

Two Parties Vie In Pushing Bills Against Unions

By Tom Kerry

The twin-pronged assault on the organized labor movement reached a crescendo this past week as Wall Street and Washington ganged up to heighten the employer-government offensive against the unions.

Abandoning all pretense of "impartiality," Eisenhower stepped forward as chief hatchet man for the corporations in demanding congressional enactment of additional repressive labor legislation.

Emboldened by the clamor from the White House and Congress for more punitive labor measures, the Wall Street boodlers pressed forward their union-busting campaign of imposing yellow-dog contracts on workers forced on strike to preserve their union living standards and working conditions.

FOUR BILLS

There are now four so-called "labor reform" bills before Congress. The Kennedy-Ervin bill has already been passed by the Senate by a vote of 90 to 1. The leaders of the AFL-CIO first supported this measure; then reconsidered after it was amended; then came out in opposition after James Hoffa, John L. Lewis and others attacked the bill as repressive.

In the House, three bills are up for consideration. The Elliott bill, which was reported out by the House Committee on Education and Labor without recommendation; the Landrum-Griffin bill, a bipartisan Republican-Democrat measure and the Shelley bill, which is supported by the AFL-CIO heads. Of the three, the Landrum-Griffin bill is considered the most savagely anti-labor.

In his nation-wide television broadcast last Thursday Eisenhower demanded that Congress adopt the union-busting Landrum-Griffin bill as "a good start toward a real labor reform bill."

The president is a hard man to please. In addition to Taft-Hartley he now wants the Lan-

drum-Griffin bill. A few more such "labor reforms" and the unions will be reformed right out of existence.

Although potentially the strongest power in this country, the organized labor movement is on the defensive and "fuming scared." The dismal record of the union leaders in the field of legislative and political action has disheartened the ranks and left them bewildered and confused. For years the bureaucrats have preached reliance on "friends of labor" in Washington to defend the interests of the unions. In a showdown these "friends" always wind up advocating a policy of retreat in order to ward off the blows of reaction.

As against the Landrum-Griffin bill, the "friends" support the lesser evil of the Elliott and Kennedy-Ervin measures. The AFL-CIO sponsored Shelley bill is given short shrift. Because of the unbridled character of the employer-government offensive against labor, some union circles are beginning to talk about going over from defensive to offensive actions. This would require, first of all, a complete reversal of policy on the legislative and political front.

T-H EXPERIENCE

When the Taft-Hartley law was enacted the union leaders broke ranks and permitted the imposition and gradual extension of what they themselves characterized as a "slave labor" bill.

For the first period after its adoption the policy of the union heads was to demand Taft-Hartley repeal. Truman was elected in 1948 with labor support on the basis of his slogan to repeal the Taft-Hartley (Continued on Page 3)

5 Negro Students Brave Little Rock Racist Mobs

Oil Workers Fight to Save Union Gains

Steel workers aren't the only target of the employer campaign to destroy hard-won job conditions. Some 2,600 oil refinery workers are currently engaged in three bitterly fought strikes to resist a similar drive in plants operated by the notorious union-hating Standard Oil of Indiana.

The strikers are members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union, AFL-CIO. The July 27 issue of Union News, voice of the OCAW, describes their strike as "a struggle in which the fabulously wealthy oil colossus seeks to destroy completely the effectiveness of the local unions. The company demands would force the unions completely out of existence."

The three locals involved are at Texas City, Texas, Sugar Creek, Mo., and El Dorado, Ark. None of the striking locals have presented new contract demands. Their fight is limited to winning renewal and enforcement of old agreements.

In El Dorado, the union offered to extend the present agreement for another year without change. The company replied with a tough "no," and is demanding complete freedom to change job assignments and increase work loads as it sees fit.

In Texas City, the company offered to extend the present agreement because it has found enough loopholes in it to strip the workers of virtually all protection. The union is asking for a new contract that will adhere to "the spirit" of the old one, with some of the loopholes plugged up.

At Sugar Creek, the workers are fighting for their first OCAW contract after having been members of an independent union. The union says it will accept the old independent contract for a new period. The company has refused this offer and is pressing for the right to assign work as it pleases.

"ROCKEFELLER TACTICS"

Union News also charges that in its efforts to defeat the strikes, Standard "is resorting to the Rockefeller tactics of 30 years ago except that so far nobody has been shot down in cold blood on the picketlines."

"High-pressure propaganda experts are daily pouring innuendo and, in some cases, blatant lies into the newspapers and radio and television stations of the area."

"STILL MILITANT"

In urging maximum participation by all affiliated unions, Matthew Guinan, vice president of the Central Labor Council and chairman of the 21-man Labor Day Parade Committee, declared that the march will demonstrate that "the labor movement is still militant, vital and determined to safeguard and advance the rights of the organized and non-organized workers in this city."

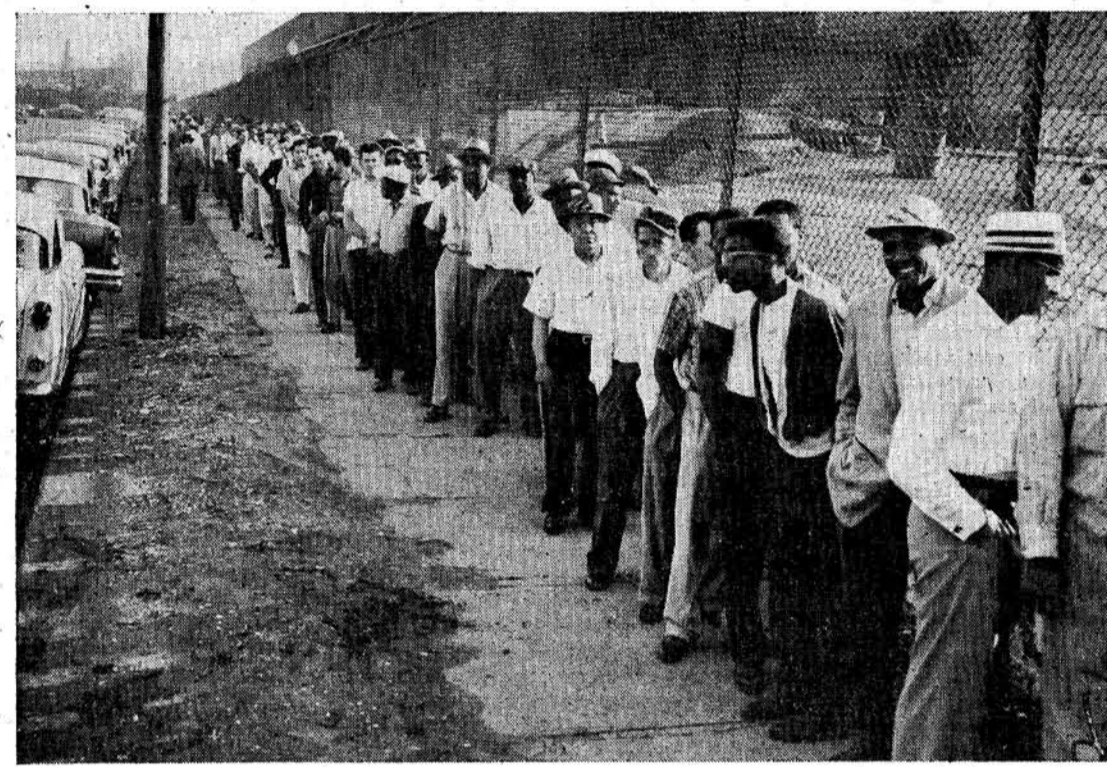
"If the labor movement is to continue to make gains," he continued, "it must pass from the defensive to the offensive and for this reason the New York City Central Labor Council must have a parade."

A proclamation, issued in conjunction with announcement of the parade, describes the march as "answering the forces of greed and intolerance which are seeking to undermine our vast economic and social progress."

The committee in charge has announced that there will be floats, bands and colorful banners to be carried by the marchers.

A number of local unions have established parade committees, and special shop stewards and committee meetings are being called to assure a maximum turnout.

As the Strike Began



Taken six days after the strike began July 14, this picture shows striking Steelworkers in long queue at gate of South Works of United States Steel Co. in Chicago, waiting to get last paycheck. Despite financial hardships since then, strikers have shown solid determination to hold tough on the picket line against an attack that is aimed at entire labor movement. Union gains won in decades of hard struggle are at stake as American capitalists seek higher profits.

GOP Exploits Dip in Cold War To Put New Heat in Class War

As Eisenhower eases the tensions in Soviet-American relations, he is intensifying his intervention on the side of the corporations in their war against the unions. Softer on the Soviet Union — tougher on the American unions: that's the current guiding line of administration policy.

The Chief Executive went on the air Aug. 6 to urge passage of the Griffin-Landrum bill "as a good start toward a real labor reform bill."

That same evening AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany condemned this Democrat-Republican sponsored measure as a "blunderbuss that would inflict grievous harm on all unions."

Meany said that this coalition bill is "supported by the very elements in Congress which have consistently through the years voted for the program of big business and against every progressive measure that could benefit all the American people."

While pressing the anti-labor drive, the Republican high command is working hard to extract maximum advantage in domestic politics from the turn in diplomacy.

Most commentators agree that the thaw has given a big boost to Nixon's bid to head the 1960 Republican ticket. It has also

propped up the sagging popularity of the Republicans who have been hunting for a dramatic vote-getting issue. They appear to have struck gold in the peace initiative.

The Republican strategists have turned their bipartisan foreign policy with the Democrats to good account. They are succeeding in covering their top figures with the shining mantle of peace-lovers while making the Democrats look at best as seconders of Republican leadership or else as obstructionists and carpers standing in the way of a better international atmosphere.

One cartoonist depicts the despairing donkey spinning the globe and saying: "There must be some place we can go — Somebody we can invite!"

