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THE MILITANT

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Railroad Unions Start Campaign Against 'Big Lie'

By Samuel Steele

CHICAGO, Nov. 5 — Some 5,000 railroad workers attended a mass meeting in Chicago today to protest the predatory and unilateral attacks of the railroad bosses on their unions. The meeting constituted the kickoff in a national campaign to combat the big lie the railroad corporations are peddling about "featherbedding."

The first speaker, William Lee, pledged the support of the Chicago Federation of Labor in the fight of the railroad workers.

August Soderstrom, president of the AFL-CIO, Illinois, pledged the support of the state's 850,000 union members. He recalled past struggles and cited the progress that unions have made, not only for themselves but for the country as a whole.

He recalled how the unions had fought Pinkerton labor detectives, injunctions, the National Guard, and the government. The unions had gone forward despite the obstacles until they had now reached such a pinnacle of success that we even have "our" representatives in government.

The last assertion proved to be a build-up for the next speaker, Wayne Morse, senator from Ore-

gon. Declaring that he was a friend of labor, and pointing to his voting record against the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy acts as proof, he said that there is a conspiracy afoot in Congress against labor unions; that the Republicans and Southern Democrats are preparing more anti-labor laws even stronger than the one just passed.

He said an attempt would be made to put the unions under the anti-trust laws so as to outlaw industry-wide bargaining and that all this was leading to a corporate state. He said further that the unions could count on him to fight, vote and filibuster against all this anti-labor legislation. He sounded quite pro-labor and militant until he came to his program of action.

First, he explained that he was opposed to the Taft-Hartley law, only because it did not provide powers of recommendation to fact-finding boards. To prevent strikes that "cripple" the nation's economy, he proposed that the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy legislation be amended along the lines of the Railway Labor Act of 1926, making arbitration compulsory. Morse, it seems, opposes all anti-labor legislation — except the kind he favors.

Official Tally Gives Jordan 1,371 Votes

SAN FRANCISCO — Joan Jordan, who ran for mayor of San Francisco with Socialist Workers party endorsement in the Nov. 3 election, was credited by the Board of Elections with 1,371 votes. She placed fifth in a field of eight candidates.

The campaign was helpful in spreading socialist ideas. In addition to radio and TV appearances, Miss Jordan spoke at 49 meetings, including 28 unions, the NAACP and two other Negro organizations.

The main speaker was George Meany. He compared the railroads' offensive to that of the steel bosses. He said that the monopoly corporations have embarked on a campaign to destroy the American trade unions: The pattern was set by the steel companies and is now being followed up by the railroads.

The attack on the work rules is aimed at the heart of unionism. If the bosses should succeed in smashing or atomizing the unions, it would have far-

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We Can Do Without More War Veterans

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Director

As I write this column, Paul, a young man of eight, is at my elbow. He dropped in for a visit because it's Veteran's Day and school is closed. "How come you get the day off," I asked. "Are you a veteran?" Paul replied, "Not yet."

While we were joking, I couldn't help but think of the grim side of it. After two world wars and a Korean "police action," they had to drop "Armistice Day" because no one knew which armistice was being celebrated. And if we don't succeed in building a socialist world, Paul and a lot of other youngsters may well be veterans some day — if there are any veterans left in a hydrogen war.

I know that you supporters of our Socialist Publications Fund feel the same way I do about this. The determination and sacrifice which members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party and the Militant are putting into raising the fund certainly demonstrates that.

For example, Boston, whose steady plugging has put it in first place on the scoreboard, is displaying the kind of determination that is born of deep conviction in the need to change the world. Along with \$90 came a note which said, "Hoping to make it on time and trying very hard."

Our St. Louis comrades are trying hard, too, and their efforts have put them in second place. With their contribution they also sent a welcome message. Several weeks ago they reported they would have to put in some extra effort on the fund because one of the comrades had gone to the hospital for an operation. This week, Oscar C. writes "he is out and looks fine — feels good, he says. We're happy to have him back again." That goes for us too.

I'm told that around the race tracks third place is called

"show." That's the word, I guess, for San Diego, holder of third place on our scoreboard. In the opening column on the fund, when San Diego was in fourth place, I predicted that this most recently chartered branch of the SWP would make its mark in the campaign. Already I feel entitled to say, "How right I was."

If I didn't know how unwise it is to press your luck I would venture another prediction at this point about Seattle, which really just got into the race: "Watch out for them on the home stretch!" But just to play it safe I'll simply associate myself with Jo, who accompanies the first payment from the Northwest with this message: "We are getting off to a slow start but are confident of our ability to make our goal in full and on time."

For those who gamble on the outcome of contests, New York and Los Angeles provide a razor-edge choice. From the very start they have been running neck and neck in fulfilling almost identical quotas. As a current New Yorker and former Angelino, I'm strictly neutral in this race.

I haven't heard what Los Angeles is doing in this respect, but I know that New York is busy soliciting help from SWP and Militant supporters. Almost \$200 has been received from friends, including \$20 last week from our very good friend, J. S.

A bit more flesh was added to the "General" this week with a \$10 contribution from J. R. K., a Pennsylvania reader. Our warmest thanks.

(See scoreboard page 2.)

"We'll Be Out Jan. 26," Say Bitter Steelworkers

Cuba Inches Ahead with Land Reform

The Castro government inched ahead last week in applying its Agrarian Reform law. A 2,633-acre tobacco plantation was taken over Nov. 10 from the Cuban Land and Leaf Tobacco Co. of Trenton, N.J. Company officials announced they would buy tobacco from former sharecroppers who will divide up the land valued at \$2,500,000.

Meanwhile the Cuban Foreign Ministry announced that it would continue to distribute a pamphlet linking the U.S. government to counter-revolutionary violence in Havana Oct. 21 when two people were killed and 45 wounded.

The pamphlet is entitled "Cuba Denounces Before the World!" The cover pictures U.S. planes flying over Havana. A caption reads, "As in Pearl Harbor." Ten thousand copies have been distributed and 150,000 more, in English and Spanish, are ready for distribution abroad.

The State Department protested as "inaccurate, malicious and misleading," the accusation in the pamphlet that the U.S. government permitted planes to leave Florida to bombard Cuba.

The protest said that Cuba is deliberately spreading these charges throughout the world "to create an atmosphere of hostility" between the U.S. and Cuba.

Revolution, official Cuban newspaper, countered with the charge that the U.S. protest was "lacking in respect, false and offensive." The privately owned Union Radio called the State Department "a liar" and the official Havana radio station accused Secretary of State Herter and the White House of "conspiring" against the Cuban revolution.

Concurrent with these developments, reports appeared of the mobilization of counter-revolutionary forces in the U.S. A considerable section of the American big-business press is beginning to support their reactionary cause.

"Erroll Flynn" Ruark

A typical example was a column by Robert C. Ruark of the Scripps-Howard chain, declaiming: "I wish to state right now that I will do a reverse Erroll Flynn and help our guerrillas overthrow the Castro boys."

