liberties of the American people was brought into play by the Senate labor probe committee in its hearings last week during the questioning of Teamster vice-president James Hoffa. We refer to the playing by the committee of recordings of several of Hoffa's telephone conversations which had been wiretapped in 1953.

Under the guise of revealing improper practices by a corrupt union bureaucrat, the committee is, among other things, setting the precedent for — and attempting to get the public accustomed to — the widespread use of wiretapping against the labor movement at large. One of the alarming aspects of this situation is that there has been virtually no protest from the official leaders of the labor movement against the use by the committee of this device. The fact that the particular wiretaps in question revealed Hoffa's connection with a New York gangster is no excuse for remaining silent on the implications involved.

There is no reason to suppose that the investigators for the committee will not, or have not already intercepted telephone conversations of many union leaders and members who were discussing legitimate union business. There is absolutely no reason to suppose that the texts of

(Continued on page 3)

## Congressional Joint Committee Releases Findings of Hearings

By Herman Chauka

A heavy blow has been struck at Administration claims that nuclear tests are not dangerous and that continued tests would lead to perfection of a bomb completely free of radioactive fallout. Both President Eisenhower and Admiral Lewis Strauss, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, have repeatedly asserted that fallout has already been reduced by 96 percent and that a completely "clean" bomb is in sight.

Now the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee, in an Aug. 25 report, has declared that "there is no such thing as an absolutely 'clean' weapon" and that "further testing . . . could constitute a hazard to the world's population."

## SCIENTIFIC EVIDENCE

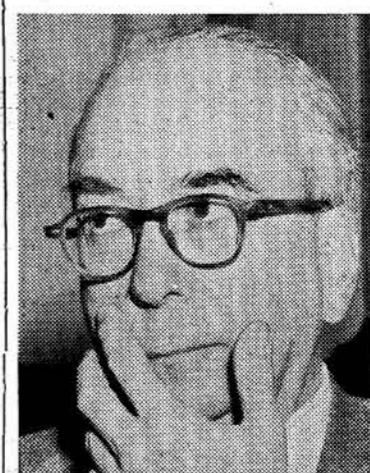
The Congressional committee, which held an eight-day public hearing last spring, tried to give every benefit of the doubt to government claims. But the evidence from independent scientific quarters has been so weighty that the Congressmen apparently decided to get off the "keep-the-tests-going" bandwagon.

(Release of the Congressional findings coincided with a report from the authoritative American Institute of Biological Science in Palo Alto, Calif., which declares that, given the present rate of testing, the "safety limit" for exposure to fallout will be reached by 1970 and that in some areas of the world the limit may have been reached already.)

## CLEAR-CUT PROPOSAL

Meanwhile, the U.S. government is continuing its maneuvers at the London disarmament conference to prevent an international agreement for a halt to the deadly tests.

At this now five-month-old conference, the Soviet Union has



ADMIRAL STRAUSS

insistently put forward a single, clear-cut proposal. It urged immediate agreement to a two or three-year halt to the tests with no strings attached—followed by negotiations for a permanent ban.

## SELF-ENFORCING

Such an agreement is almost self-enforcing, since it is impossible for one country to explode an A or H-bomb without it becoming immediately known to observers with special instruments anywhere else in the world.

Violations by one country of the agreement to stop tests would be immediately detected by all other countries, who would then be no longer bound by the pact.

The Soviet proposal for a test

ban expressed a world-wide sentiment so powerful that Washington could not answer it, as it would have liked to, with a blunt "No."

Instead, the U.S. government came up with a counter-proposal for a ten-month test suspension, but the USSR representative pointed out that a ten-month period was meaningless since it was the normal lapse between testing series.

Eisenhower then announced, Aug. 21, a "significant change" in the U.S. stand. His offer was headlined in the U.S. press as a plan to achieve the two-year test suspension proposed by the USSR. However, it was really a proposal for only a one-year suspension with a provision, hedged in by many restrictions, for a year's extension.

## IRRELEVANT ISSUES

In addition the test ban was tied to agreement on many questions not genuinely related to the paramount issue of halting the death-dealing tests.

For instance, according to the Eisenhower proposal, the tests would not be halted unless there was agreement to end production and further stockpiling of nuclear weapons. Initial disarmament steps would also have to be agreed to under the U.S. plan.

The Eisenhower package deal was rejected by the Soviet Union, Aug. 27. Soviet representative Zorin again proposed an agreement to suspend nuclear tests unconditionally and a separate negotiations of all other questions.

## Los Angeles Auto Union: 'Let People Vote on A-Tests'

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 24 — A prominent local of the United Auto Workers here is demanding that the American people be allowed to decide by referendum vote whether or not the U.S. should engage in further nuclear-bomb testing. In a recently adopted resolution, General Motors Local 216, UAW, also calls for united labor action to stop the tests. The resolution is being circulated among all sister unions in the area to win their cooperation in such a campaign.

The GM workers' action comes after the adoption of a resolution, last June, by Chrysler UAW Local 230 calling on the government to work for a universal banning of H-bomb tests. In the August issue of "Feather Merchant," voice of Local 230, columnist Gene Farrell presents the views of a number of workers in the plant on the issue. Two of them jointly urged all nations to halt the tests and proposed that the local resolution include a proviso that "the people throughout the world decide by their vote whether to continue or stop the testing."

The text of the resolution adopted by GM Local 216 declares:

"WHEREAS, present testimony before the Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy has effectively proved that the United States, Russia and England not only have enough atom bombs on hand to destroy civilization, but also that the many bomb tests are slowly poisoning the air, our water and food supplies and thus endangering present and future generations of mankind; and

WHEREAS, the Atomic Energy Commission has three times

(Continued on page 2)

## AEC Parley of Scientists Cites Threat to Children

Children in the Northeastern United States are faced with a special danger of leukemia and cancer of the bone as a result of continuing nuclear tests. This was revealed at a meeting of scientists in Washington, July 29, called by the Atomic Energy Commission. The finding is incorporated as a footnote to the report just issued by the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee. (See story this page.)

The leukemia danger springs from the fact that there has been a concentration of fallout in the Northern U.S. and Canada producing a greater accompanying amount of the deadly new element, strontium 90, which is absorbed into the blood stream and bones from milk and other food. Strontium 90 is produced solely by nuclear fission.

The scientists declared that if nuclear explosions in the next several years equal those of the past 12 years, young people in the area concerned will have absorbed up to one quarter of the maximum "safe" dosage of strontium 90.

## FALLOUT CONCENTRATION

These findings (which were adopted with the vote of Dr. Libby, the science member of the AEC) exploded the AEC's previous contention that there was little danger from strontium 90 because radioactive fallout from the stratosphere was distributed uniformly throughout the world and therefore did not bring a dangerous concentration to any one area. The scientists concluded from U.S. Weather Bureau reports that contrary to AEC claims the fallout from the stratosphere tended to "band" in the temperate zone of the Northern Hemisphere.

Even this alarming report ap-

pears to be on the conservative side since it uses as a yard stick the "maximum safe dosage" standards established by the U.S. government. The report of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee reveals that these "standards" have little meaning.

The report concedes that there is general scientific agreement that the smallest amount of exposure to atomic radiation is harmful because it increases mutations of the genes, leading to deformation of future generations. It also admits that this genetic effect of radiation is not calculated in government standards regarding "safe" radiation dosages.

## NEAR THE LIMIT

"If in fact," the committee said, "any quantity of radiation, however small, produces a biological effect, then the concept is erroneous."

The extent of the radiation dosage to which the people of the world are being subjected by nuclear tests was graphically revealed in the findings of the Palo Alto scientists. They report that American, British and Soviet tests are showering approximately ten million tons of radioactive material over the earth every year. One scientist estimated that about 50 million tons of fallout material has been released by U.S. tests alone. He estimated that a total of 70 million tons is the theoretically safe limit, indicating how urgent is the need to win a halt to these barbarous tests.