AMONG RADICALS

The new situation is producing some revisions of opinion in radical circles, too. Hitherto the Democrats have been touted as pro-peace and the Republicans as pro-war, even though the three big wars involving the U.S. in this century were all waged under Democratic auspices.

Now, suddenly, the cards are mixed. Some radicals see the Republican leaders stepping for-

ward with doves on their shoulders and such Democrats as Truman and Acheson wanting the cold war heated up.

I. F. Stone, for example, unrestrainedly throws his cap in the air for Eisenhower, Nixon and Khrushchev — the peace-mongers. "Mr. Nixon... spoke in Moscow in one world tones that recalled Wilkie and Wallace," he wrote in the Aug. 10 issue of his Weekly. "Mr. Eisenhower's eight years in office would be historical — if all else would be forgiven — if the President who began by ending the war in Korea finished by laying the foundations for peaceful co-existence with the Soviet Union."

It would be wise to note that Eisenhower didn't go on the air to speak for a strong civil-rights bill. He went out hustling for big business in its attack upon the rights and organizations of American working men and women. Eisenhower pursues the same aims, suitably disguised, in the field of diplomacy. This should neither be forgotten — nor forgiven.

SHOCK TREATMENT

A recent issue of TV guide featured an article entitled, "How TV Is Helping the Mentally Ill."

Faubus Tells Hate Gang Not to Turn to Violence Except as 'Last Resort'

AUG. 13—Five Negro students yesterday demonstrated the heroism that assures ultimate victory over the forces of race hatred. Two of them, Elizabeth Eckford, 17, and Jefferson Thomas, 16, calmly walked into Little Rock's Central High School after a mob of 250 racists, incited by Gov. Faubus, had tried to claw through police and firemen in front of the school. The night before, 20 minutes after a TV speech by Faubus, a carload of white men pumped bullets at the home of Negro leader Daisy Bates.

The mob at Central High came directly from a Negro-baiting rally at the state capitol where Faubus said he was with them "all the way." He urged that they avoid violence except as "a last resort."

In the battle at Central High, 21 hose-drenched demonstrators, some with heads bloodied from police clubs, were hauled off to jail.

A racist woman stood up to a fire hose, screaming, "I'm not going to school with niggers!" Another shrieked, "Communists, Communists!"

As Elizabeth and Jefferson walked toward the school entrance, one demonstrator shouted, "Use the hose on the niggers!" "Kick 'em," cried a girl to a nearby white student.

Meanwhile, three other Negro students, Effie Jones, 17; Elsie Robinson, 16; and Estella Thompson, 16, spent their first day at the previously all-white Horace Mann High without trouble.

Elizabeth and Jefferson were among the original nine who attended Central High last year under protection of federal troops. The nine were tormented by racist students before Faubus shut down the city's four high schools.

During that first session Jefferson was knocked unconscious by a blow.

Along with a third student, Carlotta Walls, now attending summer school in Chicago, they were the only ones assigned to Central High this year. The two remaining students of the original nine were reassigned to the all-Negro high school.

Although Elizabeth had readmitted to Central High, she had already been accepted by an Illinois College although she was short of two of the high-school credits normally required.

On the eve of the opening of Central High, she suddenly realized that with the third student in Chicago, Jefferson would be alone at the school. She changed her plans on the spot.

Ted Poston reported in yesterday's New York Post that Elizabeth told him, "I just can't let Jeff go back there alone. I know how bad it was when there were nine of us. It would be ten times as bad if no one was with him."

Louisiana Racists Ban Mixed Fishing In Children's Books

Louisiana officials haven't yet doped out how they can segregate different colored fish in the state's streams. But they have succeeded in removing from library shelves a children's book entitled, "The First Book of Fishing."

It contains illustrations showing white and Negro children fishing and picnicking together. A library official said the illustrations "presents as typical that which is not typical for the area."

Several other children's books have been banned on similar grounds in the South in recent weeks. Alabama put an embargo on "The Rabbits Wedding" and Florida followed suit with "The Three Little Pigs."

Her decision to join Jefferson in braving the racists came the same night as the attack on the home of Daisy Bates which has been the target in the past of bullets, rocks and stink bombs.

Ted Poston, who was standing on the lawn of the home talking with Mr. Bates when the shooting occurred, reports that the bullets missed the house but went through the living room of a neighboring home where three white children were watching television. A bullet missed one of them by less than a foot.

ARMED GUARD

Since the first outbreaks of violence in Little Rock, Mr. and Mrs. Bates, who are Arkansas leaders in the school integration fight, have maintained a private armed guard at their home, generally off-duty Negro policemen. On the night of the shooting the guards were on duty with the rest of the police force preparing for the school opening.

After yesterday's violence at (Continued on Page 3)

N.Y. Labor Day Parade Of 150,000 Predicted

NEW YORK—More than 300 huge illuminated signs will soon be on display in the world's largest city to publicize the first Labor Day parade here in 20 years.

Sponsored by the Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO, the parade is being organized as a demonstration of solidarity with the striking Steelworkers and to register labor's opposition to the employer-inspired drive for anti-union legislation.

The 12-by-25-foot billboard signs will urge: "Men and Women of Organized Labor — Join the Mammoth March to Help Workers to a Better Life." With more than 1,000 local unions affiliated to the council, a drive is being made for a

turnout of 150,000 for the parade which will be held Monday, Sept. 7.

The parade will begin at 10 a.m., and the line of march will extend along Fifth Avenue from 26th Street to 60th Street. If the goal of 150,000 marchers is achieved, the parade may last as long as 15 hours. There were 125,000 participants in the last parade held in 1929.

"STILL MILITANT"

Should Have Invited DuBois

A prominent Southern Negro leader, Bishop C. E. Tucker of the AMEZ Episcopal Church in Louisville, Ky., charged the leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with a "grave error" in not inviting Dr. W. E. B. DuBois to address the Fiftieth Anniversary Convention of the organization last month.

"Dr. DuBois was one of the founders of the NAACP and has given his life to the cause of freedom and civil rights," Bishop Tucker wrote in the Aug. 8 Pittsburgh Courier. "He is a world-renowned scholar and he is an outstanding champion of the oppressed and subjugated people of the world."

"I express the hope," he said, "that his militancy in matters pertaining to acquisition of freedom and first-class citizenship for all people was not a barrier to his being invited... Passive resistance is all right as far as it goes, but one does not cure a cancerous growth by the application of talcum powder or vaseline."

The Real Forces Behind the Thaw in Cold War

By William F. Ward
What were the main forces at work behind the thaw in the cold-war atmosphere signalled by the Khrushchev-Eisenhower visits? How did the change come about? What has curbed the war-makers and lent strength to the cause of peace?

The "power elite" of U.S. imperialism has not been suddenly transformed from tigers to doves of peace. Nor has the change been brought about by the clever maneuvering or diplomatic pressures exerted by the Kremlin.

The decisive factor that has led to the new turn in international relations is the change in the relationship of forces between the revolutionary movements of the peoples and the defenders of the old order. The advances and pressures of the revolutionary forces have proved powerful enough to slow down and halt the war drive of American imperialism.

After World War II, the global strategists in Washington set a course to complete their conquests in that conflict by first containing, and then,

if possible, crushing the Soviet Union. Their aims have been frustrated from many sides. Capitalism has not even been able to hold its own; it has been abolished in Eastern Europe and Eastern Asia, and is gravely threatened in other places.

COLONIAL UPRISINGS

On one continent after another the colonial peoples have succeeded in casting off their subordination to foreign domination and delivering the most damaging blows to the imposing prewar structure of imperialism.

Two keystones were removed from the British Empire when India won independence in 1947 and Egypt in 1946-52. The dominions of Holland were destroyed when the Dutch were ousted from Indonesia in 1949. The loss of the war in Indo-China followed by independence for Morocco and Tunisia and now the remarkable resistance of the Algerian freedom fighters have exhausted France and made it an unreliable ally of U.S. imperialism.

The exit of revolutionary China from the capitalist system in 1949 snatched the chief prize of World War II from the clutches of the American capitalists. ("We lost China!") The victory of the Chinese revolution radically altered the relation of forces in the Far East. This was dramatically demonstrated when MacArthur set out for the Yalu River during the Korean "police action" and was hurled back by the entry of the Chinese reinforcements. Korea was the first war in our national history which did not end with a definitive triumph for American arms.

In the past year the revolutionary Iraqis yanked the underpinnings from the Baghdad Pact in which the Pentagon hoped to use Nuri-es-Said's dictatorship as a bulwark against popular uprisings and the spread of neutralist and pro-Soviet sentiments in the Middle East.

To cap it all, the nationalist movement in Cuba, headed by Castro, overthrew Batista's dictatorship which had been receiving arms from Washington as a girder of the Inter-Améri-

can alliance set up by General Marshall.

All these developments of a revolutionary character, whether anti-capitalist, anti-colonialist or purely nationalist, have upset the strategic plans of the militarist-monopolist clique in Washington and compelled them to pause and reconsider their course.

AT HOME, TOO

The anti-war forces and actions have not been confined to foreign fields; they have also been operating here at home in unsuspected ways.

When, for example, the GI's shined to be let out of service and sent home right away at the close of World War II, their conscious thought was to get out of uniform and back to civilian life. They would have been astounded to know that by raising and enforcing this demand they were nullifying the far-ranging post-war plans of the Pentagon strategists to keep a big army in being for further operations on a world scale.

The generals needed a war-

machine composed of docile and willing soldiers. Instead, they found themselves faced with insurgents in uniform who wanted only to go home and forget about any more fighting.

This same phenomenon could be observed in different forms in the reaction to Truman's "police action" in Korea. Abundant testimony has since been released from official military sources about the unwillingness of most GI's to fight to the end and of their lack of morale which broke down easily after capture.

"They did not know why they were in Korea and what they were fighting for," reported the Army psychologists. Moreover, Korea was the most unpopular war in American history. Eisenhower cinched his election in 1952 by promising to end it, just as he and Nixon are seeking to win the 1960 election for the Republicans by posing as the great peace-makers.