He mourned the disappearance of the romantic rackets-and-graft-ridden Cuba where Batista's henchmen "whacked" their opponents "quietly in the dark of the moon."

Ruark blamed this sad state of affairs on the "bearded, noble, land-reforming, TV-happy murderers."

Sightseeing With a Foreign Dignitary



A group of students from Public School 129 in New York got a pleasant surprise when they were on a sightseeing tour of the Empire State Building. Also visiting the famed structure was Sekou Toure, president of the newly independent state of Guinea. The children were obviously delighted to pose for photographers with the man who led his country in wresting freedom from French imperialism. Toure, who was here on a good-will tour, challenged the United Nations to take a stand for African freedom. (See story page 4.)

Justice Dep't Tries Whitewash On Role in Mississippi Lynching

By George Lavan

On Nov. 5 the grand jury in Pearl River County, Mississippi, adjourned without even bothering to hear evidence or call witnesses in the lynching of Mack Charles Parker last April. This official endorsement of the lynching and contemptuous flaunting of national and international opinion moved the U.S. Department of Justice to announce that it would seek indictments against the lynchers in a federal district court in Mississippi.

This federal announcement, however, even if it is carried through, is now no more than a hypocritical and empty gesture. It is designed not to put any of Parker's lynchers in jail, for all and one agree that now no Mississippi jury will even indict them, let alone convict. Its sole aim is to cover up the complicity of the federal government in allowing the lynchers to get off scot free and in heading off a demand for the passage of a federal anti-lynch law.

Until a month before the lynching, Parker was held in the city prison in Jackson, the Mississippi capital. He was charged with the rape of a white woman. The evidence against him indicated a frame-up. The woman was uncertain in her identification of him. The other witnesses against him were three Negro

friends and relatives who said Parker had expressed designs on the woman. Subsequently several of these witnesses fled North and told reporters how they had been compelled by the sheriff to fabricate these statements under coercion — one had been badly beaten — and threats of being charged for the same crime. After the sheriff had rehearsed them in their "statements" at great length he made a tape recording of the "testimony."

But Parker's lawyer began preparing the groundwork for an appeal to the federal courts on the ground of systematic exclusion of Negroes from the grand jury. This was the signal for Pearl River County Judge Sebe Dale to arrange the transfer of Parker from the safe jail in Jackson to the Pearl River jail which is unguarded at night.

The reaction to the lynching throughout the whole civilized world was horror and anger. To mollify this, Eisenhower ordered the FBI into the case almost simultaneously with Mississippi Gov. J. P. Coleman's request for such assistance. Some 40 FBI agents were assigned to the case. In a week they found the body and reportedly identified 15 to 20 members of the guilty, including a deputy sheriff, and secured at least two confessions. During those weeks Eisen-

hower was able to parry demands for "federal anti-lynch legislation with assurances that the FBI and the Mississippi State Patrol were working earnestly on the case and would bring the guilty to justice. After Eisenhower's and Coleman's statements and the presence of the FBI had achieved a "cooling-off period" of world-wide indignation against Mississippi, the FBI announced that it had withdrawn from the case since no federal law had been violated.

That this was a barefaced lie — as the Militant said at the time — is proved by the Justice Department's announcement last week that it will seek indictments under two old civil-rights laws.

When the FBI gave its 378-page secret report on the case to Gov. Coleman last spring, he refused to call a special grand jury, thus extending the "cooling-off period" another six months. The Pearl River district attorney refused to present the report to the recent grand jury and it pointedly refrained from asking for it. A federal prosecution which might have had a chance last spring — it would certainly have resulted in a trial, just as world opinion forced a trial in the Emmett Till case — now is not credited with enough strength even to get indictments.

Eisenhower, Democrats Threaten Harsher Law For Use Against Strikes

By Carl Goodman

"I don't think the injunction will help," said a picket at the Bethlehem Steel Corporation plant in Lackawanna, N.Y. "In eighty days we'll be right back where we started." "How would Eisenhower like it if they told him he could not play golf for eighty days?" asked another Lackawanna picket.

The reaction of these two strikers to the Supreme Court decision Nov. 6, upholding the Eisenhower administration's move for a Taft-Hartley injunction against the steel strike, typified the bitterness of steelworker militants throughout the country. Coupled with the workers' anger is a determination to go on strike again Jan. 26 if an acceptable settlement has not been reached when the injunction expires.

"Really Work Us"

Going back to work "isn't going to mean much to us," said John Iskat, a pipe fitter at Braddock. "Maybe it'll be a couple of bucks but you can bet they'll really work us during those eighty days. The companies will stockpile and will have enough when we go back on strike."

At the U.S. Steelworks in Gary, Ind., a yard clerk reported, "I've been back three days and I already have a grievance. The supervisor is asking me to do another man's work in addition to my own. The company is acting as though we had already relinquished 2-B." (The employers are seeking to drastically alter in their favor the present working rules as embodied in clause 2-B of the contract.)

The injunction has especially aroused the ire of those steelworkers who, because furnaces can only be returned to full operation gradually, won't be called back for another week or two.

"What's the common steel laborer going to get out of the injunction? Nothing," said Harry Miller, an employee at U.S. Steel's Irvin works in West Mifflin, Pa.

"Do you see this soup line? It's not going to end for a while. We won't get a check for at least a month. Then we'll get off the soup line for a while, and be right back on after this ridiculous eighty days runs out."

Won't Resolve Anything

The injunction isn't going to resolve anything — that is the opinion of rank-and-file steel militants throughout the country.

Evidently, the Eisenhower administration holds a similar view, for on Nov. 8, Secretary of Labor Mitchell announced

Union Treasuries Face New Raids

The Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin labor "reform" law, which stipulates 17 new ways that union officials can get into trouble with the government, will provide rich picking for union lawyers. Bonding firms will clean up on the requirement that instead of a blanket bond, each officer of a union must now be individually covered like a crook up for trial. The Teamsters estimate it will cost about \$50,000 annually just to bond Hoffa.

Printers have already cashed in on the requirement that each union must make the provisions of the new law known to its members. It cost the Teamsters \$18,000 to publish the text in its magazine. "There is a kind of sick humor in the fact that this law, billed by its backers as a padlock on union treasuries, is itself a massive raid on their fund," commented Ed S. Miller, president of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers.

that the president would ask Congress for legislation if no agreement is reached between the union and the company when the injunction runs out.

Mitchell did not specify what type of legislation Eisenhower would ask for. He said that the "emergency" provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act would have to be "reviewed." Seemingly, the administration wants to preserve the pattern followed by the steel strike. This pattern includes letting the workers sacrifice on the picket lines for many weeks; then, when the strike begins to affect the rest of the economy, forcing the workers back under a Taft-Hartley injunction. The only thing the bosses lack at present is a follow-up "emergency" measure in case the workers don't lie down and play dead after the injunction period is over. This is what Eisenhower wants Congress to supply.