# American Forum Enlarges Scope Of Its Activities

(The following is a press release issued by American Forum for Socialist Education — A. J. Muste, President; Sidney Lens, Secretary. — Ed.)

The American Forum, established in May as a national group to sponsor free and untrammeled discussion on the left, took a number of steps at its working committee meeting this week to enlarge the scope of its activity. Foremost amongst these was

## ... Favors A-Test Poll

(Continued from page 1)

been compelled to reduce the minimum allowable radiation absorption by laboratory workers proving that they consistently underestimated the dangers of radiation; and

"WHEREAS, Dr. Albert Schweitzer, world-renowned Nobel Prize winning scientist, Dr. Linus Pauling of the California Institute of Technology, and some 2,000 other leading scientists have declared a gainst further nuclear weapons testing; and

"WHEREAS, many prominent citizens, including Walter Reuther, President, United Auto Workers, have signed a petition urging President Eisenhower to conclude an international agreement to end nuclear-weapons tests; and

"WHEREAS, large sections of the American people are alarmed by the dangers of radioactive fallout, which invades the body causing leukemia and cancer, and have expressed their opinion in a Gallup poll that the bomb tests should be stopped;

"THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that Local 216, UAW, declare that it is in favor of halting atomic bomb tests in Nevada and lend its efforts toward organizing, in conjunction with other sections of the labor movement, effective protests, such as mass meetings, etc., against further bomb tests;

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that this union go on record calling for a national referendum of the American people to determine whether there should be any future nuclear bomb tests; and

"BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, that copies of this resolution be sent to all sister unions in this area and to the International with a request that they cooperate in organizing a mass protest against this clear danger to the human race."

the decision to establish local committees of A.F. in a number of major cities, as well as to charter student and labor groups

The criteria for affiliation, according to Rev. A. J. Muste, President of A.F., will be acceptance of the statement of principles on which the Forum was established. Before chartering a new group Forum leaders will meet with it to assure that it is well-balanced and serious.

Muste noted that the American Forum must guard jealously its character as a vehicle for free discussion and also against becoming a united front or an action group of any kind. The purpose of the Forum, he said, is limited to the study of problems of democratic socialism and to the stimulation of exchange of views between persons of diverse opinions. Muste also reiterated the principle of non-exclusion of anyone so long as he is willing to adhere to the spirit of free discussion.

It is expected that the sub-ordinate groups will be of the same character as the national committee, with independent and non-partisan elements playing a leading role.

The working committee noted with deep regret the untimely death of Clifford McAvoy, former Progressive Party leader and recently an active founder of American Forum, serving as its treasurer. It expressed its condolences to the widow, Muriel McAvoy, and invited her to serve on the committee in her husband's place.

Other action of the working committee this week included the decision to publish a pamphlet, "Questions for the Left," sometime in late September. The pamphlet will include an article by Sidney Lens, unionist and author, posing some of the theoretical questions facing the left, as well as critical comments by other people. This is in line with A.F. policy of presenting a diversity of views.

A sub-committee is working on plans for a November two-day forum in New York on the subject of "Socialism in the age of automation and atomic energy." Another committee has been assigned the task of drafting a six-month budget and raising funds. The Forum will establish a small office in Chicago, in addition to the one in New York, as a working office for its secretary.

# The World Anti-A-Bomb Conference

By Ota Ryu

TOKYO, Aug. 20—The Third World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs was held here Aug. 6-16. A Japanese delegation of 4,000, including trade unionists, students, women's organizations, farmers, priests, representatives of Okinawa, A-bomb victims from Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and some 100 foreign delegates from 22 countries, attended.

## COMMEMORATION

It was on Aug. 6 and 9 in 1945 that several hundred thousand people died in Hiroshima and Nagasaki and hundreds of people are still dying every year from the atomic diseases incurred in those bombings. Every Japanese knows of the terrible effect of the A-bomb from direct experience or from seeing or hearing of the actual condition of the two cities in those fatal days. During the U.S. Occupation, feeling against the A-bomb did not manifest itself openly, but since 1952 the Japanese people have begun to speak out. Many terrible photos have been published in the newspapers and magazines. Victims, still living, have begun to tell their experiences publicly. A huge anti-A-bomb campaign has been growing year by year. Moreover, in 1954 one Japanese fisherman died and 22 others were injured by radiation from the U.S. tests in the Pacific.

Almost all Japanese working people have come to realize from their own experience the absolute destroying power of nuclear weapons. They are whole-heartedly against them. Thus the recent



Japanese workers marching on May Day carried a float depicting the fishing boat that was sprayed with radioactive ash from a United States hydrogen bomb explosion in the Pacific in 1956. So far two of the fishermen on that boat have died of radiation poisoning.

conference well expressed the anti-A-bomb feeling of the Japanese people.

The "Tokyo Appeal" issued by the recent conference demanded, on the one hand, the stopping of production and testing of A and H-bombs and withdrawal of foreign troops from all countries including Japan. On the other hand, it called upon the UN to act effectively to relieve international tensions and the delegates pledged to press their own governments to this end.

The Japanese Trotskyist League appealed to the conference warning that the peace

campaign would run into serious obstacles unless the working class showed its ability to develop the campaign among the entire toiling class. Otherwise the campaign would become harmless and powerless. The workers must realize that the best action to stop production and testing of H-bombs and war is to fight to end the rule of the capitalist class and to establish a workers' government.

But the Stalinists and Social Democrats, who at the present moment control the workers' organizations, are retarding such understanding by the workers.

Especially the Stalinists who exercised great influence at the conference. They did their utmost to push their principal program of "peaceful coexistence" deal between the U.S. and the Kremlin at the expense of the world-wide struggle for socialism. The Social Democrats have no objection to this program either.

The only mass action decided upon by the conference is a demonstration to be held on a world scale next October. Of course such an action should be developed by all militant workers and revolutionists. But the more developed such an action, the more severe becomes the conflict between capitalists and working people. In such a struggle, if the working class is not to be cheated or beaten, it must have a clear aim in its campaign, understanding of its real nature and of the ultimate objective.

Recently among workers in the Communist Party there have developed very strong doubts about the official party line for the peace campaign. Some assert that the workers should take the leadership of the movement and should fight against A and H-bombs by strike action.

The recent conference showed that the Japanese people's peace campaign has grown enormously, but it still lacks a correct program and a revolutionary leadership. The campaign is controlled by petty bourgeois tendencies. It is absolutely necessary, if the campaign is to move forward, that it have a militant, working-class leadership.

# London Market Strikers Suffer Setback Due to Misleadership

By Peter Fryer

Special London Correspondent

LONDON — Four thousand workers at London's fruit and vegetable markets are due to return to work on Monday morning (Aug. 19) having sustained a defeat at the hands of the employers, assisted by the Tory Government, the trade-union leaders and the Stalinists. It is a partial, not a definitive defeat. But it is nonetheless bitter — and instructive — for that.

The Covent Garden [London's big central market] dispute marks a new stage in the offensive of the British capitalist class against trade-union rights and labor conditions. Sackings at the Standards, BMC and Nortons vehicle factories; the strike of three million engineers and shipbuilding workers last April, sold out by Mr. William Carron and his fellow-leaders of the en-

gineering unions; the recent strike of municipal busmen; the Covent Garden strike: these are the stages in the bosses' offensive.

The offensive is uneven. There are cases where the bosses have given way — only to press forward in some other sector of industry. There is no mistaking the concerted, deliberate nature of their drive. They are rehearsing for a powerful, all-out attempt to alter decisively the balance of forces between the classes, to beat back the workers, crush their militancy, thrash them by every means, before the Tory Government is ousted in the General Election that in the normal course of events will fall due in 1960.

The fact must be faced that British trade unions are lagging far behind the employers in their preparations for the impending class battles. Recent months have witnessed plenty of high-sounding Left talk by a certain type of union leader. But this Left talk, which wins the applause at conferences, is not matched by Left deeds when it comes to a showdown with the bosses.