BASIC DETERMINANT

The White House advisers guide themselves in accord

with the determination of big business to protect the interests of private property and the profit system here and abroad. This is the basic and unalterable determinant beneath and behind the advances and retreats, the twists and turns of State Department diplomacy.

In the class war they conduct on the world arena, America's capitalist rulers must sometimes, under compulsion of uncontrollable conditions, take a step backward—to prepare for a new advance later at a more favorable moment. Such a limited retreat in good order is the gist of the present situation.

Big Business must sometimes temporarily accede to accept a loss, and to maneuver in order to safeguard its major positions.

That, for example, is the problem U.S. tacticians now confront in Cuba. There, under the impulsion of the popular insurgency, Castro has had to propose agrarian reforms and propose nationalization of sugar and tobacco plantations, cattle (Continued on Page 2)

The Two Cops Pulled Their Guns But Were Afraid to Use Them

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Aug. 11—"They were closing in on us tighter and tighter. We were both scared stiff."

That was the reported reaction of one of the two white detectives who received a firm anti-brutality lesson Sunday from 300 angry residents of a Negro community in the East Bronx.

The people had decided that they weren't going to simply stand by while the two cops beat and clubbed a woman and two men they had just arrested.

It took five patrol cars and 25 cops a full half hour to disperse the crowd. Meanwhile the two detectives, who had drawn their guns as soon as the protesters gathered, found they were in no position to use them. Both were roughed up a bit and the tires of their car were slashed.

One of the detectives said later — perhaps in apology — that they were so hemmed in he was afraid to shoot for fear of hitting his partner.

The incident was similar to one that occurred in Harlem on July 13. There a crowd of more than 1,000 intervened to stop two cops from beating a woman prisoner on the street and then gathered in outraged protest in front of the local police station.

The East Bronx demonstration developed when the two detectives moved in on a neighborhood luncheonette to arrest the proprietor for alleged possession of bootleg whiskey.

Detective Thomas Martino told newsmen that the free-

for-all started when Tyson King, the proprietor, "started to struggle and gave me his elbow in my chest." He didn't explain why King would be struggling if he hadn't laid hands on him while making the arrest.

The other detective, Jeremiah O'Connor, added that while his partner was struggling with his prisoner, an employee in the restaurant, Miss Lucy Quick, lunged at him with a pair of scissors. So, he said, he had to use force.

They also arrested Robert Edwards and beat him with a gun in front of the restaurant. It was the sight of this beating that drew the crowd.

EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT

O'Connor and Martino have been flatly contradicted in their story that they arrested and beat Edwards because he tried to jump them as they were dragging their prisoners from the store.

Thurston Christian, who was with Edwards, told reporters: "No one cared that they made an arrest. That's their business. Edwards was drinking a soda in the store when one of the detectives told him to get out. He told him, 'Let me finish my soda first.' The detectives didn't say anything until the patrol cars came. Then they started manhandling him. When Edwards tried to pull his arm away from his grasp he pushed him out into the street and started beating him."

Another witness, Henry Massey, confirmed to reporters that the crowd was aroused by the beating of Edwards. "They treat people like a bunch of animals," he said. "They just beat him over the head with a blackjack when he pulled his arm away."

Edwards had to be taken to a nearby hospital where he received three stitches to close a head wound. King was treated for body abrasions and the two detectives for bruises.

Also arrested was William Golden. Police charged he urged the crowd "to kill the cops."

NAACP CONCLUSION

This particular claim, along with the entire police version of the incident, has been challenged by the Bronx Branch of the NAACP. Frederick Jones, branch president, said today that investigation had substantiated that police brutality was responsible for the near-riot.

Of the arrest of Golden he said, "There seems to be a complete mystery as to why he was singled out. Our information indicates that he was sitting in his car watching what was going on when he was pulled out and arrested."

King and Miss Quick were charged yesterday with possession of illegal alcohol, felonious assault and inciting to riot; Edwards with felonious assault and inciting to riot, and Golden with inciting to riot.

Perspectives of American Marxism

Dear Comrade Calverton:

I received your pamphlet, "For Revolution," and read it with interest as well as profit to myself. Your arguments against the American "knights of pure reform" are very convincing, certain of them are really splendid. But, so far as I understand your request, what you wanted from me was not literary compliments but a political evaluation. I am all the more willing to grant your request since the problems of American Marxism have acquired at the present time an exceptional importance.

By its character and structure, your pamphlet is most appropriate for the thinking representatives of the student youth. To ignore this youth would, in any case, be out of the question; on the contrary, it is necessary to know how to talk to these students in their own language. However, you yourself repeatedly emphasize in your study the thought which is elementary to a Marxist; namely, that the abolition of capitalism can be achieved only by the working class. The revolutionary education of the proletarian vanguard, you correctly proclaim as the chief task. But in your pamphlet, I do not find the bridge to that task, nor any indication of the direction in which it must be sought.

Is this a reproach on my part? Yes and no. In its essence your little book represents an answer to that special variety of petty-bourgeois radicals (in America they seem to be wearing out the threadbare name of "liberals") who are ready to accept the boldest social conclusions provided they incur no political obligations whatever. Socialism? Communism? Anarchism? Very Good! But not otherwise than by way of reforms. Transform society, morality, the family from top to bottom? Splendid! But absolutely with the permission of the White House and Tammany.

Against these pretentious and sterile tendencies you present, as I have said before, a very successful line of argumentation. But this controversy itself thereby inevitably takes on the character of a domestic dispute in an intellectual club with its own reformist and its own Marxist wing. It was in this way that thirty and forty years ago in Petersburg and Moscow the academic Marxists disputed with the academic Populists: must Russia pass through the stage of capitalism or not? How much water has flowed over the dam since that time! The mere necessity of posing the question as you do in your pamphlet throws a glaring light on the political backwardness of the United States, technologically the most advanced country in the world. To the extent that you neither can nor have the right to tear yourself out of the American conditions, to that extent there is no reproach in my words.

Yet at the same time there is a reproach. For, side by side with pamphlets and clubs where academic debates for and against revolution are carried on, in the ranks of the American proletariat, with all the backwardness of its movement, there are different political groupings, and among them, revolutionary ones. You say nothing at all about them. Your pamphlet does not mention the so-called Socialist party, nor the Communist party, nor any of the transitional formations, in particular the competing factions within the Communist movement. This means that you are not calling anybody in particular to go anywhere in particular. You explain the inevitability of the revolution. However, the intellectual who is convinced by you can quietly finish smoking his cigarette and pass on to the next item on his daily agenda. To this extent there is in my words an element of reproach.

TYPICAL POSITION

I would not have put this circumstance at the top of the list if it did not seem to me that your political position, as I judge by your articles, is typical of a rather numerous and theoretically skilled stratum of left intelligentsia in the United States. There is, of course, no need to talk of the Hillquit-Thomas party as an instrument of the proletarian revolution. Without having achieved in the slightest degree the power of European reformism, American Social Democracy has acquired all of its vices, and barely past childhood, has already fallen into what the Russians call "senility of dogs." I trust that you agree with this evaluation and have perhaps, more than once even, expressed similar views.

But in the pamphlet "For Revolution" you did not say a word about Social Democracy. Why? It seems to me because, had you spoken of Social Democracy, you would have also had to give an evaluation of the Communist party. And this is not only a



Leon Trotsky, killed Aug. 21, 1940, by Stalin's secret political police. An indication of what the Marxist movement and mankind lost in the death of this Soviet founder can be gained from the accompanying letter. As a true citizen of the world, Trotsky's interests covered all countries and a wide range of cultural fields.

touchy but also an extremely important question, which imposes obligations and leads to consequences. I may perhaps be mistaken with respect to you personally, but many American Marxists obviously and stubbornly avoid fixing their position with respect to party. They enroll themselves among the "friends of the Soviet Union," they "sympathize" with Communism, write articles about Hegel and the inevitability of the revolution and — nothing more. But this is not enough. For the instrument of the revolution is the party, don't you agree?

I would not like to be misunderstood. Under the tendency to avoid the practical consequences of a clear position, I do not at all mean the concern for personal welfare. Admittedly, there are some quasi-"Marxists" whom the Communist party scares off by its aim of bringing the revolution out of the discussion club and into the street. But to dispute about a revolutionary party with such snobs is generally a waste of time. We are talking about other, more serious Marxists, who are in no way inclined to be scared by revolutionary action, but whom the present-day Communist party disquiets by its low theoretical level, by its bureaucratism and lack of genuine revolutionary initiative. At the same time, they say to themselves, that is the party which stands furthest to the Left, which is bound up with the Soviet Union and which "represents" the USSR in a certain sense. Is it right to attack it, is it permissible to criticize it?

The opportunist and adventurist vices of the present leadership of the Communist International and of its American section are too evident to require emphasis. In any case, it is impossible and useless to repeat within the framework of this letter what I have said on the subject in a series of independent works. All questions of theory, strategy, tactics and organization have already succeeded in becoming the object of deep divergences within Communism.

Three fundamental factions have been formed, which have succeeded in demonstrating their character in the course of the great events and problems of recent years. The struggle among them has taken on all the sharper character since in the Soviet Union every difference with the current ruling group leads to immediate expulsion from the party and to state repressions.

The Marxist intelligentsia in the United States, as in other countries, is placed before an alternative: either tacitly and obediently to support the Communist International as it is, or to be included in the camp of the counter-revolution and "social fascism." One group of intelligentsia has chosen the first way; with eyes, blinded or half-blinded, it follows the official party. Another group wanders without a party home, defends, where it can, the Soviet Union from slander, and occupies itself with abstract sermons in favor of the revolution without indicating through which gate one must pass to meet it.