On the Democratic side, Sen. Morse (D-Ore.) has called for enactment of compulsory arbitration to resolve labor-management disputes in essential industry. This would rule out strikes from the very beginning.

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Elect Independent Labor Candidate in Cleveland

By Jean Simon

Cleveland labor last week celebrated the anniversary of the defeat of the phony right-to-work bill in Ohio by electing its first independent labor candidate to local office.

Significantly, the candidate was Walter L. Davis, who directed the successful state-wide campaign of United Organized Labor of Ohio last year.

Davis ran for membership on the Cleveland school board, an office of more than usual political importance this year. Election returns Nov. 3 showed that he received 87,231 votes, defeating one of the three incumbents who ran together as a slate.

In unions and shops throughout the city, workers have been congratulating each other. "They said it couldn't be done . . . but we did it!" is becoming a familiar tune.

Labor has a right to claim a victory. Davis was clearly labor's candidate and no one else's. The Chamber of Commerce was against him. Neither

the Republican nor the Democratic party machines supported him. The influential Cleveland Plain Dealer opposed him.

Endorsed as "Objective"

The Citizens League finally endorsed him after spending an unprecedented amount of time arguing over whether a labor candidate could be "objective."

(That was what he resented most of all, Davis told a union audience, the fact that "these screening committees question my objectivity simply because I'm a labor man, but never think of questioning the objectivity or motives of a candidate who happens to be a lawyer or a businessman. . . I hope we soon see many more labor candidates running for office.")

Davis received the enthusiastic endorsement of the Cleveland Federation of Labor at its October meeting. While considerable dissatisfaction was expressed by the delegates with the other endorsements of the COPE scanning committee, sup-

port for labor's candidate was unanimous.

As one delegate stated: "The Davis campaign is the key campaign by which the political effectiveness of labor can be measured in this election."

Implied in that statement was the growing recognition in local labor circles that labor's political effectiveness can only be expressed in independent political action.

There were some in the local union leadership who at first opposed Davis' candidacy because it represented a break with traditional labor-Democratic coalition politics. Some didn't think a labor candidate could win in the anti-labor climate created by Congress, the administration, the capitalist press, radio and TV. Some thought it would be all right for him to run only if he could get the endorsement of the Democratic party, or run on a slate with two of the incumbents, or conceal his labor connections as much as possible. But regardless of the wishes

of the confused or timid, three elements determined the nature of the campaign:

(1) A labor candidate for the school board was needed. Since last spring the Teachers union had been engaged in a struggle with the board for recognition and substantial wage increases. Inflation had pushed the Teachers union into action. Frustrated by their inability to strike under Ohio law, they could only turn to political action.

The Cleveland Press of June 11 reported that the delegates at the Cleveland Federation of Labor, meeting the night before, had passed a resolution to give all possible help to the Teachers union in its wage argument with the school board, and "served notice on the school board that if the union cannot settle this issue, the CFL executive board will be called into special session before its Sept. 9 meeting to reconsider the matter. . . The implication was that CFL then would go all out to support the Teachers union proposals that

the board negotiate directly with the union and that labor support its own candidates for the board in November."

(2) Walt Davis was the logical labor candidate. The Teachers union asked him to run. Director of the UOLO campaign against the right-to-work amendment last year; associate editor of the labor weekly, the Cleveland Citizen, for 15 years; now education director of Retail Store Employees Union Local 880; former president, now treasurer of the Federation of Television and Radio Artists, AFL-CIO — Davis qualified.

(3) Regardless of what anyone, including the candidate, might wish in the matter, the anti-labor forces would see to it that Davis was labelled a "labor candidate" and that he would win or lose on that basis.

There were certain weaknesses inherent in the situation. The printed platform compromised with the tendency to play down the basic union issues and class issues, thereby

missing some opportunities to mobilize union support.

But, on the positive side, Davis took the campaign to the union meetings, literature to the shops, spoke of the campaign as a continuation of last year's election fight against anti-labor forces.

Finally, the Davis campaign gave local voters their first opportunity to express their opposition to the kind of political "friends" who saddled the labor movement with the hated Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy bill.

The victory of a labor candidate in the Cleveland school board election provides new ammunition for the unionists who say that now is the time to break with Democratic and Republican politics and start building a labor party.

PEOPLE'S CAPITALISM

U.S. wage earners hold \$750 million in stocks. The Rockefeller family holds \$3 billion, the Mellons \$3 billion, and the Du Ponts \$4 billion.

The Fate of Working People Inspired Kathe Kollwitz's Art

By Trent Hutter

Most of Kathe Kollwitz's powerful drawings and etchings were inspired by the sufferings and struggles of the working class. Her activity as an artist and her very existence were closely linked to basic issues, forces and events of the twentieth century. She devoted herself entirely to the "downtrodden"; and in the end she became herself a downtrodden victim of war's misery.

Kathe Schmidt was born in 1876 in Konigsberg, East Prussia. She married Dr. Karl Kollwitz, a physician who practiced in a working-class section of Berlin. Official recognition of her artistry came after World War I. Under the rather progressive cultural policy of the Weimar Republic, she was made a professor and a member of Prussia's Academy of Fine Arts in 1919. However, she did not support the Social Democratic leaders' treasonable alliance with the bourgeoisie and their 1918-19 counter-revolution. Her series "In Memory Of Karl Liebknecht" unequivocally condemned it.

When the Nazis seized power in 1933, a complete boycott set in against Kathe Kollwitz and other great German artists who stood for human dignity and brotherhood. Nobody was allowed to mention her name publicly. During World War II, destitute, isolated, she experienced without complaint the fate of those forgotten sufferers to whom her life had belonged. She increasingly resembled the poor women of her drawings.

At the close of World War II, while Stalin's armies, blinded by reactionary chauvinism and hostility toward revolutionary elements, occupied East Germany, a starved Kathe Kollwitz died at Moritzburg near Dresden, April 22, 1945.

I warmly recommend the reproductions of nine deeply moving Kollwitz drawings which Pioneer Publishers have included in their Christmas list. The subjects were undoubtedly observed in Dr. Kollwitz' waiting room. They are not defiant. They need help. They have gone through so many hardships and now wait patiently with resignation, a slight distrust, a little hope. Naturally, the children show some fear, not only because they are sick but because of the unaccustomed, awesome atmosphere of the doctor's office.

There is one drawing of an old couple and another of the wife alone that I find particularly touching. Authentic in their individuality, they also represent millions of such old couples anywhere in the working class. I have met them in various cities of the world: A life of toil and hardly any material possessions to show for it, countless sorrows, tenacity and unpretentious daily courage, a strong feeling for justice and decency, a profound faith in mankind despite disappointments and bitterness. And a humble modesty that we notice in the mothers' faces, too.

Prematurely aged, caught in a cycle of unending drudgery, their marriage perhaps deformed and endangered by depressing conditions, attempting every day to make ends meet they seem to tell the doctor — not in words but in their expression, their eyes, their gestures: "Our children are our only happiness and hope. Please cure our child!" Some are submissive, others close to despair. All are fighting for their children in a hostile world.