Covent Garden has provided a classical instance of this. Rarely has a 'Left' demagogue been so swiftly exposed by events as Mr. Frank Cousins, leader of the Transport and General Workers' Union.

The hero of his union's biennial conference yesterday becomes today the butt of his members' anger. 'Good old Frank' is now 'Judass' in the eyes of the workers he has let down. For the Covent Garden men, who for many years have exercised almost full union control of their working conditions have now been robbed of the protection they have won in decades of struggle.

The Covent Garden employers were so sure of victory that they handed the men the new agreement and gave them half an hour to accept or get out of the market.

Though hundreds of his members were embattled against a cocksure and arrogant enemy, Mr. Cousins went away to the south coast — the British Riviera — to enjoy a well-earned holiday. While Mr. Cousins basked in the sun his members were displaying 100% solidarity — though, since the strike was 'unofficial', they were receiving no dispute benefit.

That the employers had long been preparing for this trial of strength was proved by the way a well-drilled army of scabs — clerical workers — moved into action to keep supplies of produce moving through the markets.

(A notable feature of the struggle was the intervention of a group of young members of the Clerical and Administrative Workers' Union, who went down to the market morning after morning to try to persuade the scabs to stand by the marketmen. One of these CAWU pickets, 23-year-old Miss Vivien Mendelson, was invited to address a mass meeting in Trafalgar

Square, and won the applause of marketmen and portworkers alike by her forthright criticism of Cousins' attitude.)

But if blacklegs could be found to carry crates of fruit and sacks of potatoes in Covent Garden itself, there was no one on the docks who was prepared to handle 'black' produce. The marketmen had an ally, and a powerful one, in the shape of thousands of portworkers.

True to their traditions of solidarity, London's dockers stopped work rather than touch produce that was to be taken across a picket line. Gang after gang walked off the wharves, despite the fact that the dockers employed in loading and unloading fruit are among the highest paid men in the Port of London. Especially significant were the facts that the permanent men — considered sometimes as a pampered section — were absolutely solid behind the strike; and that over 12,000 men were involved in the struggle without any form of unofficial committee.

Leadership came from experienced rank-and-file dockers, including a number of well-known Trotskyists, and including members of both the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers Union and the Transport and General Workers' Union (the two unions between which the port workers are divided.) These dockers took the lead, explained the need for the utmost solidarity with the Covent Garden men, and the impossibility of any return to work until seven dockers 'black' goods were given back their jobs.

And so the strike spread from wharf to wharf, until even after the Covent Garden men had voted by a slender majority to stay out five more days, then resume work on the terms recommended by Mr. Cousins, the dockers refused to go back until the marketmen had returned — and 2,000 more dockers a day were joining the strike.

When Mr. Cousins came back from his holiday he spent several hours closeted with Mr. Donald Mack, the virtual dictator of London's fruit and vegetable trading.

Mr. Cousins secured a few minor and trivial adjustments to the agreement that had already been rejected by the marketmen. Then he persuaded the inexperienced leaders of the marketmen that they should recommend a return to work. This recommendation was accepted after Mr. Cousins had addressed the men for an hour. But it was a hollow victory — 509 votes in favour of going back to work; 432 in favour of continuing the struggle.

As he left the meeting Mr. Cousins was surrounded by angry workers, who shouted: 'Go back to your holiday', 'hang him' and 'You've sold us out'. The bubble of Cousins, the champion of the rank and file, had been pricked, and pricked for good.

One aspect of this whole dispute that cries out for comment is the role played by the Communist Party and the Daily

Worker. From beginning to end they have sought to bolster up Cousins as a 'Left' leader.

This fight has thrown a merciless light on the Stalinist attitude to the workers' struggles. It has shown beyond a shadow of a doubt that instead of seeing them as a means of educating the workers and improving their conditions, they look on them essentially as a means of improving the position of the Communist Party in the trade-union machinery.

The whole Stalinist strategy towards Mr. Cousins ever since his election has been based on the hope that he would, in return for services rendered, lift the ban on Communists holding office in his union, a ban imposed by his predecessor Mr. Arthur Deakin. To this end the Stalinists and their press made not a single criticism of the official trade-union machine during the Covent Garden dispute. They soft-pedaled the workers' resentment and anger at Mr. Cousins' betrayal — and they remained silent about the employers' glee at their victory.

The Daily Worker tied itself into grotesque knots trying to prove that the workers had got something out of the arbitration award and that a return to work was therefore "some advance."

A cover for Cousins, who sells his members down the river — that is the role that King Street [CP headquarters] plays in British industry today, in the face of the employers' offensive.

The British Communist Party has in practice sold itself to the trade-union bureaucracy; it is utterly unfit to lead any decisive struggle of the British workers.

The key question now facing the workers, therefore — and many militants are becoming increasingly aware of this — is the question of leadership. The need for a strong, alert, energetic, combative and courageous leadership is not grasped in one day. It forces its way only gradually into the workers' consciousness, and often not until the absence of such a leadership has brought such bitter lessons as that of Covent Garden.

We are approaching an important stage in the development of British trade unionism, a stage when a new leadership will be forged on the anvil of experience and tested in the fires of struggle.

(The foregoing was based on an interview with Harry Constable, a London docker.)

## New York Young Socialist Forum

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## In the Militant Next Week:

### A Report on the Soviet Youth

By a World Youth Festival Participant

We have just received from Peter Fryer a remarkable political document. It is an extensive account of the political thinking among Soviet youth as reported by Maurice Pelter, a young British unionist, who attended the World Youth Festival in Moscow. He was a member of the British Communist Party for ten years until his resignation last fall in protest against his party's stand on the Hungarian events.

During his two-week stay in Moscow he devoted the great bulk of his time to intensive discussion with Soviet students, young intellectuals and engineering workers. The fact that he was an ex-Communist Party member who still firmly supports Marxism opened the door to countless frank discussions with Soviet youth who are in a state of enormous political ferment. His graphic account of their views is something that those concerned with Soviet developments cannot afford to miss. The complete text will appear in our next issue.

# Anti-Semitism And Khrushchev

By Harry Ring

The Daily Worker and the Yiddish-language paper, Freiheit, reported, July 21, that the National Committee of the U.S. Communist Party had adopted a resolution

which deplores the crimes committed against the Soviet Jews during the Stalin era. In the same breath the resolution expresses confidence that "The Soviet Party... will, in the process it has begun of examining the Jewish question and the Leninist solution to it, give full expression to the cultural needs and desires of the Jewish people."

NO CONFIDENCE That such confidence in the Khrushchev bureaucracy is baseless is underscored by an editorial which appeared in the Aug. 1 Freiheit calling for "greater sensitivity" on the Jewish question by the Soviet government. The editorial was deemed sufficiently important to be reprinted on Freiheit's Aug. 11 English page and again in the Aug. 15 Daily Worker.

The editorial was prompted by Khrushchev's recent interview with a group of American tourists. Asked if it were true that Soviet Jews are not permitted to leave the country, Khrushchev replied that passports are issued only when it serves a "useful" purpose. He added, "Recently we gave Jews passports for repatriation to Poland, but we know they went straight on to Israel. We consider Israel is pursuing an aggressive policy."

Taking sharp exception to the second point, Freiheit correctly observes that "the fact that one goes to settle in Israel does not imply that he approves of the policy of the Israeli government. Nor should the fact that a certain government follows a harmful policy be considered a proper reason for interfering with an individual's right to enter such a country if he wishes or must settle there."

EQUAL OPPRESSION? Yet the editors of Freiheit reassure us that there is no problem of "official anti-Semitism." While criticizing Khrushchev's refusal to grant passports to Jews, Freiheit is quick to assert that by itself this is not discriminatory. Why? Because "the same rule applies equally to all Soviet citizens."

The reactionary abrogation of the democratic right of travel and migration reflects the complete lack of democratic rights in the Soviet Union today. In such a fettered atmosphere the Jews — who, as a national grouping have been reduced to second-class citizens — can only suffer the most from such "equality" of police restrictions.