The difference between these two groups, however, is not so great. On both sides there is renunciation of the creative effort in working out an independent opinion, and renunciation of the courageous struggle in its defense which is precisely where the revolutionist begins. On both sides we have the fellow-traveler type and not an active builder of the proletarian party. Certain-

ly, a fellow-traveler is better than an enemy. But a Marxist cannot be a fellow-traveler of the revolution.

Moreover, as historical experience bears out, at the most critical moments the storm of the struggle tosses the majority of the intellectual fellow-travelers into the enemy's camp. If they do return, it is only after the victory has been consolidated. Maxim Gorky is the clearest but not the only example. In the present Soviet apparatus, incidentally, clear up to the top a very important percentage of people stood fifteen years ago openly on the other side of the October 1917 barricades.

Is it necessary to recall that Marxism not only interprets the world but also teaches how to change it? The will is the motor force in the domain of knowledge, too. The moment Marxism loses its will to transform in a revolutionary way political reality, at that moment it loses the ability to correctly understand political reality. A Marxist who, for one secondary consideration or another, does not draw his conclusions to the end, betrays Marxism. To pretend to ignore the different Communist factions, so as not to become involved and compromise oneself, signifies to ignore that activity which, through all the contradictions, consolidates the vanguard of the class; it signifies to cover oneself with the abstraction of the revolution, as with a shield, from the blows and bruises of the real revolutionary process.

VICTORY NOT ASSURED

When the left bourgeois journalists summarily defend the Soviet Republic as it is, they accomplish a progressive and praiseworthy work. For a Marxist revolutionist, it is absolutely insufficient. The problem of the October Revolution — let us not forget! — has not yet been solved. Only parrots can find satisfaction in repeating the words, "Victory is assured."

No, it is not assured! Victory poses the problem of strategy. There is no book which sets in advance the correct orbit for the first workers' state. The head does not and cannot exist which can contain the ready-made formula for socialist society. The roads of economy and politics must still be determined only through experience and worked out collectively, that is, through a constant conflict of ideas. A Marxist who limits himself to a summary "sympathy" without taking part in the struggle over the questions of industrialization, collectivization, the party regime, etc., rises to a level not higher than the "progressive" bourgeois reporters of the type of Duranty, Louis Fischer and others, but on the contrary stands lower, because he abuses the calling of revolutionist.

To avoid direct answers, to play blindman's bluff with great problems, to remain diplomatically silent and wait, or still worse, to console oneself with the thought that the present struggle within Bolshevism is a matter of "personal ambitions" — all this means to indulge in mental laziness, to yield to the worst Philistine prejudice, and to doom oneself to demoralization. On this score, I hope we shall not have any differences with you.

SOURCE OF POWER

Proletarian politics has a great theoretical tradition, and that is one of the sources of its power. A trained Marxist studies the differences between Engels and Lassalle with regard to the European war of 1859. This is necessary. But if he is not a pedant of Marxist historiography, not a bookworm, but a proletarian revolutionist, it is a thousand times more important and urgent for him to elaborate for himself an independent judgment about the revolutionary strategy in China from 1925 to 1932. It was precisely on that question that the struggle within Bolshevism sharpened for the first time to the point of split. It is impossible to be a Marxist without taking a position on a question on which depends the fate of the Chinese revolution and at the same time that of the Indian, too, that is, the future of almost half of humanity!

It is very useful to study, let us say, the old differences among Russian Marxists on the character of the future Russian revolution; a study, naturally, from the original sources and not from the ignorant and unscrupulous compilations of the epigones. But far more important is it to elaborate for oneself a clear understanding of the theory and practice of the Anglo-Russian Committee, of the "third period," of "social fascism," of the "democratic dictatorship" in Spain, and the policy of the united front. The study of the past is in the last analysis justified by this, that it helps one to orient himself in the present. It is impermissible for a Marx-

About the Letter

Trotsky wrote this open letter from exile at Prinkipo, Turkey, Nov. 4, 1932, to V. F. Calverton, then editor of the Modern Monthly. The magazine claimed to be for Marxism but above and beyond allegiances to any organized political tendency.

The letter was drafted a short time before the Communist Left Opposition's decisive break with the Stalinized Third International and its proclamation of the need for new revolutionary parties in each country under the banner of the Fourth International.

Written more than 25 years ago, its ideas and arguments are directly relevant to one of the main issues posed by the regroupment developments within radical circles over the past three years: what kind of organizational conclusions should a serious socialist draw who has broken with Stalinism and Social Democracy?

It also indicates Trotsky's keen interest and insight into the problems of creating a genuine Marxist movement in the United States.

ist theoretician to pass by the Congresses of the First International. But a thousand times more urgent is the study of the living differences over the Amsterdam "anti-war" Congress of 1932. Indeed, how much is the sincerest and warmest sympathy for the Soviet Union worth, if it is accompanied by indifference to the methods of its defense?

Is there today a subject more important for a revolutionist, more gripping, more burning, than the struggle and the fate of the German proletariat? Is it possible, on the other hand, to define one's attitude to the problems of the German revolution while passing by the differences in the camp of German and international Communism? A revolutionist who has no opinion on the policies of Stalin-Thaelmann is not a Marxist. A Marxist who has an opinion but remains silent is not a revolutionist.

It is not enough to preach the benefits of technology; it is necessary to build bridges. How would a young doctor be judged who, instead of practicing as an interne would satisfy himself with reading biographies of great surgeons of the past? What would Marx have said about a theory which, instead of deepening revolutionary practice, serves to separate one from it? Most probably he would repeat his sarcastic statement, "No, I am not a Marxist."

From all indications the current crisis will be a great milestone on the historical road of the United States. Smug American provincialism is in any case nearing its end. Those commonplaces which invariably flourish in American political thought in all its ramifications are completely spent. All classes need a new orientation. A drastic renovation not only of the circulating but also of the fixed capital of political ideology, is imminent. If the Americans have so stubbornly lagged behind in the domain of socialist theory, it does not mean that they will remain backward always.

It is possible to venture without much risk a contrary prediction: the longer the Yankees are satisfied with the ideological castoff clothes of the past, the more powerful will be the sweep of revolutionary thought in America when its hour finally strikes. And it is near. The elevation of revolutionary theory to new heights can be looked for in the next few decades from two sources: from the Asian East and from America.

In the course of the last hundred-odd years the proletarian movement has displaced its national center of gravity several times. From England to France to Germany to Russia — this was the historical sequence of the residency of socialism and Marxism. The present revolutionary hegemony of Russia can least of all lay claim to durability. The fact itself of the existence of a Soviet Union, especially before the proletarian victory in one of the advanced states, has naturally an immeasurable importance for the labor movement of all countries. But the direct influence of the Mos-

cow ruling faction upon the Communist International has already become a brake on the development of the world proletariat. The fertilizing, ideological hegemony of Bolshevism has been replaced in recent years by the stifling oppression of the apparatus.

It is not necessary to prove the disastrous consequences of this regime: it suffices to point to the leadership of the American Communist party. The liberation from the unprincipled bureaucratic command has become a question of life and death for the revolution and for Marxism.

"AMERICANIZE MARXISM!"

You are perfectly right in saying that the vanguard of the American proletariat must learn to base itself on the revolutionary traditions of its own country, too. In a certain sense we can accept the slogan, "Americanize Marxism!" This does not mean, of course, to submit its principle and method to revision. The attempt of Max Eastman to throw overboard the materialist dialectic in the interests of the "engineering art of revolution" represents an obviously hopeless and in its possible consequences retrograde adventure. The system of Marxism has completely passed the test of history. Especially now, in the epoch of capitalist decline — the epoch of wars and revolutions, storms and shocks — the materialist dialectic fully reveals its inexorable force.

To Americanize Marxism signifies to root it in American soil, to verify it against the events of American history, to elaborate by its methods the problems of American economy and politics, to assimilate the world revolutionary experience from the standpoint of the tasks of the American revolution. A giant labor! It is time to start it with shirt sleeves rolled up.

In connection with strikes in the United States, where the shattered center of the First International was transferred, Marx wrote, on July 25, 1877, to Engels: "The porridge is beginning to boil, and the transfer of the center of the International to the United States will yet be justified finally."

Several days later, Engels answered him: "Only twelve years after the abolition of chattel slavery, and the movement has already achieved such acuteness!"

They, both Marx and Engels, were mistaken. But as in other cases, they were wrong as to tempo, but not as to direction. The great Trans-Oceanic "porridge" is unquestionably beginning to boil, the breaking point in the development of American capitalism will unavoidably provoke a blossoming of critical and generalizing thought, and it may be that we are not very far away from the time when the theoretical center of the international revolution is transferred to New York.

Before the American Marxists open truly colossal, breathtaking perspectives!

With sincere greetings,
L. Trotsky

... Thaw in Cold War

(Continued from Page 1)

ranches and other American-owned enterprises.

These radical measures are not at all to Washington and Wall Street's liking. But they must, for the time being, yield to the unfavorable relation of forces and contrive to get a compromise settlement which will save as much as possible from the debacle of their previous backing of Batista and yield as little as possible to the demands of the workers and peasants.

To be sure, when big business is menaced with losing everything in a country or a continent, its representatives will not hesitate to hurl the full weight of their armed might into the balance. But that is not the case today. The world power struggle has been in a stalemate—and Washington aims to extricate itself from that deadlock with the maximum of advantage and the minimum of risks to its positions, profits and prospects.

THE SOCIALIST VIEW

Socialists should be aware of these deeper social forces and class considerations and be guided by them in approaching and analyzing the reasons for the developing rapprochement.