Kathe Kollwitz made each of her drawings, etchings, lithographic prints and sculptures a work of art, achieving maximum effect with a rigid economy of means and concentration on the essential. An unbridgeable gulf separates her from the Saturday Evening Post cover style insisted upon by the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union today as so-called "socialist realism." Kathe Kollwitz did not believe in trying to imitate photography. Nor did she indulge in cheap sentimentalism or cheap brutality, in any over-simplified hero-and-villain formula, the very negation of social reality.

With perceptivity and the genuine socialist's compassion for the individual trampled under foot by a hypocritical and merciless society, Kathe Kollwitz truthfully depicted the victims of capitalism. To her they were not just test-tube cases to be analyzed, or infinitesimal particles of the masses, but human beings abused, hurt, about to be crushed — human beings she understood and whose plight never left her indifferent. The work of her genius has preserved what she saw and felt.

Mechanized Farming — Vital Need for China

By Daniel Roberts

For more than a year, signs have appeared of serious differences of opinion in the Chinese Communist party leadership over economic questions.

The most recent indication is an article in Red Flag, a fortnightly theoretical magazine published by the CP Central Committee. The article, on the technical transformation of agriculture, is by Po I-po, Vice-Premier and Chairman of the State Economic Commission. It is reprinted in the Oct. 18 English-language edition of the official Hsinhua News Agency.

Po considers it imperative "to get our agriculture out of its present state of technical backwardness and on to a modern technical basis." "The process of changing China from a backward agricultural country into an advanced industrial country involves the gradual transformation of her vast agricultural population into an industrial population." Po wants no delay in proceeding with the task. He wants planning that envisages the simultaneous development of heavy industry, light industry and agricultural mechanization and electrification.

He admits that "To transform all of rural China, which is so vast and so backward . . . into a technically modernized countryside . . . is an extremely difficult task. The question now is to strengthen the party's leadership over the work and to make good overall plans."

Evidently, the views Po expounds are not unanimously held in the CP leadership for he considers it necessary to argue against "some people [who] think that . . . once industrialization is accomplished the technical transformation of agriculture will materialize by itself. Basing themselves on this viewpoint, they maintain that efforts should for the time being be concentrated on industrial development with little or no attention to the technical transformation of agriculture. This viewpoint is wrong beyond doubt."

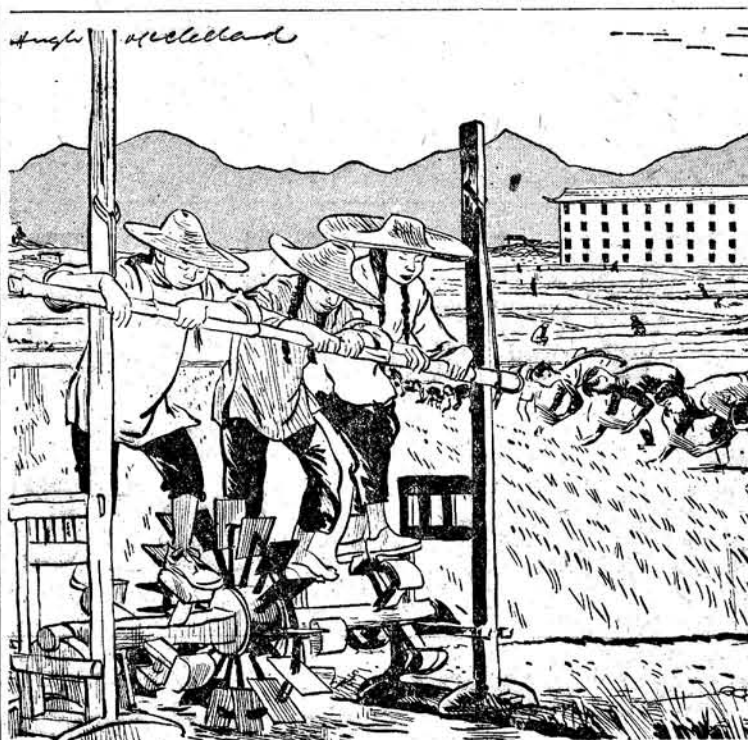
Po cites a number of powerful reasons for adopting a balanced plan that unites progress in agriculture and industry.

Must Double Grain Output

First, "we must at least double our present grain output or more," says Po, in order to meet the grain needs of all the people "fairly fully" and to provide enough fodder for an increased number of livestock. And "we must at least treble our present cotton output."

The significance of Po's statements can better be appreciated if one keeps in mind the impressive gains achieved in Chinese agriculture in the past ten years through use of hand labor and animal power.

Po indicates that if these limitations cannot be transcended, China's growing needs will not be met. The country is already



China needs to replace its countless foot-driven pumps with mechanical pumps. It also needs machines, such as have been developed in the U.S., to plant and harvest rice. Virtually all agriculture in China is still carried on by human and animal labor. The above drawing shows not only traditional Chinese farming methods but new barrack-like buildings erected in some of the communes to replace old mud huts. (Drawing is from the Toronto Telegram.)

suffering from a growing shortage of labor. Machinery must replace hand labor so as to raise labor productivity. Modern chemical fertilizers and insecticides must be employed to increase the per-acre yield.

Then, for China to become a modern industrial power, several hundreds of millions of peasants must be released from agriculture over the years and employed in industry. This can only happen if agriculture is mechanized. Otherwise, industry too will soon confront an insoluble manpower shortage.

Again, if agriculture is mechanized, the income of the peasants will rise. This will greatly extend the domestic market for industry. Light and heavy industry will both be stimulated thereby. Out of the rising national income, the state will be able to accumulate surpluses for further industrialization. Thus Po argues in effect that a balanced planned growth holds out greater prospects for gain than one that concentrates on heavy industry divorced from farm implements or consumer-goods equipment and that is financed by agricultural surpluses squeezed out of intensive farm labor.

Finally, Po hints at a reason for not postponing farm mechanization and electrification that goes to the heart of the program to socialize agricultural production through the communes. He says: "While it is true that the socialist system cannot be based on the simultaneous existence of two forms of ownership — socialist public ownership and private ownership in individual economy — it is also not feasible for modern production methods in industry and manual labor in agriculture to co-exist for long."

Po doesn't come right out and say that socialist relations in agriculture cannot be indefinitely sustained on the basis of manual labor, or that private ownership in individual economy threatens to break down the commune form if agriculture isn't converted to modern production methods. Ostensibly he is offering no more than an analogy. But it is hard to believe that Po compared the antagonism between hand and mechanical labor to the antagonism between individual and social ownership without intending to infer a causal relation between technology and property forms.

Bolshevik Program

If that is indeed his purpose he is on solid Marxist ground. The Russian Bolshevik leaders, before Stalin usurped power, considered it ABC that agriculture could not be genuinely collectivized without its simultaneous mechanization. Lenin and his associates believed that the peasants will overcome their small-capitalist outlook only when they are convinced that socialized production, by employing machinery, can improve living standards for all on a scale far higher than individual production. The Bolsheviks believed, however, that without mechanization and electrification, collective production cannot surpass individual production sufficiently to win the peasants firmly away from individualism.