COMING SOLUTION Those seeking a genuine solution will place their confidence not in the reassurances of Freiheit and the Daily Worker about the Kremlin clique but in the Soviet working class which made the revolution of 1917. In good time that working class will regain political power. The October Revolution brought national freedom for the Jewish people. The coming political revolution to re-establish workers' democracy will renew and extend that great conquest.

STANTIAL REASONS The editorial continues that there are substantial reasons why Jews want to leave the USSR. It cites the fact that the Jewish cultural institutions which were shut down after World War II have not been restored, depriving the Jews with "no opportunity for self-expression as Jews."

A second reason why Jews want to leave the USSR, says Freiheit, is that the government has failed to combat "vestiges of anti-Semitism" among the population. These "vestiges" are characterized as a hangover from Czarist days and from the period of the Nazi invasion.

To correct this situation, Freiheit calls for "a special Jewish institution created by the Soviet government... that would help carry on Yiddish cultural activity and that would also be helpful to the government in the process of repairing the injuries inflicted on the Jews as the result of the vestiges of anti-Semitism."

This editorial reflects the deeply troubled feelings of many Communist Party supporters regarding the Kremlin record on the Jewish question. But like the resolution of the CP national committee it tries to dodge the main issue.

The basic problem facing the Jewish people of the USSR today is not that of remnants of anti-Semitism. Nor is it simply a problem of the government failing to take sufficiently energetic measures to combat such anti-Semitic hangovers. The stark fact is that Khrushchev — like Stalin — not only caters to anti-Semitism but fosters and deepens it.

The Kremlin bureaucracy does not lack "sensitivity" on the Jewish question. Quite the contrary, Khrushchev demonstrated extreme sensitivity on the question when he catalogued Stalin's

## Calendar Of Events

Chicago

Militant Labor Forum, Fri., Sept. 6, 8:15 P.M. "The History of the Fifth Amendment." Speaker: Jim Merritt, 777 W. Adams.

New York Youth

Young Socialist Forum, Tues., Sept. 3, 8:15 P.M. "What's Wrong with the Unions?" Speaker: Steve Geller of the American Socialist Club, Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. (near 14th St.) Contribution: 50 cents. 25 cents for students.

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 Monday, September 2, 1957

# Real Aims of Hoffa "Probers"

By Fred Halstead

AUG. 29 — A climax to the Senate labor-probe hearings was reached with the four-day questioning last week of James R. Hoffa, Teamsters vice-president and head of the union's largest section, the Central Conference. For several weeks prior to the appearance of Hoffa, the committee had probed into labor racketeering in the New York City area.

Actually, the substance if not all the details of what the committee revealed was already known to those familiar with the New York labor picture, including workers affected, city and government officials, and top labor leaders. Until recently, however, only the radicals in and around the labor movement and a few other honest unionists with above average courage attempted to publicize or openly fight these conditions. All others, including those top AFL-CIO leaders who are now falling over themselves to cooperate with the committee, maintained a conspiracy of silence or actually supported the employers and racketeers in suppressing rank-and-file revolts.

The committee did not enter the investigation of this situation in response to the cries for help of the exploited workers.

These cries had been going on a long time without senators, or top labor officials ever giving them heed. The real reason for the committee's publicizing the situation at this time was to put Hoffa on the spot by linking him to the particularly sordid type of labor racketeer who exists in New York. Here again, Hoffa's role was already known to a great many people, including government officials and Hoffa's fellow AFL-CIO bureaucrats. Again, only radicals and other militant workers combatted Hoffaism as a matter of principle.

What the committee did that was new was to give unprecedented and widespread publicity to a part of Hoffa's corrupt practices. It did this in order to create the atmosphere for a widespread legislative and propaganda drive against the labor movement as a whole. It picked Hoffa as its star witness in this because he is vulnerable to this type of exposure and because he is a powerful official, and the probable next president of the Teamsters union, an important section of the labor movement.

Although publicity given to these exposures may be made use of here and there by rank-and-file workers in their struggles against the boss-racketeer alliance, this should not allow



HOFFA

militant unionists to blind themselves to the crimes of the committee, or to the threat to the union movement involved in the committee's methods and aims.

## UNION-CURBING BILLS

The propaganda possibilities set up by the committee have already been picked up by the press and in Congress. Senator Frank Lausche (D-Ohio), for example announced over a national T. V. hookup Aug. 25 that he believed the Teamsters union

was entirely too powerful and should be curbed. He urged a federal "right to work" law or anti-trust legislation against unions and said he intended to support such legislation in the Senate.

A week previously, Senator Ives (Rep.-N.Y.), a so called "pro-labor liberal," and a member of the probe committee, had also called for legislation bringing unions under the anti-trust laws.

Some anti-labor legislation has already been introduced in Congress as a result of the hearings. A Senate labor sub-committee approved a bill, August 26, requiring federal registration, reporting and disclosure of union welfare and pension funds. The Senate passed, and the House was considering last week, a bill opening union financial reports to public scrutiny. This measure would give the government authority over union financial reports which it does not have over corporation or personal income reports.

Each of these measures are precedent-setting devices which subject unions to increasing government intervention and harassment. They are only the beginning of much stronger anti-labor legislation being planned in the wake of the committee hearings.

## DANGEROUS METHODS

Equally sinister are the precedents being set by the methods used by the committee.

Wiretapping is one of these. (See editorial, page 1.) In general, the "labor-investigating committee" is using the same methods which were developed and refined by the McCarthy witch-hunt committee. Where McCarthy devised the term "Fifth-Amendment Communist" as a smear, the McClellan committee smears with the term "Fifth-Amendment racketeer."

That these devices have so far been used against notorious bureaucrats and racketeers does not make them all right. Once the public is accustomed to their use and the precedents are set, they will be used against honest unionists who do not want to reveal strike strategy or organizing plans or who have been accused of picket-line trouble. Indeed, some of the points on which Hoffa was grilled had nothing to do with corruption

but were in the realm of normal, legitimate union activity.

The committee has already set the precedent of interfering in internal union elections and affairs. The questioning of Hoffa was not completed, only recessed. It is expected to be resumed in time to affect the Teamsters convention in October. Regardless of what we think of Hoffa, the Teamsters election is the business of the Teamsters, not of a Congressional committee five of whose eight members are arch-reactionary Republicans or Southern Democrats.

## MEANY-REUTHER RETREAT

The Meany-Reuther leadership of the AFL-CIO is still in full retreat before this developing anti-labor drive. The Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, meeting in Chicago, Aug. 12-15, reaffirmed its intention of cooperating with the committee, its policy against use of the Fifth Amendment by union members, and its practice of victimizing those who use the Amendment.

A much more practical position was taken by Albert J. Fitzgerald, president of the United Electrical Workers, Independent, in an address to the UE convention in San Francisco this week. "This country doesn't need a McCarthy committee or a McClellan committee to deal with corruption in labor unions," said Fitzgerald. "What these unions need . . ." he continued, "is a drive to regain control by the rank and file members."

Fitzgerald suggested several points to implement this drive including: a ceiling on the salaries and expenses paid to labor leadership; the control by membership over every aspect of collective bargaining; membership control over the administration of the affairs of the union; and "take away the right of arbitrary expulsion that the labor bureaucracy now exercises."

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## ... Anti-Union Wiretapping

(Continued from page 1)

those conversations will not be exposed to management or to anti-labor government officials or legislators who could reveal them to management.

Strike strategy, bargaining strategy, organizing plans, the names of workers attempting to organize non-union shops, and many other points of honest union business are necessarily of a secret nature as far as the employer or the government is concerned. The right to meet privately, without interference, surveillance, or even the knowledge of the employer or government authorities, was historically the first right that had to be won by workers before they could organize unions effectively at all. It is a basic cornerstone of all workers' organization.