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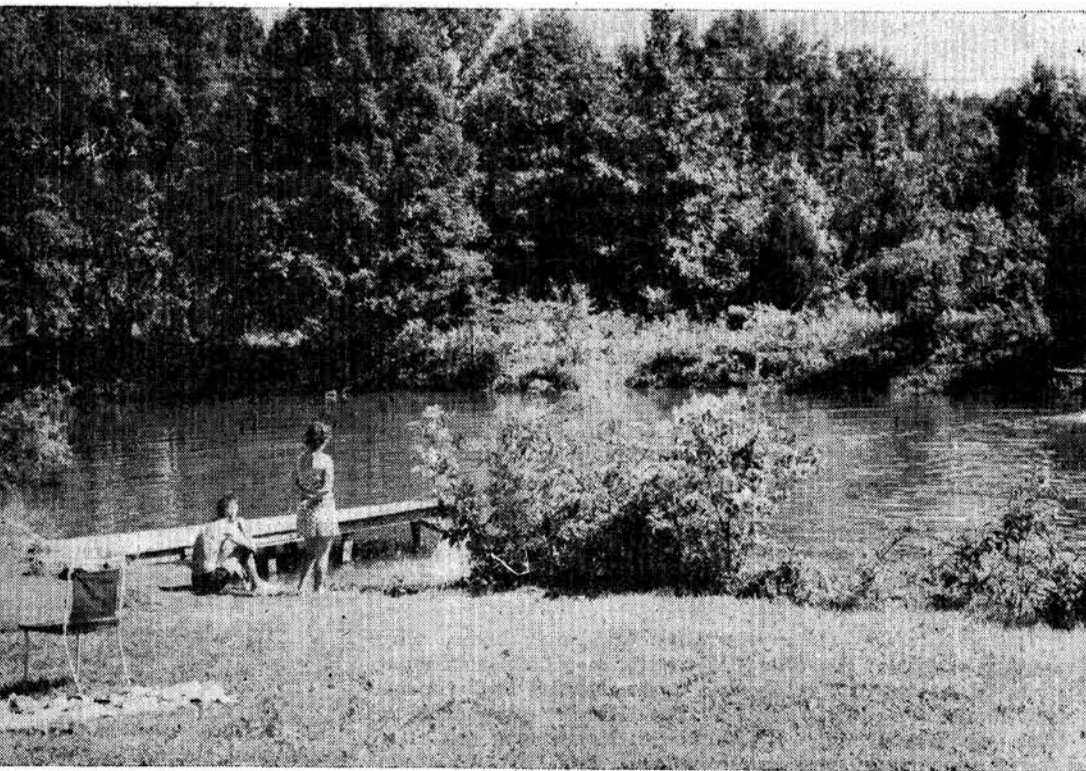
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Adventure in Freedom — 300 Years of Jewish Life in America, by Oscar Handlin. This 282-page book was originally priced at \$3.75. Book-A-Month price is \$1.25. Pioneer Publishers 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

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Leon Trotsky 'Psychoanalyzed'

Why did an important publishing house decide to do a major promotion job on Bernard Wolfe's novel, "The Great Prince Died," which purports to psychoanalyze Leon Trotsky? Does Wolfe create a valid psychological portrait of the late revolutionary leader?

In a critical review of Wolfe's novel, Joseph Hansen, Trotsky's secretary at the time he was murdered in Mexico in 1940, describes the real personality and views of the revolutionary exile.

Read it in the summer issue of International Socialist Review. Send 35 cents for a copy.

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Monday, August 17, 1959

An Instructive Parallel

When Khrushchev travels through the United States and Eisenhower returns the visit to the Soviet Union, they will be greeted by enthusiastic and cheering crowds. The American and the Soviet peoples will thereby be expressing their desire for disarmament, an end to the cold war and a new era of peace in the world.

The tours and meetings of the two statesmen undeniably coincide with the aspirations of the peoples for a suspension of warlike words and moves and represents a gain for the antiwar forces.

But, amidst all the jubilation over the change in the cold war temperature, it is important to keep a sense of realism and to understand the limitations imposed by the different social systems upon the heads of the two governments. Otherwise, exaggerated hopes can be placed in their negotiations.

Eisenhower speaks and acts for the billionaire rulers of U.S. capitalism—and he will make no concessions that seriously undermine the national and international positions of the profiteers.

While Khrushchev is the direct spokesman for the bureaucratic upper crust of the USSR, he is bound not only by their interests but also by the anti-capitalist economic framework of nationalized property and planned economy. He cannot, for fear of being ousted by his rivals, as he ousted Malenkov and others, yield up to the American imperialists anything which strikes at the foundations of the privileges or power of the Soviet bureaucracy.

The current steel strike can serve to throw light upon the relations between the U.S. and the USSR and the dealings of their official chiefs.

Not so long ago President David J. McDonald of the Steelworkers union was travelling from coast to coast with the President of the U.S. Steel Corporation, Benjamin F. Fairless. Their joint tour was touted in both the big business and labor press as the dawn of a new era in labor-management relations. McDonald and his stooges tried to sell this line of goods to the ranks of the union.

There were militants in the mills who cautioned their fellow workers against these illusions. They pointed out that, regardless of the wishes of McDonald or even Fairless, the clash of interests which had caused four steel strikes since World War II had not been eliminated. These would come to the surface again and compel the Steelworkers to fight even to hold their previous gains. The basic interests of the steel bosses and the steel workers are incompatible, they stressed, no matter what the bureaucrats said.

Who was the better prophet? McDonald, patted on the back by the head of U.S. Steel as he proclaimed the end of class warfare in the steel industry? Or the militants in his union who refused to believe in this repudiation of the facts of economic life under capitalism and advised the steel workers to be on their guard against new aggressions by the steel corporations?

The present bitter battle in steel gives the answer.

It would be wise to keep this parallel in mind as Eisenhower and Khrushchev clasp hands and each exploits for his own benefit the peace sentiments of the American and Soviet peoples. Permanent peace will not be attained by smiles and handshakes but by continued struggle for a socialist world.

The Impact on Wall Street

Monday, Aug. 11, the New York stock market suffered its sharpest drop since Nov. 24, 1958. Almost \$7 billion was pared from the over-all values of listed stocks.

The losses were centered in shares of companies engaged in military business—airplane, missile and electronic stocks. Heavy losses were also taken by auto, aluminum and steel stocks.

The announcement of the Eisenhower-Khrushchev visits is behind this break in the stock market, say most financial commentators, because cutbacks in arms spending might follow if these visits should lead to lessened tensions.

Moscow radio attributed the setback on Wall Street to panic among the arms-race profiteers "to whom no prospect is more terrible than an easing of world tension, as this would threaten their pockets and profits."

On June 10, George Shea, chief financial writer of the Wall Street Journal, appraised the effects the tours are likely to have upon the U.S. economy.

He first emphasizes that, whatever agreements may be reached, "the defense program is not likely to be abandoned or even deeply slashed." This program will rather "operate on a steady basis through the years ahead."

He fails, however, to mention the depressing effect that even a stabilization of arms spending would have on the economic outlook, since the war profiteers could no longer look forward to enlarged orders. This would tend to take the force out of the arms-powered boom.

Shea does speculate on possible developments in case workable agreements on disarmament are enforced. "Suppose military spending is cut in half all over the world, as a result of iron-bound, self-enforcing pacts? What could that do to business?" he asks.

Willie Reid's Ordeal Continues

Willie Reid, Negro farm worker fugitive from a Florida chain gang, filed an appeal Aug. 11 in the U.S. Supreme Court seeking to prevent his extradition from New York to Florida.

His attorney also applied for bail for Reid who has been in jail for over four years, first in Florida, now in New York City. He has been fighting extradition since 1955 after escaping from a chain gang in notorious Dade County.

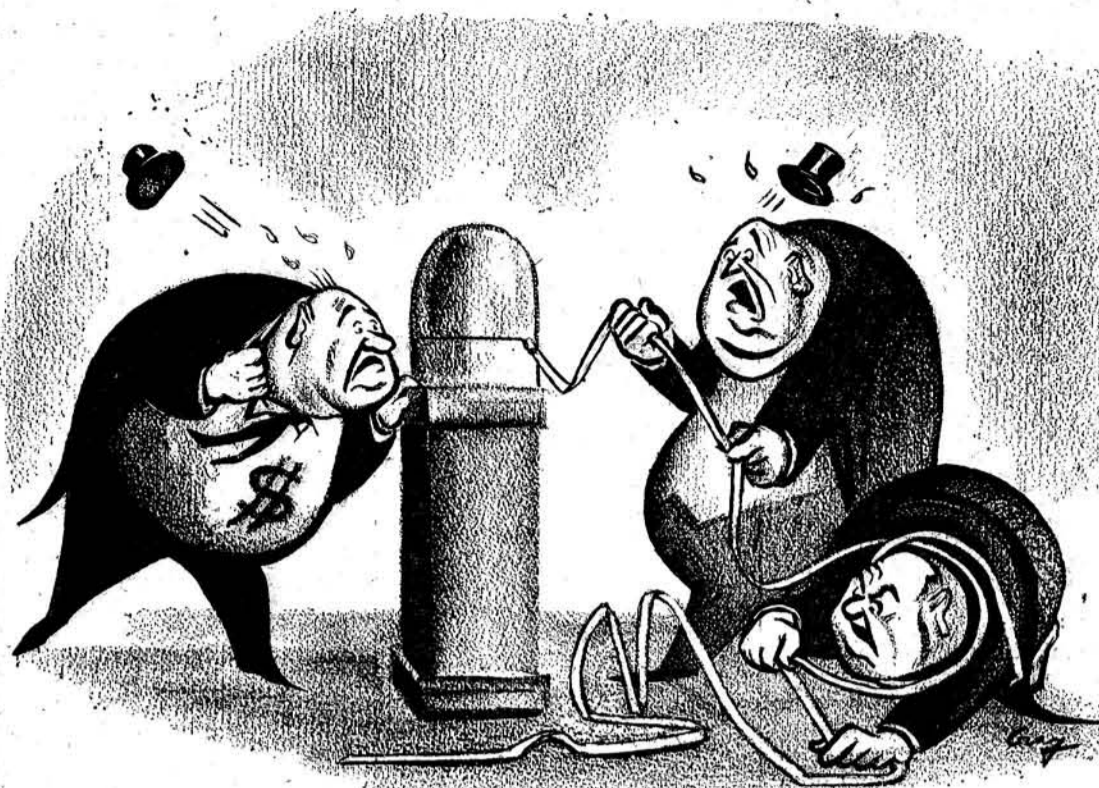
Reid's attorney is also appealing the U.S. District Court's refusal to permit the constitutionality of his conviction to be argued in New York. The court ruled that the case would have to be argued in pre-judice-ridden Florida.