Stalin, on the other hand, drove the peasants into collectives, whether these possessed machinery or not, and then proclaimed that all agriculture had been converted to socialist relations. His formula — peasants in collectives equals the socialist transformation of agriculture — remains Stalinist dogma to this day.

Assessing Stalin's claims in 1937, Leon Trotsky wrote in his book, The Revolution Betrayed, that "In reality the collective farms stand halfway between individual and state economy, and the petty bourgeois tendencies within them are admirably helped along by the swiftly growing private allotments or personal economies conducted by their members."

"The centrifugal tendencies are not yet dying, but on the contrary are growing stronger. In any case, the collectives have succeeded so far in transforming only the juridical forms of economic relations in the country — in particular the methods of distributing income — but they have left almost without change the old but and vegetable garden, the barnyard chores, the whole rhythm of heavy muzhik labor." (pp. 242-3. Emphasis added.)

Trotsky was of the opinion that only the complete mechanization and electrification of Russian agriculture would create the means for resolving the struggle inside the collectives between socialist and petty-capitalist tendencies. This has not yet been achieved in Russia, and as a result students of Soviet farming still describe most collective farms as half-way houses between individual and socialized farming, with many Russian peasants still attached to their midget holdings.

In China, the small individual holdings were restored this year after having been briefly abolished when the cooperatives merged in the communes: What is the tendency? The British socialist weekly, New Statesman, which has been closely following the Chinese press, including some of the provincial papers, reports that "the Chinese themselves admit that the peasants tend to neglect communal work and produce as much as they can on the small private holdings that had to be allowed them." (Oct. 24 issue.)

The struggle between the individualistic and collective tendencies within the commune

dencies within the commune have clearly not been resolved and continue to plague the Chinese CP. Po's program of devoting maximum attention to mechanizing and electrifying agriculture points to the only way that the conflict can eventually be resolved in a progressive fashion.

Only a Decade?

How long will mechanization and electrification of Chinese agriculture take? Po says it can be completed in roughly ten years. In offering this estimate, he reveals his Stalinist training. Actually, how long the process will take is indefinite for it depends on the course of the international socialist revolution.

If China has to continue lifting itself by its bootstraps, helped only by the Soviet Union — and this is what guides Po's estimate, for his thinking is bounded by the Stalin-Mao conception of "building socialism in one country" — then mechanizing Chinese agriculture will undoubtedly take more than a decade. Imperialist threats will force diversion of economic efforts to arming the country. An imperialist attack on China would set economic construction back many years. But even without the imperialist threat, the task is truly so difficult, as Po admits, that China simply cannot accomplish it within a decade with resources currently at its command.

On the other hand, Po's estimate of a decade is entirely realistic if we suppose early socialist victories in the West or even in Japan alone. The workers' states emerging from such revolutions would immediately extend unstinting economic aid to the Chinese.

Unfortunately, no section of the Mao bureaucracy orients by internationalist perspectives. The bureaucracy's nationalistic course helps delay socialist victories abroad. And this in turn seriously retards, distorts and cripples China's economic growth.

LABOR'S PAL

The ten-cent-a-ride taxi levy imposed in New York by Democratic Mayor Wagner has resulted in a 6% cut in drivers' income, bringing their earnings back to 1958 levels. The Mayor owes his re-election primarily to labor endorsement.

Socialist Trail Blazing You Just Walk onto a Campus And Start Talking Socialism

Interest in socialism appears to be rising again on American campuses after the barren years induced by McCarthyite witch-hunting against any semblance of free thought. This is the conclusion reported by Dan Freeman and Jim Robertson after making a tour of the major universities in the New England area.

The tour, it should be added, was not arranged by the usual staid lecture agencies nor sponsored by university officials. In fact, the two young socialists were rudely escorted from the grounds of several schools by campus police who, in some cases, do not seem to have heard yet that McCarthy is dead.

Armed with socialist books, pamphlets, copies of the Mil-

itant, the International Socialist Review, the Young Socialist, and a sheaf of subscription blanks, the two availed themselves of the open air sidewalks and squares to see what response they might get to some vigorous talk about America's need for socialism.

The response was encouraging. On no campus did they meet with hostility or red-baiting. In some places sales were brisk, and they even found socialist-minded students who welcomed their initiative and brought around friends for a bit of extra-curricular education in the fundamentals of socialism.

The two socialist trail blazers estimate that they gained the ear of some twenty to thirty thousand people, among whom

seven or eight hundred carried away at least one piece of socialist literature.

In addition to touring campuses, Freeman and Robertson visited working-class districts, Negro communities and strikers in steel-producing areas. Polite interest, curiosity and, in some places, a good deal of friendliness and sympathy was their reward.

In the Boston area they found enough people interested in learning more about socialism to provide a hopeful basis for further work by the Socialist Workers party and supporters of the Young Socialist. "The work at Boston universities," they write, "was exciting and rewarding."

Leaving New England, the two socialist youths tried some socialist trail blazing in New Jersey and Eastern Pennsylvania. The response to their efforts continued to be encouraging.

At campuses in Philadelphia subscriptions went briskly. Interference from campus police on public streets near one school was overcome by an assist from a civil liberties organization.

A number of supermarkets proved to be remunerative although the wares the two sold were not exactly what the customers had in mind as they came to do their shopping.

Ten steelworkers on a picket line at a big plant in a nearby city responded to some straight talk about the class struggle by arranging to get the Militant for the next three months.

The influence of the Communist party has virtually disappeared from the campuses and Social Democratic influence appears to be following it. Students inclined to radicalism seem to want something more militant and with more socialist content.

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Urge Letters to White House Demanding Freedom for Sobell

By Lillian Kiezel

When I saw Helen Sobell in New York recently, I asked her how she felt about the chances of finally winning the battle to release her husband from prison, where he has now served one-third of a 30-year sentence.

"I do feel hopeful," she said. "With so many friends and so much tremendous interest throughout the entire world, I know that Morton will soon be vindicated."

On the day that Morton Sobell is freed, main thanks will go to his valiant wife. Against tremendous odds in the tough nine-year battle, she has simply forced people in all walks of life to take another look at this case.

Consequently increasing numbers of lawyers, judges, scientists, educators, clergymen and writers have become convinced that Sobell was unjustly convicted, during the infamous witch-hunt hysteria of 1950, as an "atom spy."

Throughout the legal battle, the case has stirred up controversies over American penal codes and penal institutions. The latest controversy was touched off when Helen Sobell, who is 41, felt that she could not wait much longer if she were to have another child.

Makes Appeal

Last spring she appealed to the authorities to allow her to spend enough time with her husband at Atlanta prison to conceive a child.