Any concession to wiretapping by government agencies investigating unions is a cowardly retreat from the defense of the right to organize. Besides, if the committee is allowed to get away with wiretapping, without so much as a fight on the question by the labor move-

ment, why can't it make recordings with "bug" microphones secretly placed in union halls, conference rooms, or even members homes? If government surveillance of conversations is to be condoned, why not direct surveillance of meetings themselves?

Wiretapping is a major violation of the cherished right to privacy and free assembly. It is the method of the police state. This fact was recognized very shortly after the telephone became widespread, and many states outlawed wiretapping. Information thus obtained is not admitted as evidence in Federal courts. The hypocrisy of the committee is revealed by the fact that Hoffa himself is under indictment for alleged wiretapping in Michigan. What is illegal for Hoffa should also be illegal for the committee. On the technicality that the Senate hearings are not court trials, the committee has used the device and is attempting to establish it as an acceptable practice. It is not! All Americans who value their privacy and their liberties should say so.

## Dulles Versus a Free Press

John Foster Dulles is in trouble. It comes from shouting about a bamboo curtain erected by the Chinese regime, while the U.S. State Department constructs a curtain of its own to isolate this nation of 600 million people.

The government of China has been in existence for eight years now. But the Wall Street government doesn't like it. Big Business was especially outraged at the confiscation of imperialist holdings by the Mao regime. Therefore, the State Department considers that this government does not legally exist. The dictator, Chiang Kai-shek, booted out of China most ingloriously, is regarded as the only legitimate government.

However, this was not enough. In order to really isolate China, the State Department tried to organize an economic blockade. It banned travel there for U.S. citizens. Then it even forbade the press to penetrate the off-limits land.

Slowly the U.S. newspapers began to balk. Politely, but persistently, they pointed out to Dulles that this prohibition was a violation of freedom of the press. News came through — but only second-hand. Gradually, over the months, the pressure mounted.

Dulles squirmed. He exhorted. But he finally gave in. Not to demands for democratic freedom of the press — that was asking too much. But certain, select publishing concerns, 24 in number, were given permission to send reporters, one each, to the forbidden land.

Then the Chinese People's Daily got angry. Dulles intended to grant a limit-

ed and select number of U.S. correspondents permission to go to China, but he made it clear that the Chinese could not send their reporters to the United States. The Chinese press aptly characterized this rejection of the customary reciprocity among nations as "insufferable arrogance" and reminded Dulles that the Chinese people were no longer pawns of the imperialist powers — a statement that must have been cheered by colonial peoples everywhere.

Reporters suggested to Lincoln White on Aug. 26 that "no government, Communist or otherwise, could be expected to admit foreign newsmen if its own nationals were expressly barred from return visits." But the State Department remained adamant — for a day.

On Aug. 27 Dulles told newsmen that the U.S. would consider any applications for entry into this country by Chinese newsmen. Of course, that doesn't mean that Chinese reporters will be admitted. Dulles made it clear the Attorney General could waive the ban but he didn't know if he would.

Dulles is in trouble — even with those who support his foreign policy most ardently. But the trouble is not due to State Department "blunders." The apparent contradictions and stupidities of Dulles' stand flow inevitably out of the imperialist hatred for a colonial people that liberated itself from imperialist rule. They flow out of frustrated rage that former control and lush profits are gone forever. That is why the State Department has declared China a forbidden land.

## Smokescreen Over Syria

Once more the smokescreen of Soviet intervention in the Mideast has been raised to obscure what is really taking place. Last spring the capitalist press went wild with charges of "Communist plots" against King Hussein of Jordan. The U.S. Sixth Fleet was rushed to the scene to assure "peace and order."

When the smoke dissipated the real picture came into focus. King Hussein had overthrown the first democratically elected parliament of Jordan. Hussein assumed dictatorial power and the bodies of nationalist leaders hung in the public squares. Freedom in Jordan — still an infant — was dead.

Last week the smokescreen was spread across Syria. Only this time U.S. State Department plots with anti-nationalist elements for a palace revolution did not succeed. The nationalist infant in Syria proved more robust.

What really happened in Syria? First it is necessary to understand U.S. strategy in the Mideast. The United States has taken over the role formerly filled by Britain and France of maintaining "peace and order," by which is meant — assuring the profitable exploitation of these lands by the foreign imperialists.

In order to accomplish this aim the nationalist movement in the Arab countries must be destroyed. Following in the footsteps of the European predecessors, the U.S. State Department has been busy forming alliances with the most reactionary feudal elements against the nationalist forces.

The Soviet Union, fearing the transformation of the Mideast into a military

bastion for the next war, has offered economic and military aid — without strings — to encourage nationalist resistance to the United States. Thus, the extent to which U.S. military and economic pressure alone can bend the Arab peoples to the will of the West is limited.

As Joseph C. Harsch, Christian Science Monitor, put it Aug. 27: "It [the West] is defending a cluster of Arab kingdoms of not too modern a vintage against a popular revolutionary movement" backed by armaments from Moscow.

In the July 6 New Statesman, the British writer, Paul Johnson, after a tour of the Mideast countries explained U.S. policy as follows: "Sooner or later . . . the Americans must dispose of the Syrian regime. They are already hard at work, using as their allies the Lebanese government and the neo-Fascist parties . . . of Beirut . . . which maintain clandestine contacts with the opposition in Damascus."

This is the background to the Syrian charge of a U.S. plot to overthrow the al-Kuwatly regime, followed quickly, Aug. 13, by the expulsion of three U.S. Embassy officials. An army purge consolidated the nationalist forces and relations with Egypt were strengthened.

The struggle in Syria is just beginning. Arab nationalism has a formidable opponent in the economic and military power of U.S. imperialism. But the U.S. State Department also has reason to worry — for the hope of freedom stirs strong among the Arab masses and will not be easily quelled.

## Reuther's Economics

By Art Preis

In making his offer of a price-wage deal to the auto corporations, President Walter Reuther of the United Automobile Workers revealed much about his thinking on economics. His letter to the corporations bristles with phrases and concepts lifted from the propaganda of the big capitalists themselves. His theories about inflation are especially shallow and dangerously misleading.

First of all, his letter claims that industry owners and organized labor should advance policies which "will not only protect and advance the interest of workers and stockholders but will also protect and advance the interest of all American consumers."

### WHO ARE THEY?

This differentiation between workers and consumers is a standard fraud of capitalist propagandists. They are always appealing to the interests of the "consumers" against the workers. But who are the overwhelming bulk of consumers? They are the wage-workers. Over 80% of income earners in the U.S. live by the sale of their labor power for wages. By far the largest category of wage-earners are in manufacturing industries. Together with workers in transportation, public utilities, construction and mining, they are an outright majority of the working class. Even in agriculture, of the 7.7-million engaged in farming, 4.2-million are wage-workers.

When Reuther intimates that union labor is something separate and apart from the consumer he has established a false premise for his whole proposition. Further, he accepts and affirms basic tenets of capitalism about profits and wages and uses the standard phraseology of the Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers. Thus, Reuther speaks

about "our respective obligations to seek reasonable profits and fair wages."

What are "reasonable profits"? That is the hardest definition to pin down. According to the capitalists, "reasonable profits" are all the profits they can squeeze out of the workers. Naturally, Reuther would say he doesn't mean that. Well, what does he mean? Is a reasonable profit 6% on investment, 2% or 30%?

Reuther is prepared, according to the figures he cites in his letter to General Motors, to accept a return of 39.3% before taxes on investment and 18.9% after taxes. That is what he claims General Motors will be able to grab even after putting into effect the \$100 per car price cut.

If you accept the theory of the "reasonable" profit, then GM might well argue that it is not getting a "fair" profit because its \$481-million net profit for the first half of 1957 is down 4.4% from last year and 27.2% from its 1955 record of \$661-million.

It is just as difficult to find any clear definition of a "fair wage." Is it, as Reuther writes, "a fair share of the fruits of their [the workers'] labor"? If the product is the fruit of their labor why should they share it with anybody, particularly the parasitic capitalists?