The organizations and individuals who have come to Willie Reid's defense, among them the Brooklyn NAACP and the Committee to Combat Racial In-

justice, contend that Reid's life is in danger if he is released to Florida. He fled from the bailiwick of Sheriff Willis V. McCall who has killed several Negro prisoners. In 1950 McCall shot and killed one of the "Little Scottsboro Boys" and seriously wounded the other, after he was ordered to deliver them to court for a new trial. He claimed that they had "attempted to escape," although they were heavily shackled and the survivor testified they had never tried to get away.

Reid's application for bail will probably be acted on within a week. His appeal will not be heard until the Supreme Court reconvenes this fall.

Reid was jailed in New York under Harriman's administration. If Governor Rockefeller refused to extradite him, he could be freed immediately and his life spared.



"A \$7 billion slump and Khrushchev hasn't even got here yet!"

Nine African Nations Denounce Atomic Bomb Tests in Sahara

AUG. 12 — France is about to become a full-fledged member of the previously exclusive U.S. - Soviet - British "atomic club." Despite bitter protest from nine African nations, the De Gaulle regime will soon explode its first atomic bomb in southwestern Algeria.

The selection of the Algerian sector of the Sahara for the French atomic test site is grimly ironic. The Algerian independence fighters who have suffered so many deaths at the hands of French troops will now face the added hazard of intense nuclear fallout.

Cautiously worded French statements on the coming tests indicate that the dictatorial government is well aware of the depth of African and world opposition to the lethal blasts. But, unfortunately, that protest has not been organized in a sufficiently effective way to halt them.

The recently concluded conference of nine independent African states at Monrovia, Liberia, denounced "with the greatest indignation" French plans for A-tests in Algeria or any other part of Africa. The resolution declared that the United Nations and any other international organizations to "avert the serious danger which overhangs the Sahara in particular and the African people in particular."

The French government replied to this resolution with the insulting "assurance" that the tests would be conducted in "a lonely and uninhabited area in the middle of the Sahara, some 2,750 kilometers (about 1,720 miles) as the crow flies from Monrovia."

POLLYANA PROPAGANDA The statement explained that

precautions have been taken to clear the test zone of all traffic and that "the danger of radioactivity resulting from French low-altitude bomb tests is negligible" in comparison to the amount released by U.S., Soviet and British tests.

The statement, which sounds like it was copied from a U.S. Atomic Energy Commission press handout, has just about as much worth as those handouts.

The AEC has regularly insisted that the fallout from each of its tests is "negligible," only to be confronted later with the fact that the cancer-breeding debris has consistently been far greater than admitted.

...Little Rock

(Continued from Page 1)

Central High Mrs. Bates told reporters she was certain there would be further attacks on Negro homes by racists.

The Negro students and their parents remain undaunted. When Elizabeth made up her mind to go to school with Jefferson, her mother said, "I'm glad and I'm proud, although I've been thanking God she didn't have to go back to Central. I wouldn't have suggested it or anything in the world but I'm glad she thought it up herself."

And then she added: "My child has grown up."

TRIPLE AWARD

A worker at Republic Aviation Corp. received three items in his pay envelope recently. They were a letter from the company president congratulating him on five years service, a five-year service pin, and a lay-off notice.

...Two Parties Vie

(Continued from Page 1)

"labor reform" law. Nothing came of it.

Instead of repeal, Truman sought to alter the "slave labor" law by the introduction of amendments similar to those of the bills now pending in Congress. The union heads then abandoned the policy of repeal and adopted the position of seeking amendments to the law. The Truman election in 1948 was hailed as the greatest of labor victories. Ten years later, in 1958, the union heads hailed another victory—the election of a preponderantly Democratic Congress.

In March 1958, said George Meany in his radio speech last week on labor reform, "the AFL-CIO publicly advocated the passage of labor reform legislation by Congress—legislation to protect the funds of union members—legislation to safeguard the rights of union members—legislation to help the government get rid of crooks operating in the labor-management field."

To ask the capitalist government in Washington to defend the rights and interests of union members is like asking a pack of ravening wolves to preside over the reform of a hen house.

The trade unions are the most elementary form of working class organization with interests diametrically opposed to those of the owning class. The task of defending the rights and safeguarding the interests of union members is the primary responsibility of the unions themselves—both members and leaders.

This task cannot be farmed out to the representatives of the business interests who rule

the roost in Washington. The attempt to do so is a blatant confession of bankruptcy and can only lead to the most dire consequences.

So long as labor remains politically disarmed because it does not have its own labor party, passing over from the defensive to the offensive must begin with the demand: Hands off the labor movement. Labor reform is the duty and responsibility of labor itself.

The illusion that Taft-Hartley can be amended in the interests of labor should be abandoned in favor of the slogan: Repeal the union-busting, slave labor, Taft-Hartley law.

The policy of trying to buy immunity from the attack of reaction by "purges" has only succeeded in intensifying the assault on the unions. The CIO was split wide open in deference to the witch-hunt attack on "communists." The AFL-CIO was split to appease the union-busters under the pretext of the attack on labor racketeers.

Instead of trying to appease reaction by throwing unions to the wolves, labor should advance the slogan: For the unity of the entire labor movement against the employer-government assault.

When John L. Lewis recently appeared to testify against all the so-called labor reform bills in Washington, he was asked why he opposed legislation which had as its alleged purpose to "buttress the liberties of the individual Americans."

To which John L. Lewis replied: "You can't do that by putting free men in chains. Damn the chains and those who advocate them." To which we can only add: Amen!

The French assurance about the safety of a "lonely and uninhabited" area is equally worthless. U.S. and British tests in remote areas of the Pacific and Soviet tests in equally remote regions of Siberia have scattered strontium 90 and other poisonous elements across the entire globe. The French tests will only add to the already dangerous radioactive pollution of the earth's atmosphere.

The projected French atomic explosions underscore again the compelling need for effective international mass action to ban the bomb. If the current stockpiles are not scrapped and the tests halted, use of the bomb will continue to spread from country to country.

It no longer requires great wealth or vast industrial resources to manufacture and test nuclear weapons. If a fourth-rate economic power like France is already on the verge of test explosions, how soon will it be before the "atomic club" includes countries like Germany, Italy and Spain?

Bolivian Trotskyists Imprisoned for Role in Demonstrations

The pro-imperialist Siles government of Bolivia arrested Hugo Gonzalez Moscoso, secretary of the Revolutionary Workers Party (POR), in La Paz, June 25, because of the party's vigorous participation in the workers' and peasants' movements.

His imprisonment follows the arrests of other Trotskyist leaders in recent weeks. Victor Villegas, executive committee member of the POR, was arrested June 5 for having led the anti-imperialist demonstrations in March in Bolivia's capital, Mauro Vallejo, peasant leader in Chuquisaca, has been jailed since May for having distributed the paper and propaganda material of the party.

Fernando James, who was arrested along with the party secretary, was released thanks to the pressure of university students who threatened to strike if he was kept in jail. The sharpening of the repression against these revolutionaries is part of the government's preparation for new attacks upon the conquests of the Bolivian people and against the unions, workers' control over enterprises, the miners' radio stations, and the workers' and peasants' militias.

Oppositionists Score Streossner Regime

Three opposition forces in Paraguay, the Liberal and Febrerista parties and dissidents in Gen. Stroessner's Colorado Party, plan to send representatives to the American foreign ministers' conference in Santiago, Chile, this month to expose the tyranny of the general's regime.

Stroessner was elected unopposed last year for a second five-year term. He has been governing with such stark military force and naked ferocity that even his own party has been split.

Many dissident leaders, including the former ambassador to the U.S., have fled to Brazil. Anticipating possible action by the conference, Paraguay's government announced last week a new electoral law that

And It Isn't Science Fiction

Movie makers have been coining money producing horror pictures in a pseudo-scientific setting. Theater owners have been packing audiences in with special double-feature horror-terror-shockers like "Dracula's Darling" or "The Day All Life Ended."

Reality has a way of catching up with and even outstripping the story-tellers. Thus the brains at work in the Pentagon have discovered that humanity, and our own citizens, have not been scared by the threat of A- and H-bombs alone. They are also terrified by reports of the horrors which might be inflicted by new and undisclosed discoveries in bacteriological and chemical warfare.

This, their public relations men believe, is definitely not a good thing. It is necessary to do something about the public's state of nerves. Pass the tranquilizers, please.

What concerns the Defense Department is not so much the emotional havoc caused by these fears as the possibility that overwrought nerves might deter the development of new deadly war gases and more virulent bacteriological agents.

According to N.Y. Times reporter Jack Raymond, "leading military officials are trying to overcome public horror of chemical, biological and radiological warfare. Pentagon strategists fear that unless a formidable program of public education in this field is carried out, the country may suffer as significantly as if it were behind in nuclear-armed missiles."

"What the public must know, according to the highest Defense Department authorities, is that many forms of chemical and allied warfare are more 'humane' than existing weapons."

You are not easily convinced? Then listen. "For example, certain types of 'psychochemicals' would make it possible to paralyze temporarily entire population centers without damage to homes and other structures."

The public has to be enlightened about this "mild" brand of warmaking or otherwise it won't be easy to get acceptance for heretofore "disreputable" war techniques. And that will make it harder to get big-

ger appropriations in the next military budget.

Lending a hand, the House Committee on Science and Astronautics last week issued a lengthy report on the subject which urged trebling the country's spending on chemical-biological-radiological research and development.