Thus far her request has been rejected, but the pros and cons of the question have been discussed in the press and on radio and TV ever since, a welcome sign of the nationwide interest



MORTON SOBELL

that was aroused by the plea for exercise of a human right.

While on tour of West Coast cities in July and August, Mrs. Sobell was greeted with press radio and TV interviews from Seattle to Los Angeles. During the week of August 16, which marked the beginning of Sobell's tenth year of imprisonment, 30 labor newspapers in California printed a long and favorable interview with Mrs. Sobell.

Entitled "A Wrong to be Righted?" the article quoted John F. Finerty, counsel in the Sacco-Vanzetti and Mooney-Billings cases who said, "Whenever the public participates actively in righting a wrong it strengthens the courts and all our institutions. I believe that this is happening in the Sobell case today."

A few weeks ago Mrs. Sobell was asked to return to Los Angeles to appear on two major TV programs: the Dan Lundberg show which was a panel discussion on prisoner-family rela-

tions and an interview with commentator Lew Erwin.

Erwin devoted two broadcasts to the dramatic presentation of the Sobell case. On Oct. 27 he told his KABC-TV audience of an hour-long talk he had, while in England, with Bertrand Russell, who wants to see Sobell freed. The following night Erwin presented Helen Sobell.

"My husband was convicted by the manner of his arrest," said Mrs. Sobell when Erwin asked what brought about Sobell's conviction. "He was convicted by the unscrupulous prosecution which included Roy Cohn [who became known as the late Senator McCarthy's chief assistant] and by one lying witness (Max Elitcher) who admitted he 'hoped' he would be treated leniently as a result of his testimony."

Letter-Writing Campaign

An eastern regional conference of the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, held Nov. 7-8 in New York, ways and means of intensifying a nationwide drive to win a presidential pardon for the witch-hunt victim were discussed.

The conference noted that in 1959 the case had achieved ten times as much publicity as in the previous year. It was felt that the time was now favorable for stepping up a letter-writing campaign to the White House seeking "commutation of sentence" for Morton Sobell.

The delegates announced their determination to put all the forces of the Sobell Committee to work on this campaign of encouraging people who want Sobell's sentence commuted to write to the White House.

Xmas Book List

To be sure you get what you want, buy your holiday gift books now. Prices include postage and mailing cost.

- LIKE ONE OF THE FAMILY, by Alice Childress. Looking at the world through the eyes of a Negro domestic worker. Short stories, sensitively and beautifully written. Paper, \$1.25.
ON THE LINE, by Hervey Swados. A moving portrayal of nine men who work on an automobile assembly line. Cloth, \$1.25. Originally \$3.75.
PORTFOLIO OF KATHIE KOLLWITZ DRAWINGS. Nine deeply moving studies of peasants, mothers and children, including an exquisite self-portrait. \$1.25. Originally \$3.
JACK LONDON: AMERICAN REBEL, by Philip S. Foner. A collection of London's social writings together with a study of the man and his times. Paper, \$1.25.
FRANCIS BACON, Philosopher of Industrial Science, by Benjamin Farrington. Biography of a materialist thinker placed in his social-economic setting. Cloth, \$1.25. Originally \$3.50.

- Books by Leon Trotsky:
HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. Three volumes in one. List, \$12.50; special, \$10.50.
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Books by James P. Cannon:
NOTEBOOK OF AN AGITATOR. Socialist journalism at its best — humor, irony, sadness, anger, the inspiring vision of the America to be. A collection written in the heat of the class struggle. About the best present you can give someone who has never read socialist literature before. Special for the holidays: cloth, \$3.25; paper, \$1.95.
HISTORY OF AMERICAN SOCIALISM. The founder of the So-

- cialist Workers party tells about the difficult early days in the struggle to build a revolutionary-socialist party in America. Cloth, \$2.75; paper, \$2.
STRUGGLE FOR A PROLETARIAN PARTY. Documents written in the fight against the anti-Soviet faction headed by Shachtman and Burnham. A must for students of socialist politics. Cloth, \$2.75; paper, \$2.
THE LABOUR REVOLUTION, by Karl Kautsky. Not a classic, but the exposition of later views which were criticized by Lenin and Trotsky. Cloth, \$1.
THE HISTORY OF THE HAYMARKET AFFAIR, by Henry David. A conscientious study of one of America's most famous labor cases. Cloth, List, \$6.75; special, \$5.50.
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FOUNDATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY, by Karl Kautsky. Cloth, List, \$5.50; special, \$3.
THOMAS MORE AND HIS UTOPIA, by Karl Kautsky. Cloth, List, \$4; special, \$3.
COMMUNISM IN CENTRAL EUROPE IN THE TIME OF THE REFORMATION, by Karl Kautsky. Cloth, List, \$6; special, \$4.50.

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Alienation

In the field of psychology, the increasing number of nervous breakdowns is ascribed to the alienation of man's needs from the dominant values in society today.

In politics, alienation is pointed to in the reaction of the voters to the two parties. Alienation exists between Soviet bureaucrat and Soviet worker, between employer and employee in capitalist countries, between union official and rank-and-file member. Finally, economists talk of the alienation of the producer from the product of his labor, the worker from his job.

What is alienation? How did it arise in history? How will mankind overcome it? For a thorough examination of this concept, read William F. Warde's penetrating study in the fall issue of International Socialist Review. Send 35 cents for a copy.

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Monday, November 16, 1959

"Choke Off" What, Mr. Cooper?

R. Conrad Cooper, chief negotiator for the major steel firms and spokesman for U.S. Steel, complained Nov. 6 that the steel strike was "a dispute between two parties having vastly unequal powers," the poor defenseless company having "only the power to say no to demands which it cannot accept — and to suffer the beating it may take in consequence." On the other hand, Cooper claimed, "There is only one man who can choke off the supply of our nation's steel at will, and that man is the president of the steelworkers' union," David J. McDonald.

Where does the power lie and who has "suffered the beating"? Before the strike even began, the corporations had cleaned up more profits in the first six months of 1959 than in all of 1958. The stockholders have since received their regular dividends — in full and on time. The officers and directors of the corporations have collected their usual fat salaries, stock bonuses, country club fees, traveling expenses and all other benefits and emoluments that come from controlling the treasuries of vast corporations. The only ones to suffer the "consequence" to date are the steelworkers, whose wages were cut off the day they went on strike. But they have borne their suffering with pride and hardihood and without the whining that Cooper indulges in to win undesired sympathy.

Of course, the steel companies do not stand exactly alone. They have the U.S. government, the strong right arm of the American capitalist class, to wield the weapon of legal coercion, the Taft-Hartley

Act and its injunction powers. They have the national press, TV and radio, owned and controlled by the great aggregates of wealth, to propagandize their cause. There is, in fact, such an immense array of governmental and propaganda forces hurled at the steelworkers that their fortitude and resistance can only command the admiration and support of all decent elements of our society.