### LABOR CREATES PROFITS

The truth is there is no such thing as a "reasonable profit" or a "fair wage." Profit is nothing more than the surplus value produced by the worker over and above what is returned to him in the form of wages. Every penny of profits rightfully belongs to the workers, for it is their labor alone that gives added value and surplus — that is proved conclusively every time a group of workers goes on strike. So-called "management" and the coupon-clippers

could go fishing indefinitely, but the factories and mines would go on producing so long as the workers were there.

We come finally to Reuther's big pitch, his concept of the nature of inflation. He claims, along with most liberal reformists who accept capitalism, that rising prices are due simply to the will of the capitalists, who raise prices as they please whenever they want to. This is particularly true of monopolies. Like the economist who said that we have unemployment because workers are laid off, Reuther says we have inflation because prices are being raised all the time. It doesn't take a college degree to see the fallacy in trying to explain something by merely using another name for the same thing.

What Reuther leaves out of his neat but false formula is the tremendous role that has been played by government spending and government debt since 1939, especially war spending and war debt.

### ARMS SPENDING

Just from 1947 through 1956, the federal government has spent more than half a trillion dollars — \$533.7-billion. About 70% of this sum has gone for military preparations or payment for past wars. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956, total government spending — federal, state, and local — rose 4% to \$114.5-billion. These vast sums are paid out from taxes and loans. Part of these taxes are a direct deduction from wages. The bulk of taxes are indirect. The workers pay them in the form of higher prices for goods and services.

The federal debt alone stands at the legal maximum of \$275-billion. This on top of a business and private debt of over a trillion dollars. The federal debt is now maturing at the rate of \$80-billion a year. If the banks, insurance companies and corporations were to demand prompt payment, the government would have to declare bankruptcy. The government, which is run by the financiers, has been able to refund the debt, but only for short terms and at ever higher interest rates.

Reuther it must be added, is an ardent supporter of the capitalist war program and military spending, root causes of the inflation. Regardless of price cuts by individual corporations or industries, such as he proposes in his wage-price deal to the "Big Three," the pressure of government spending and debt, plus the staggering load of consumer debt, inexorably forces up the cost of living.

## September Selection Book-A-Month Offer

TWO PLAYS BY BERTOLT BRECHT: The Caucasian Chalk Circle and The Good Woman of Setzuan. New York: Grove Press, 1956, 192 pp., \$1.45, (plus 10c postage) (softbound.)

Here is a book which will be pure delight for the reader. The author was one of the great literary talents of our times — a poet and dramatist of genius. More than that, he was a keen observer of social classes and individuals within those classes. Unlike the mechanical "proletarian" literature of the Stalinist third period, these two plays, and all of Brecht's writings, not only enlighten the reader but stir him emotionally. The reason is simple — Brecht was a true artist.

Only in the past few years has a considerable number of Americans become acquainted with the wit, biting satire and dramatic genius of Bertolt Brecht. This has resulted from the production in New York of his Threepenny Opera. It was immediately a smash hit and after its scheduled run audience demand was so great that it was brought back and is now in its second year of sellout performances. Even so the play has been produced only in New York and in an off-Broadway theatre at that. So aside from those lucky enough to have seen it there, peo-

ple in the rest of the country know Brecht, if at all, only from the lyrics to the song Moritat (Mack the Knife), which became a jukebox hit following production of the Threepenny Opera.

The two plays in the present volume, though not musicals, are as marvellous, and in some ways superior, to Threepenny Opera. The Good Woman of Setzuan recently had an off-Broadway production in New York which held the audience spellbound. The Caucasian Chalk Circle was the outstanding triumph of the 1955 International Theatre Festival in Paris.

The settings of both these plays are as old as folklore, yet the characters in them are as fresh and contemporary as your fellow workers. Indeed, in the Caucasian Chalk Circle Brecht has created one of the most original and witty characters in modern literature.

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## Letters from Readers

### Union Ranks Kept in Dark

Editor:  
 Mounting pressure of speed-up on the job is affecting the thinking of the rank-and-file about union leadership. Dissatisfaction is expressed about the lack of real progress arising out of negotiations of union officials with the company. A main basis for their gripe is being kept in the dark regarding a new contract in its entirety. Excepting for an occasional briefing on one or another phase (wherein a general controversy arises) the agreement thus far is known to few.

The question of stewardship is of leading importance toward the building of a union. Flarours within organizations of labor over the mishandling of legitimate grievances become more frequent. Only recently has the rank-and-file membership grown a degree more conscious of the need to elect with the right to remove a steward. Under the present setup, stewards are appointed by union officials. Many union men in reporting a union grievance to a steward are accused directly by the boss of being trouble-makers, indicating a closer relationship between steward and the boss than between the steward and the men. If unions are to be built to

give representation to the rank-and-file, then regular elections must be held by union men in each shop, plant, factory.

JA  
 \*\*\* New York

### Bullying Bosses

Editor:  
 The articles in the Militant on "Bosses I Have Known" are keen. I got a dilly to write to you, and I could get dozens of them. The bosses that are looking out for their own interests or bully you when it seems a worker just has to keep his job run in droves like quails.

Recently the local newspapers ran articles on sordid living conditions and slum areas. The letters from readers were interesting, too, though I don't know who the sordid living conditions were news to. Certainly not to the people who live in the slum areas or the ones who could do something about it.

I live in the section and we buy water at 50 cents a barrel. There is no city water or sewers. Some preachers said it was the people's fault. They did not want to do better. Well I have been finding people to give the Militant to and looking for subscribers to it. It sure is worth reading and thinking and doing for.  
 Mrs. L.T.  
 Dallas, Texas

## When the End of the A-Bomb Will Come

On this earth there is a monster Born of human labor, brain and hand. He struck at Hiroshima and Nagasaki; Death and destruction laid waste the land. Suckling babes from mothers' breasts were torn And they were killed who were yet unborn.

Mushrooming smoke — a lightning that rent the sky The maimed and seared were left to suffer and to die. On the bones of the innocent this monster's ghoulish feast Was sanctified by lawyer, minister, chaplain and priest.

It is by our collective skills and labor That this dreadful nightmare has reared its ugly head. And by our united action in all lands — near and far — We can conquer this ugly monster, make sure that he is dead.

No longer the sun darkened by man-made cloud, No longer life's symbol, a shroud, No longer the A-Bomb's thunder, When men are restrained from plunder.

The science of nuclear fission will perform a useful mission It will power the ship upon the ocean and the swiftly speeding train.

It will help the farmer in growing fields of waving golden grain. No longer in abject terror, our brain this monster can bind. Only the hand of labor can control him and make him serve mankind.

J. B. Scattlo



Fight Against Anti-Negro Terror in Chicago

CHICAGO — Just as the unity of the workers inside the shops is not won by supporting the boss, unity of Negro and white workers in the community cannot be won by supporting the bosses' political agents.

Faced with a choice between two union policies: (1) the CIO policy of Negro equality and (2) support to Daley, the Democratic mayor of Chicago, the labor leaders are trying to make it appear that both policies are possible at the same time.

AFL-CIO TOP COUNCIL SILENT

The AFL-CIO top council failed to even issue a statement although it met for days in Chicago's plush Drake Hotel at the very height of public apprehension over racist attacks on Negroes at Calumet Park.

Not only is false political policy at the root of their failure as leaders of the unions and of the community. But their support to Daley throws the ranks into confusion tearing them between desires to act against Jim Crow and at the same time support the union leaders.

What is the road ahead? The task of achieving Negro-white unity and equality in the community can be solved better if we examine how important gains in this direction were made in the factories in the course of the organization of the CIO.

As every old-time unionist knows, organization of the shop on one side of the street brought an increase in the wages and working conditions on the other side, where the union hadn't reached yet.

The bosses know this well. They insure that their own community interests are carried out by the two political parties they have organized for the purpose.

How can the workers defend themselves in the community, as they do in the shops? The task is one of organization. It is clear that if the workers had their own Mayor of Chicago he would not tolerate the failure of the police to stop the racists.