This report has some good news for worried Americans. It says that while chemical, biological and radiological warfare can be "just as disagreeable as any of the other forms of destruction in vogue in the world," it can offer "some rays of hope for a more sane approach to an activity which we wish could be classified as irrational."

What are these rays of hope? Two new groups of psychochemicals which act as incapacitating agents. The first group includes those that "produce temporarily physical disability such as paralysis, blindness and deafness." The second group includes agents that produce "temporary mental aberrations."

"Unlike lethal war gases and the more virulent biological agents, these incapacitants can produce purely temporary effects without permanent damage," the report assures us.

I feel more at ease already. Or is that only a "temporary mental aberration" induced by the Pentagon's toxicology? — John Marshall

Court Upholds

Travis Conviction

DENVER, Aug. 4 — The Circuit Court of Appeals yesterday upheld the conviction of Maurice Travis on a charge of filing a false "non-Communist" affidavit with the National Labor Relations Board.

The former international secretary-treasurer of the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers union was convicted in 1957 and sentenced to eight years in prison and a \$4,000 fine.

The union has long been a target of employer-inspired federal union-busting moves.

Headlines in Other Lands

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would allow opposition parties to run candidates for office. These parties in turn have announced that they do not intend to take part in fixed elections for a legislature that can be abolishing by a stroke of the president's pen.

They also assailed an election law that would have the opposition turn over to the police full lists of all party members. These oppositionists evidently don't think Paraguay's Subversive Activities Control Board is very democratic! Washington, please note.

Algerians Prepare For "Years" of War

Seven of the nine independent African states have recognized the Algerian Provisional Government. Liberia and Ethiopia remain the sole holdouts.

Addressing their conference at Monrovia, Liberia, last week, M'hammed Yazid, Algerian nationalist information minister, declared that his government was preparing for "many years" of war and that an Algerian Dienbienphu is being prepared for the French, "not tomorrow or next month but in terms of years."

Indonesian CP Seeks Cabinet Posts

Through the party's secretary general D. N. Adit, the Indonesian Communist Party has complained that the new cabinet of President Sukarno's "guided (that is, restricted) democracy" does not include any Communists.

He also voiced misgivings about the sizeable number of military men in the cabinet, who are hostile to the CP and eager to suppress its activities and influence.

Report Deep Crisis In Syrian CP

Fifteen former members of the Syrian Communist Party said in Damascus that the party is facing "inevitable collapse." More than 80% of its members, they claim, oppose the present leadership and ideology of the party.

Abdel Baqi al-Jamali, former

editor of the banned Communist newspaper Al-Nour, said that Communist countries financed the newspaper and the Syrian Communist Party. One of these states gave the newspaper printing presses worth \$56,000, he said.

The Syrian CP aims at the destruction of any liberation movement whose policy does not match that of international communism, including Arab nationalism, these right-wing dissidents stated.

Egyptians Prove They Can Run Canal

Three years ago Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal. The Anglo-French-Israeli forces moved in to stop him on the pretext that Egypt could not run this strategic waterway properly. Millions of dollars and hundreds of lives were lost in this reckless venture.

Today, a Wall Street Journal correspondent admits, the Egyptians are operating the canal "at least as well as the old managers."

An average of 50 ships a day, four more than the old company's best average, now pass through the canal quickly and efficiently. Canal improvements are ahead of schedule.

All along the waterway huge dredges are sucking sand and silt so that ships drawing 37 feet of water can sail through as against a present 35-foot maximum.

Iraqi Land Reform In Slow Motion

The land reform which is supposed to be the pivot of Kassem's program for Iraq is in slow motion. So far, a year after the revolution, not one new agricultural cooperative has been established by the regime and only a ceremonial handful of land titles has been handed over to the peasants.

This delay has led to a number of clashes between landowners and impatient farmers. "Some of the incidents have arisen," reports the Christian Science Monitor, "out of the peasants' mistaken conception that the land automatically has become theirs through the mere promulgation of the land reform law."

Steelworkers Pay Is No Gravy Train

Editor: According to the steel companies, their workers have been riding the gravy train. The Steel Companies Coordinating Committee and the American Iron and Steel Institute have been flooding the newspapers and magazines with ads claiming that the average wage in the steel industry is over \$3 an hour.

When we were passing through at the end of July the Bunker Hill Mine in Kellogg was shut down tight. The 750 men employed there had reported for duty but they refused to work when they learned one of their brothers had been fired.

The union, the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, is having a hard time getting a new contract. The old one was extended three times in the last two months. The union charged that the firing, which came the day after the last renewal, was a deliberate company provocation.

How the New York NAACP Combated Police Brutality

Editor: George Breitman's article in the Aug. 9 Militant on the problem of dealing with trigger-happy cops reminded me of what the New York Branch of the NAACP did about this right after the war.

There were a great many complaints in Harlem then, too, about police brutality and the branch set up a special committee to do something about it.

The committee held frequent street meetings in the center of Harlem and widely publicized the fact that the NAACP office was open every night to receive complaints from people who were manhandled by cops.

The committee arranged to hold regular meetings with the officer in charge of the central twenty-eighth precinct and took up these grievances at the meetings. At the same time the street meetings were continued and where they didn't get satisfac-

tion on cases they used the meetings to publicize the cases and arouse sentiment about them.

This steady public pressure on the cops helped a good deal. Once they began to realize that people were doing something about it in an organized way, they weren't quite so quick to slap people around. I think this is something that NAACP branches should consider doing today.

Says Organization Is Key to Resisting Club-Happy Cops

Editor: I think that George Breitman's article on police brutality in last week's issue is a timely one. There is no question in my mind but that the mass reactions that took place in Harlem and other Negro communities are the heat-lightning of more stormy reactions to police brutality yet to come.

The problem Negroes and their allies are faced with, of course, is how and through what forms can effective resistance be organized. There is the danger that without leadership, the Negro masses, out of desperation, and acting wholly spontaneously, may be provoked into adventures, with consequences that would tend to undercut their self-confidence.

Above all the Negro people must be shown that they can count upon their white allies for more than moral support and advice. It would be very good if a way could be found for socialists, pending action by the labor movement, to demonstrate their willingness to participate in self-defense actions alongside the Negro people.

Los Angeles Teachers Hit School Probe

By Della Rossa LOS ANGELES, Aug. 4—Attorneys for the American Civil Liberties Union filed suit today in the U.S. District Court to enjoin the House Un-American Activities Committee from releasing the names of 70 teachers subpoenaed for hearings scheduled here Sept. 15.

The suit was brought by Florence M. Sloat, 52, who teaches in a school for emotionally disturbed teen-age girls.

ACLU attorneys A. L. Wirin and Fred Okrand said the court action sought to prevent dismissal of any teacher as a result of testimony before the House probes.

"Our goal is to prevent exposure for exposure's sake," Wirin said. "A congressional committee should investigate for the purpose of enacting new laws. Trial by exposure is not a congressional function."

He called the summoning of 110 California teachers—70 in southern California and 40 in northern California—a "dragnet procedure." Public exposure and the coercion of employers, he said, constitute "pillorying."

Miss Sloat heads the Teachers Defense Committee which shares offices with the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, a group that is campaigning against the Un-American Committee and its Sept. hearings.

The Citizens Committee, like the Chicago Committee to Defend Democratic Rights and the New York Emergency Civil Liberties Union, is sending out extensive mailings of Judge Black's dissent in the Barenblatt decision. These committees support the campaign to do away with the Un-American Committee.

Ruth Bishop, a local teacher, goes on trial Sept. 16 on charges of "assault and battery." A process-server of the Un-American outfit claims that she used a broom on him. Miss Bishop says that he became enraged at her display of anger and ran down the stairs, the broom falling after him.

Lavan to Speak in Bay Area

"Negroes' Right to Self Defense" is the topic of a talk by George Lavan, scheduled in Berkeley. He will consider the various positions taken on the issue at the Fifth Anniversary Convention of the NAACP. The meeting will be held at Wilcher Studio, 2901 Telegraph Ave., Fri., Aug. 21, at 8:30 p.m. The contribution is 25 cents.

Detroit Steel Workers Press Local Demands

By Evelyn Sell DETROIT, Aug. 11—The Steelworkers in this area were among the first in the country to walk off the job. One department at the McClouth Steel Company, fed up with local conditions, walked out 20 hours ahead of the official call.

There are more than 16,000 steel workers on strike in this area and they are standing solid in the face of company provocations and pro-company propaganda in the daily press. Newspapers are exploiting every opportunity to discredit the strikers and to shake their confidence.

The July 22 Detroit News, for example, seized on one incident at the McClouth plant as the occasion for a threatening editorial entitled, "Lawless Union."

The peg for the editorial was the fact that the strikers there militantly resisted efforts by a large group of supervisory employees to enter the plant in violation of the agreement governing maintenance personnel.

In its blast against the strikers, the News tried to combine the "soft cop" and "hard cop" approach in the same editorial. After assuring the strikers that a few hundred supervisors couldn't substitute themselves for 2,600 steel workers and operate the plant, the editorial added:

"The steel union would do well to bear in mind that restrictive legislation, present and prospective, which unionists bawled so loudly is largely a result of arrogant and irresponsible displays like the one in Trenton."

Peaceful Coexistence



United Steelworkers Pres. David J. McDonald beams happily at U.S. Steel Corp. head Clifford Hook during 1956 contract negotiations. Glad-hand diplomacy has failed to bridge class struggle as steel workers have found in repeated strikes.

Mich. Steel Pickets Dig In for Duration

There are about 30,000 Steelworkers on strike in Michigan. They are beginning to feel the pinch of payless weeks. But a series of interviews reported in the July 30

added, "and I don't see what they're yelling about — the union is just asking for the crumbs, not the loaf of bread." Small businessmen in the steel town of Escore are being hurt by the strike and many put the blame on the companies.