Cooper's charge that McDonald is the "one man who can choke off our nation's supply of steel at will" is about the silliest of the host of nonsensical statements inspired by the steel strike. McDonald stood by whimpering for six months before the strike, begging Eisenhower, Nixon and every other capitalist politician to take him off the hook, while the steel corporations piled up enough production to outlast what they firmly believed would be the longest possible time the steelworkers could stay on the picket line. The steelworkers "double-crossed" them, that's all.

While we are on the subject of power to "choke off our nation's steel supply," would it be impolite to recall that the steel industry "choked off" as much as 50 to 60% of steel production in the recession of 1957-58, throwing hundreds of thousands of steel workers out of employment? The steel barons have always had and used the power to "choke off" steel production when it served their profit interests. Isn't it about time to talk about "enjoining" that real power of a handful of monopolists like Cooper to throw hundreds of thousands of workers into destitution at will?

The Big Fix

A little-mentioned aspect of the TV quiz-show programs is that they represent a grievous misuse of public property. The TV channels do not belong to the networks; they are limited in number and belong to the public. Broadcasting companies are licensed to use the channels providing they do so in the general interest. The Federal Communications Commission is supposed to use its licensing power to police the networks. And the House Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight is supposed to check up on the FCC.

"In practice, however," writes Anthony Lewis in the Nov. 9 N.Y. Times, "a television or radio license has become almost a property right since the FCC rarely thinks about refusing to renew it." The FCC could drive fraudulent programs and advertising off the air by setting minimum standards. It could also lay down minimum programming requirements — "so much time in evening prime hours for public affairs, and so forth," says Lewis. But the commission has been "meek instead of aggressive," and this has encouraged the worst in the industry.

And what about the Congressional subcommittee? In February 1958, Dr. Bernard Schwartz, the group's chief counsel, resigned under pressure because the subcommittee blocked his probe of the intimate tie-up between the FCC and major networks. Evidence he had already uncovered indicated that the FCC had become the creature of the very networks whose activities it was supposed to regulate in the public interest. After Schwartz resigned, the subcommittee showed no further interest in finding out why the FCC

was so "meek" in its dealings with the broadcasters.

In his statement of resignation, Schwartz said, "I accuse the majority of this subcommittee . . . of joining an unholy alliance between big business and the White House to obtain a whitewash" of the FCC.

The unholy alliance that Schwartz named — that's the really big fix in television today. An example of how it works is the way the equal-time provision for candidates for public office was knifed last summer.

Under this provision, any free time given one candidate for public office had to be matched with equal time for the other candidates. The networks, abetted by the FCC, worked this democratic provision around to give the Democrats and Republicans virtual monopoly of time on radio and TV. Under the ruling, however, if they fought hard enough for it, socialist candidates did manage to get some time to answer the candidates of the two parties to kill the equal-time provision.

First, the FCC issued a ruling ostensibly liberalizing the provision but really designed to provoke congressional action. President Eisenhower denounced the ruling as "ridiculous" at one of his press conferences. Then the broadcasters and the big business-press raised a clamor. Finally, Congress passed legislation giving the networks what they wanted.

As a result, the broadcasters now have more time than ever to sell to sponsors of crooked commercials, rigged shows and other forms of boring or hoodwinking the public.

What Color Is Blood?

Anti-Negro prejudice is so deep-rooted in the capitalist system that it oozes through its most "respectable" pores. A recent example of this was the Nov. 6 pronouncement by Dr. John Scudder, an assistant professor at Columbia University. He asserted that it is dangerous for members of one race to receive blood transfusions from members of another race. Claiming a scientific basis for what he termed a "new philosophy," he contended that Negroes should receive blood only from Negroes and whites only from whites.

This revival of the ancient racist myth of "different blood" was ripped apart in an outraged statement the next day by seven members of the Columbia University Seminar on Genetics and the Evolution of Man. They cited what science has well established: "The only criterion any reputable doctor or hospital dare employ in blood transfusions is whether the blood itself is of the right type, and not from where it came."

"No new evidence was reported," the seven scientists said of Scudder's paper, "and the so-called 'new philosophy' serves no useful purpose except to reinforce the old 'philosophy' of race prejudice, which has been shown repeatedly to rest on ignorance rather than biological or medical knowledge."

This statement was buttressed by Red Cross officials who said that "on the basis of recorded scientific and medical opinion, there is no difference in the blood of humans based on race or color."

Further confirmation of this came from an even more unexpected quarter. The Red Cross blood transfusion service of East London, in racist South Africa, said Nov. 9 that the blood of whites has been given to Negroes there for 20 years and "no ill effects have ever been seen." We have not yet seen how Southern racist papers responded to Dr. Scudder's pronouncement. But an indication of what may be expected can be gathered from an way the story was handled by that "enlightened" daily, the New York Times, which editorially deprecates bigotry.

The Times gave Scudder's propaganda front-page treatment and included a biography to bolster his "authority." When the hot rebuttal of the seven Columbia scientists came, the Times put it on page 49 and headlined it: "Seven at Columbia Doubt (!) Peril in Bi-Racial Blood Transfusions." Before publishing the viewpoint of the seven, the Times asked Scudder for a statement which gave him the last word.

The Northern agencies of capitalist propaganda aren't as blatant about their racism as those in the South. But they're just as sickening.



"I was sure anyone who could answer those quiz questions must be a Communist. But he didn't take the Fifth Amendment!"

French Communist Party Flips On De Gaulle's Algerian Plan

By Philip Magri

Six weeks after Charles de Gaulle made his proposal to end the Algerian war on the basis of "self-determination," the French Communist party, which originally had denounced it, has come around to supporting De Gaulle's Algerian policy.

On the morning of De Gaulle's Sept. 16 speech, the Political Bureau of the French CP denounced his offer as "a political maneuver directed against those who, in Algeria, are fighting for independence and designed to trick democratic opinion in France and in the world," a maneuver which "far from bringing it nearer, makes the solution of the Algerian problem more distant."

Now, on Nov. 3, the CP Central Committee has discovered that De Gaulle actually showed "a desire to break out of the impasse of the Algerian war" and that the Sept. 17 Political Bureau declaration had "deviated on certain points from the general analysis of the Algerian problem made at various times by the Communist party."

In supporting a policy whose basic aim is the preservation of French imperialist control over Algeria, the French CP is merely being true to its Stalinist past. Under cover of radical phrases, the Stalinists have always supported the policy of the French government concerning Algeria.

In 1936 the CP proclaimed the theory that Algeria was "a nation in formation," not a real nation, therefore not entitled to self-determination. At that time the Algerian masses, under the leadership of Messali were first demanding independence in powerful demonstrations. The CP attacked the Algerian nationalist movement as "fascist" and supported the Popular Front government which proposed the "integration" of Algeria into France ("Blum-Violette project") and which outlawed Algerian nationalism and put Messali under arrest.

In 1945 the CP, participating in the second edition of the Popular Front (this time under the leadership of . . . De Gaulle) proposed that Algeria enter the "French Union" (as the French Empire had been renamed).