But what is even more immediately important is that whatever can be done, every step however small or big, against Jim Crow is directly tied — so far as its effectiveness is concerned — to Daley. Let us see why this is so.

We know that the job of organizing the community of Chicago against Jim Crow will have to be done in steps and stages, just as was union organization. Big meetings and demonstrations would be called now for this purpose (as during the CIO organizing drives), if it were not for the union support given to Daley and the Democratic Party.

Both would be directed at Daley, of course, since he is responsible. And both are excellent proposals. But if along with these actions goes support to Daley (the policy of the union leaders), then Daley will know that these actions were not too threatening, since he is assured of the support of labor.

A BREAK WOULD GET ACTION

On the other hand, petitions and picket lines coupled with a policy of condemnation of Daley's failure to fulfill his election pledge to enforce the law in Trumbull Park would be a different matter. These modest steps plus an announcement of a break with boss parties and preparations by the unions to put up independent candidates in opposition to the boss candidates would really shock the bosses into action.

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So now also — on the political field — even the threat by unions to break with boss politics would be an effective form of pressure. And if this threat were backed up by serious intent and a program of action to carry it out then labor would make a leap forward in the community even greater than that made by the unions in the 1930's.

Socialists Seek Place on Ballot

Chicago CIO Head Lashes Mayor on Racist Assaults

CHICAGO, AUG. 27 — A Chicago CIO leader has publicly expressed sharp disagreement with the CIO's political policy of support to Democratic Mayor Daley despite his responsibility for the wave of anti-Negro violence which has brought the city to the verge of a race riot.

The CIO leader is Paul Iacino, newly-elected secretary-treasurer of the Cook County CIO Council. He was a featured speaker at a conference dealing with the de facto segregation of Chicago's schools. Iacino's statement was made in response to a question from the floor. The questioner reviewed Daley's failure to carry out campaign pledges to stop the racist terror at the Trumbull Park Housing Project, his negligence or unconcern with the wave of beatings, and murders of Negroes and the recent anti-Negro riots at Calumet Park.

Iacino replied that the statement praising Daley had been issued by the Illinois CIO Council and that he took no responsibility for it; further that the Cook County CIO Council has not issued a statement of praise to Daley in this connection and that it would not.

MASS MEET URGED

Another question to the young CIO official, which drew a burst of applause from audience, suggested that the CIO take the lead in organizing a city-wide mass meeting to combat the anti-Negro terror.

In the course of the discussion of school segregation it was brought out that the Chicago school board was not only guilty of racial gerrymandering of school districts but suddenly and drastically lowered standards in districts considered "in transition" (i.e. into which some Negro families had moved) thus providing white parents there with motives to take their children to other school districts.

The conference was held Aug. 24 under the auspices of the educational committee of the Chicago NAACP. Delegates and observers were present from many organizations including union locals, the American Federation of Teachers, American Jewish Congress, Urban League, University of Chicago, and the Socialist Workers Party.

New York City Candidates



The Socialist Workers Party slate in the New York City election. From left to right: Morris Zuckoff for Comptroller; Joyce Cowley, for Mayor; Lillian Kiesel, for President of the City Council; and Alvin Berman for Borough President of Brooklyn.

Many Sign For SWP In N.Y.

NEW YORK, Aug. 27 — The drive of the Socialist Workers Party to collect the signatures on nominating petitions necessary to win a place on the ballot for the Nov. 5 election is now well under way. The reception accorded the petition gatherers has already established that the SWP will be able to meet the Sept. 23 deadline for filing with an amount of signatures substantially over the legally required minimum of 8,500.

In a statement issued today, Carol Lynn, the Party's campaign manager stressed the particularly gratifying response being received among the most oppressed workers in the city. "It's been an inspiring thing," she said, "to hear the number of our petition gatherers who return to campaign headquarters with the report that, particularly in Harlem, East Harlem and Bedford Stuyvesant, a really good number of workers are willing to sign a petition for socialist candidates."

"Two things have shown up most in the reaction to our petition drive," she continued, "first is the growing disaffection with both major parties. Many workers will sign the petition only after they are certain that it has nothing to do with either the Republicans or the Democrats." "Secondly," she added, "the relative ease in securing signatures as expressed in the high average number collected by the petitioners, shows how much less the witchhunt is felt among the working people today."

AHEAD OF SCHEDULE

With a very good daily turnout of party supporters since the campaign opened, she said, it has been possible not only to keep ahead of schedule on the signatures necessary for the city-wide candidates and at the same time to gather the necessary signatures in Brooklyn for Alvin Berman, the Party's candidate for Borough President.

Another gratifying aspect of the petition drive has been the aid extended by supporters of various other radical tendencies both in signing the nominating petitions and in aiding in the work itself. Miss Lynn said that at the united free speech rally in Union Square on Aug. 23 a number of supporters of other radical parties approached SWP campaigners and volunteered to sign their petitions.

UNITED FREE-SPEECH RALLY HELD IN N. Y. UNION SQUARE

NEW YORK, AUG. 25 — A new and welcome precedent was set last night by a number of workers' organizations who joined together to defend the century-old tradition of free speech in this city's famous Union Square.

Earlier in the week police had attempted to break up a discussion group in the park and threatened to jail two speakers. David McReynolds, a National Committee member of the Socialist Party, sent out a call to radical parties to rally to the defense of free speech in Union Square by participating in an open meeting there last night.

Taking part in the protest meeting were members and spokesmen of the Socialist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party, the recently-organized Young Socialist Forum, and non-affiliated individuals.

McReynolds, who chaired the meeting, told the audience of about 200 that free speech meant the non-exclusion of all tendencies in the expression and exchange of opinions in the open market place of ideas, that debate not intimidation was the cornerstone of a free society.

Morris Zuckoff, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Comptroller in the current municipal elections, noted that it was 30 years almost to the day that Sacco and Vanzetti, in whose defense Union Square meetings had played such an important role, had been executed for their ideas.

DISCUSSION URGED

George Watts, a Smith Act victim, speaking for the Communist Party emphasized that all believers in socialism were involved in the struggle for peace, freedom and equality.

Differences on how to attain these goals should be tested by discussion and free exchange of ideas as was being done at this rally.

Gil Turner from the Young Socialist Forum denounced not only the police intimidation in Union Square but pointed out "that as long as public buildings and the means of communication are controlled by a small group free speech is not yet guaranteed to the majority."

Some 200 people stayed for hours at the outdoor meeting, listening attentively to the speakers, applauding them and voicing solidarity. The police refrained from attempts at interference.

This marked the first time in the history of Union Square that spokesmen for the Socialist Workers Party and for the Communist Party stood on the same platform in common cause.

... Press Right to Vote

(Continued from page 1)

Calhoun County in South Carolina. There Negroes number 10,449 and whites 4,304. Not a single Negro is allowed to register.

Already Negroes have begun action in defense of the right to vote in Tuskegee, Alabama. Racist legislators gerrymandered the city limits to prevent Negro participation in local elections. Declaring "if you don't want to vote in town we won't buy in town," Tuskegee Negroes began a boycott which has remained solid for two months despite the threats and efforts of the Alabama Attorney General and police.

Indeed the whole civil-rights debate which has occupied Congress for the past two months is but a dim, distorted reflection of the tremendous determination and mass pressure of the Negro people to achieve a major breakthrough in the fight against Jim Crow.

Republican strategy was to capture the Negro vote by doing

what the liberal Democrats had never done despite the years of backing given them by the Negro voters — namely, to actually pass a civil rights bill with a little something in it. Democratic strategy worked out by compromise between the Dixiecrat, liberal and party-machine wings, was not to completely discredit the party by a Southern filibuster but to amend the bill until it was practically nothing but empty words. This was the strategy that won in the Senate.