Joseph Ciotti, a bar owner, whose place is popular among the steel workers, angrily said, "These big shots—they don't care about the working people. If the union gives up, which it won't, the companies will just keep putting the pressure on."

John Barklarz, a supermarket operator who looks to the steel workers for 50% of his business, says he doesn't expect to be selling much round steak at 99 cents a pound.

"The run will be on frying chickens (29 cents a pound), hamburgers (59 cents a pound), and of course, bologna, hot dogs and anything else cheap," he explained.

On the basis of his interviews with the steel workers, the AFL-CIO News reporter concluded: "Despite the anxiety felt by many families on how they will survive in future weeks, a fierce determination and sense of pride stretches throughout the downriver area where many of the area Steelworkers live."

Calendar of Events

NEW YORK Socialist Sociables To Enliven Your Summer STARLIGHT FORUM, Sunday, Aug. 16, 8 p.m. — Dr. Otto Nathan, Marxist economist, will speak on Inflation and the Labor Movement (Incl. the Wage-Price Issue in the Steel Strike). Terrace, Penthouse 10a, 59 W. 71 St.

WEEKEND AT CAMP WINGDALE, N.Y.—Aug. 22-24. Swimming, tennis, all sports, entertainment. Special guests from VIENNA YOUTH FESTIVAL. Six good meals, two nights, only \$16.50 (Incl. svce. chge.) Phone GR. 5-9736 for reservations and transportation.

Watch this column for name of prominent speaker at Starlight Forum to be held Aug. 30. United Ind.-Socialist Committee 799 Broadway GR. 5-9736 New York 3, N.Y.

"Nothing Rolls!" San Francisco Teamsters Say

By Roy Gale SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 7—A long-smoldering rank-and-file revolt erupted here yesterday when members of Teamsters Local 85 defied their leadership and forced a

strike. On two separate occasions in the past week the leadership failed to sell the membership on a contract they had negotiated with the two major employer associations.

The offer rejected by the teamsters provided a \$10 a week increase annually for three years plus fringe benefits. The men insisted on a one-year contract. They fear that a three-year contract would stymie any efforts they might make to fight automation or inflation — twin threats to their security.

The teamsters also want a guaranteed 40-hour week — something the leadership apparently didn't even mention to the employers. Local 85 teamsters work out of a hiring hall on assignment for drayage firms in the city.

The rank and file are now engaged in a two-front struggle. First, the economic struggle against the tight-fisted bosses; and, second, the struggle either to oust their present leadership or to make it more responsive to their needs.

Joseph Diviny, president, and Harold Lopez, business manager, are long-time jobholders, the second ones to hold their respective posts since the local was founded in 1904. They are big men in the Teamsters' hierarchy.

The angry temper of the membership was indicated by the turbulent start of the meeting Thursday night when the strike was finally called. At its beginning a motion was made to expel from the meeting any member who used violent or profane language.

The motion was hooted down — with an uncontrollable outburst of abuse and profanity.

The strike is officially called against the two major employer associations — the Draymen's Association and the California Trucking Association. But the teamsters in action this morning stopped every truck they could find on the streets and sealed every entrance to the city.

After the pickets had been stopping trucks for some time a steward came rushing up, waving a paper. He shouted: "We got sanction from Lopez now to hold the bridge."

"We need his sanction like we need a hole in the head," retorted a big grinning teamster as he finished instructing a truck to "get the hell back where you came from."

A milling group, reporting for picket duty, expressed bitterness over Teamsters' leadership in repeated statements to reporters: "The bastards sold us out," shouted a big blond trucker. "You print how the bastards sold us out."

"We're fed up to here!" yelled another, hitting his throat with his open hand. "They'd sell the damn building if it wasn't nailed down."

"Now we're going to run things," said another in triumph. "Nothing's going to roll. You get that? Nothing."

When a reporter cautiously asked the rebels what they thought of International Pres. James Hoffa, he was met with angry glances and a stony silence until an older man declared: "We don't like him neither. But I tell you we don't go around crying about it. We don't want the McClellan committee coming in here and busting our union."

Local Directory

- BOSTON Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200. NEWARK Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N.J. NEW YORK CITY Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852. OAKLAND-BERKELEY P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif. PHILADELPHIA Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1363 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 P.M., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820. SAN FRANCISCO The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Rm. 4. Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone PR 6-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321. SEATTLE 1412-18th Avenue, EA 2-5854. Library, bookstore. ST. LOUIS For information phone MO 4-7194.

Notes in the News

WASN'T RUNNING FOR HIS HEALTH — Harry K. Moreland, a defeated Democratic candidate for Congress from Oklahoma in 1956, is currently engaged in a hassle with the Treasury Department. He is claiming the right to deduct from his income tax the \$20,000 that he sank into his unsuccessful campaign and offers the perfectly plausible explanation that it was a business loss "incurred in a transaction entered into for profit."

MAN BITES DOG — The New York Public Service Commission announced Aug. 7 that the Consolidated Edison Company has taken the unusual step of withdrawing its request for a rate increase to offset the new 1% gross utility tax in New York. This unexpected outburst of generosity by the power monopoly may be intended to help grease the skids for a \$3½-million hike in electric rates pending before the commission. The gas tax will cost the company less than \$700,000 a year.

SOCIAL REFORM UNDER CHIANG — Chiang Kai-shek's police in Taiwan have issued a regulation that a woman can't become a prostitute without written permission from her parents, guardian or husband.

POCKETS OF POVERTY — A Senate Labor subcommittee studying the plight of more than 800,000 migratory farm workers has found pay scales and living conditions "appalling." Sen. Harrison Williams (D-N.J.) said their predicament represented "pockets of poverty" and "human degradation" in American society. Contractors and crew leaders who prey on the migratory workers engage in wholesale swindling methods. The committee found that they misrepresent wages and living conditions; collect double fees for travel expenses and mark up the cost of food, splitting the extra money between the employers and crew leaders. Cases were found where fees were collected from workers for services rendered free by county health departments.

UNION FARM DRIVE? — Plans for organizing farm workers will be discussed at an Aug. 17 meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, according to a federation spokesman. Organizing director John Livingston will report to the council on preliminary surveys made since the executive meeting in San Juan last February.

CHISELING EMPLOYERS — The Labor Department reports that in the fiscal year ending July 1, 1959, it recovered more than \$1½ million in back wages for workers cheated out of proper payments under federal minimum-wage and overtime-pay laws. This was 50% greater than last year. The average sum recovered was \$1,230, also a new record.

WHAT THE RECESSION FIGURES CONCEALED — A report just made public by the Department of Commerce confirms that workers were hit far harder by last year's recession than the official statistics showed. Many more workers were jobless at one time or another than the officially claimed five million. The report also showed that married industrial workers, usually the heads of families, were hardest hit by layoffs and that many workers cut to a shorter work week never showed up in the statistics.

PSYCHOSOMATIC SUBURBIA — Middle-class life in suburban towns is giving people ulcers, heart attacks and "other tension-related psychosomatic disorders," according to Dr. Richard E. Gordon of Englewood, N.J. Hospital admissions show, he said, that

emotional difficulties spring from the stress of trying to rise from the middle to the top of the middle class. The drive to keep up with the Joneses is so sharp, he reported, that a blade of crab grass in a lawn is sufficient to throw the suburban climber into a tizzy. "For the already overstrained couple," the doctor's report said, "conspicuous consumption can help cause bad tempers and high blood pressure."

WHY YOU SHOULD QUIT SMOKING — Twelve states hiked their taxes on cigarettes this year. Twenty-five states now collect five cents or more on each pack sold. That's on top of the eight-cent federal tax.

CUT IN GI SERVANTS — As a result of exposures in the press and the resentment of enlisted men, the army will restrict the use of enlisted men as cooks, bus boys, bartenders, etc. This will make the "gracious living," to which officers have become accustomed, a bit more expensive. The Officers' Club at Fort Hamilton, a small post in Brooklyn, N.Y., for example, announced a reduction from 13 to three in the number of enlisted men used as flunkies and an increase in club dues from \$4 to \$5 a month. Still to be aired is the Air Force's duty assignments of enlisted men as baby-sitters, dog-walkers and chauffeurs for officers' wives.

COLD-WAR LIBERALS — The congressional "Captive Nations Week" resolution that dogged Nixon throughout his Soviet visit did not originate with Sen. Eastland, as columnists have indicated. I. F. Stone's Weekly reported Aug. 3 that it was introduced by Douglas, the liberal Democrat from Illinois, and Javits, the liberal Republican from New York. Other liberal co-sponsors included Humphrey of Minnesota, Neuberger and Morse of Oregon and Langer of N. Dakota.

MURDER FOR PROFIT — Company negligence substantially contributed to the deaths of 12 coal miners last January in Pittston, Pa., says the unanimous report of the special investigating committee of the Pennsylvania legislature. The miners were drowned when the rising waters of the Susquehanna River trapped them at work. "Indifference and apathy" by the company, "uninformed and uninterested" owners and Pennsylvania's "archaic" anthracite mine laws were all scored in the report. But the 10-man committee said that any prosecutions would be up to the state's attorney general.

DR. TELLER PREDICTS SOVIET LEAD — Dr. Edward Teller, the atomic scientist recognized as "father of the H-Bomb," has predicted that the Soviet Union will forge ahead of the U.S. in science within a decade. Science students now in schools "are in greater number and they are better educated in the Soviet Union." The U.S. is powerless to prevent the loss of scientific preeminence to the USSR, Teller says, because the die is already cast for the coming decade. All America can do is to make efforts to regain the leadership later.

MAN-MADE KILLER OUTSTRIPPING NATURE — Nuclear testing in the past four years has been producing radioactive carbon four times as fast as nature. As a result, the concentration of carbon 14 in the atmosphere of the Western Hemisphere has been increasing about 5% annually. The nuclear-produced element not only heightens the danger of cancer among people today but will cause an undetermined number of mutations for thousands of years to come. The half life of carbon 14 is 56 centuries.