The bill that has finally passed is, however, a slight improvement on the toothless Senate version. As the cynics in Washington say, it has been given some "baby teeth." These consist of a modification of the jury-trial amendment put in by the Senate. Thus a federal judge, whose injunction is violated, may hold the violator in criminal contempt and fine him up to \$300 or imprison him for 45 days. If, however, the judge assesses a heavier penalty, the violator may have a jury trial.

Needless to say, a jury trial in the Deep South of an official or sheriff guilty of preventing Negroes from voting means automatic acquittal.

SOME MAY SEE JAIL

Though the penalties of \$300 fine and 45 days have been dubbed "bargain basement" contempt sentences and are in fact the equivalent of mere misdemeanor penalties, they do make it possible that some of those depriving Negroes of their constitutional right to vote may see the inside of a jail cell.

The temper of the Negro people and the statement of Rev. King that his organization will use the law to the utmost and press the Justice Department for action mean that despite all its weakness and inadequacies the Negro people will push this law to its limits. That pushing alone will accomplish great things including exposure of the law's shortcomings and demonstration of the need for a stronger one.

The recent civil-rights fight in Congress has already taught enemies of Jim Crow an important political lesson. Those who learned the lesson are now vigorously condemning the political line of the NAACP leadership. Americans for Democratic Action, and the AFL-CIO bureaucracy — in particular Walter Reuther — who are the controlling forces in the lobby known as the Leadership Conference for Civil Rights.

This lobbying group, even a few hours before the Senate on Aug. 7 passed its emasculated version of the bill, announced that this was the best that could be gotten. It was in effect an order to Negroes, labor and other civil rights forces to abandon the fight for a stronger bill in the Senate or House. It was also direct aid to the liberal Democrats who feared that any further fight might destroy the fragile and rotten compromise they had made with the Dixiecrats.

WILKINS HIT

Hundreds of leaders and thousands of rank-and-file Negro freedom fighters denounced this overhasty blessing by NAACP leader Roy Wilkins of the Senate bill. Their demands for strengthening the bill, even vetoing it as worse than nothing, spurred Republican politicians to achieve a revision that gave the bill its "baby teeth" three weeks later.

At present the Negro press is filled with criticisms of the NAACP leadership and demands that it cease playing tail to the kite of the ADA and Walter Reuther. It is charged in so many words that the NAACP leaders instead of strengthening the civil-rights fight by their alliance with the liberals and labor bureaucracy were used by ADA and Reuther to bail the liberal Democrats out of a difficult spot by easing off the pressure for a meaningful civil-rights law.

Detroit Socialists Carry Campaign to Factories

DETROIT, Aug. 23 — Here is a report on one phase of the campaign for Sarah Lovell, socialist candidate for Mayor in the Sept. 10 primary election:

Sunday: We are out early with our literature at the downtown Central Methodist Church. Over 3,000 show up because the sermon is being given by Rev. Martin L. King of Montgomery; the audience is mainly middle-class, about half-white, half-Negro. We pass out our latest leaflet, "Questions about the Detroit Election and Answers by Sarah Lovell," and sell copies of The Militant.

KNOW OF CAMPAIGN

Several people come up to Sarah, asking if she is really the candidate. They have become accustomed to the idea of meeting candidates on the street who want to shake their hand, but are surprised to find one actually passing out literature. Some young women tell her they already know about her campaign from previous publicity.

A young Negro engages us in conversation as we distribute. We haven't seen him for some time, but he is very friendly. He got our leaflet in the mail and says it is very good because "it raises real and practical questions." He says it encouraged him to raise a discussion of socialism in a group that met last week to gather support behind William T. Patrick Jr., candidate for Council whose election we are supporting too. He promises to bring some friends to our final election rally (Sat., Sept. 7, 8 p.m., at 3737 Woodward).

Next we go to a small Negro Baptist church on the east side. Everyone here is a worker or a member of a worker's family. We are greeted warmly and invited in, and Sarah is introduced to



SARAH LOVELL

the congregation of about 50 by a worker we met last year. She is given the floor and speaks for a few minutes on independent political action. They thank her and take leaflets for the whole congregation.

SENDS \$5

In the afternoon we go to a meeting scheduled for UAW Local 235 (Chevrolet Gear & Axle). But Sarah can't speak because there is no quorum; most unions here discontinue meetings during the summer. We pass out our literature anyhow.

Monday: Before we leave our headquarters, Sarah sends off a reply to a former auto worker. Last week we sent him a copy of our leaflet, together with an appeal for support. By return mail he sent us \$5 and a request for 500 leaflets he wants to distribute himself.

We get out to the big Dodge Main plant to catch people going in and out at lunch. The plant is in Hamtramck rather

than Detroit proper, and we are prohibited from using the sound equipment on our car, but the police don't object to our parking it prominently where the sign on top attracts some attention.

One of us gets the idea of asking the workers if they would like to meet our candidate. Several do, and come over. About 25 shake hands with Sarah, and she makes a little talk about the need for independent working class and Negro candidates, and why it's wrong to support the big business candidate, Miriani, even though he has union endorsement.

Some of the Negro workers standing nearby become more interested when they overhear Sarah telling white workers why they should help elect Patrick. Tuesday: We're out at a DeSoto plant at 6 in the morning; we covered the big DeSoto plant last week. Workers take our leaflets and read them while waiting for the gates to open. We've noticed that only a small proportion of our literature is torn away.

EQUAL SPACE AT LAST

Since Sunday all three Detroit dailies have been shut down by a jurisdictional strike; people don't have as many things to read. The shutdown hasn't done us any harm; the daily papers had backed out all news about our campaign anyhow. "For once," somebody observes, "we are getting an equal break from the capitalist press."

But some of us think the reception of our leaflet was especially good even before the strike began. They say it's because our leaflet is attractive and even striking — the only election literature so far from the 90-odd

city candidates that does more than print a slogan or two, that raises basic issues and tries to convince and educate voters.

At 3 o'clock we cover the Kelsey-Hayes plant during shift change. One woman demonstratively tears up our leaflet, but another tries to console us by saying she doesn't work there anyhow. A man tells us about the trouble he has had trying to convince some office workers that socialism is a good thing.

Wednesday: Last night someone phoned our headquarters to ask for leaflets he could pass out at the Plymouth plant. We're delighted, and offer to do better than that — to give them out ourselves this morning. So we're there before 6. One worker tells us he's glad we're there, but sorry we're not covering all entrances, and takes some to cover one himself. Later, the man who phoned identifies himself and takes leaflets for people who don't work at this plant. He offers to have a talk with us some time.

Thursday: We cover the big Chrysler plant before the gates open. Some people who identify Sarah from her picture wish her good luck. Some of our crew have to go to their own jobs after the distributions, but seeing a lot of workers standing and sitting around reading socialist literature is a pleasant sight to us, compensating for having to get up so early.

In the afternoon we cover the Excello plant. We overhear one woman telling others that "the socialists have never had a chance to show what they can do; they can't do it worse than the ones that are in now."

Friday: We cover the Budd plant. We find we have almost exhausted the run of 10,000 leaflets we got a little over a

week ago. There's still over two weeks of the campaign to go; we still have got to cover the big Ford plant, and the Labor Day parade about a week before the election.

We call up the printer and order some more leaflets. Now we have the problem of raising additional money to pay for them.

Another problem, but our spirits are high as we sit down to tackle it. We have the satisfaction of having waged a good fight in this election. Win or lose, we have held the banner of socialism high, and have won some new friends for its ideas and perspectives. Socialists are still a minority, but a minority that doesn't let difficulties discourage and silence us. And that, we think, is a good sign for the future.

Detroit ACLU Aids McPhaul Appeal

The Detroit chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union is supporting the appeal of Arthur McPhaul, sentenced last March to 9 months in jail for contempt of congress.

The brief, to be submitted as a friend of the court, asserts that the "conviction will . . . adversely affect the exercise of First Amendment freedoms, particularly freedom of speech and association."

McPhaul, former secretary of the Civil Rights Congress in Michigan, had refused to surrender membership and other records of the organization to the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1952.

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