A leader of the Communist party, Charles Tillon, was Air Minister in the government which, in 1945, sent airplanes to bomb villages in the regions of Seif and Guelma, in the course of a repression which took the lives of more than 40,000 Algerians.

'Yellow Peril' Smear Hurlled By De Gaulle

NOV. 11 — General de Gaulle isn't giving much help to the U.S.-led propaganda campaign which is intended to convince the world he is really a "democrat."

Discussing the pending East-West summit conference at a press interview yesterday, the dictatorial head of the French government unleashed a foul racist attack on the Chinese people.

Asserting that the Soviet Union wants better relations with the Western powers because it fears the growth of Chinese power, De Gaulle said: "Russia, a white nation of Europe . . . has conquered part of Asia and is . . . face to face with the yellow masses of China . . ."

A New York Herald Tribune correspondent reported that U.S. officials dealing with summit preparations "were taken aback by what they considered an indiscretion" by De Gaulle.

When the Algerian revolution broke out in 1954 the CP followed along behind the policy of Socialist party leader Guy Mollet, who was trying to preserve French rule by military "pacification" while promising "internal autonomy" for Algeria. On Mar. 12, 1956, the Communist party deputies in the French parliament voted in favor of Mollet's demand for "special powers" to pacify Algeria by military terror.

Later in 1956, as the Algerian revolution deepened and the bankruptcy of Mollet's policy became evident, the CP changed its line. It began to talk of "independence" and to support the FLN (National Liberation Front). But this was not a change in basic policy: the FLN was and is a group headed by old-line "moderate" Algerian politicians like Ferhat Abbas.

The CP gave important help to the FLN in its attempts to destroy by physical violence its left-wing rival, the MNA (National Algerian Movement) headed by Messali. It never proposed that independence be given to the Algerian people, only that the French government decide the future of Algeria by negotiations with the leaders of the FLN.

Since its turn to support of the FLN, the CP line on Algeria could be summarized roughly as follows: The war in Algeria can be brought to an end only by negotiations with those with whom France is fighting. Only by negotiations with the FLN can the legitimate aspirations toward independence of the Algerian people be satisfied while preserving the essential interests of France.

A Capitalist Program

This of course is strictly a capitalist program, for as long as France remains a capitalist state "the essential interests of France" are nothing else than the essential interests of French imperialism.

What has now come to pass is simply this: that De Gaulle has put into practice what the CP had been talking about. Long before his return to power De Gaulle realized that imperialism in the second half of the twentieth century can hope to survive only if it can find support within its colonies in the form of a native ruling class.

And this can only be brought about if the outworn colonial forms, no longer capable of holding the masses in check, are replaced by "modern" forms of imperialist rule in which the native ruling class enjoys wide internal autonomy (or even, if need be, nominal independence) and shares as a junior partner in the imperialist exploitation of the colonial economy.

When De Gaulle came to power, one of his first acts was to offer the African colonies of France a free choice between internal autonomy and independence. A similar course in Algeria has been much more difficult, because it is the settlers and officer corps there (the "ultras") who staged the coup that brought De Gaulle to power precisely in order to prevent negotiations with the FLN.

But in reality De Gaulle has been negotiating in secret with the FLN for the past year, and his "self-determination" speech, despite its inclusion of phrases designed to reassure the "ultras," shows his desire for a speedy termination of the Algerian war.

In this light, what is the explanation for the CP's original opposition to the De Gaulle plan? The De Gaulle regime has conducted an extremely reactionary domestic policy, and the CP could only compromise itself by appearing to support De Gaulle; if at all possible, opposition to De Gaulle on the

grounds that he did not mean what he said was a more comfortable position for the Stalinists to take.

But the events that followed De Gaulle's speech left little, then no, choice for the Stalinist viewpoint. First Eisenhower and Herter endorsed De Gaulle's plan as a first step toward a solution. It was still easy for the CP to dismiss that as imperialist hypocrisy. Then the FLN announced its acceptance of De Gaulle's proposals as a first step which should be the basis for negotiations. Harder, but it was still possible to say that Ferhat Abbas' response was just clever tactics designed to expose De Gaulle.

But then came the crusher — Khrushchev himself in the course of his speech to the Supreme Soviet praised De Gaulle and endorsed his "self-determination" proposal in terms scarcely distinguishable from those previously used by Herter and Ferhat Abbas. That convinced them.

RESINIZED MILK

A Canadian Department of Agriculture scientist says it is possible to remove 90% of the strontium 90 which is added to milk by nuclear fallout. He said it will only increase the price of milk a few cents a quart and will not change the flavor.

Headlines in Other Lands

Panama Crowds Rip U.S. Flag In Demonstrations

On the fifty-sixth anniversary of Panama's independence Nov. 3, crowds in Panama City burned U.S.-owned cars, smashed plate-glass windows of U.S. firms, tore down the flag in front of the U.S. embassy and ripped it to shreds.

These demonstrations followed clashes between Panamanian students and U.S. Canal Zone police. The students tried to plant the Panamanian flag in the Canal Zone. The "invasion" was led by former foreign minister Aquilino Boyd to symbolize Panama's sovereignty over the canal. Boyd also demanded that his country receive 50% of the tolls. The students went 50 feet into the Zone, then were pushed back by the cops.

Major-Gen. William E. Potter, Canal Zone governor, complained that the Panamanian authorities showed a "strange lack of will" in controlling the demonstrators. U.S. Ambassador to Panama Julian F. Harrington was angry over the fact that at the time of the outbreak he and his staff were in the National Palace "felicitating Panama on its independence."

The U.S. government engineered Panama's break away from Colombia in 1903. Panama then leased the Canal Zone to the U.S. in perpetuity. In recent years the Panamanian people have demanded that their government assert sovereignty over the Canal Zone.

UN Group Clears North Vietnam of Aggression in Laos

A United Nations fact-finding team reported to the UN, Nov. 7, that they found no clear proof of North Vietnamese forces crossing into Laos last summer to back the Pathet Laos rebels. The royal Laotian government charged "flagrant aggression" at that time, but evidence gathered by the inquiry group shows

The American Way of Life

What! No Cranberries on Thanksgiving?

"Cranberry. The bright-red, acid berry produced by any plant of the genus *Oxycoccus*. It is much used for making sauce, jelly, tarts, etc." That's the way it was in Noah Webster's day and that's the way it was right up to this Thanksgiving. Then came a qualitative change.

For the first time since the Pilgrims made a public holiday out of roast turkey, the festive splash of the scarlet sauce won't give that Thanksgiving savor to the white slices of breast, the dark meat, mashed potatoes and rich brown giblet gravy.

And when thanks are offered up this year in millions of homes for the privilege of living in this bounteous America, many will add, "And God bless Arthur S. Flemming."

If you are disturbed by the fact that the cranberry crop for the past two years was contaminated with the cancer-producing chemical weed-killer, aminotriazole, think of the bitterness among the cranberry growers. They are clamoring for the ouster of Flemming, the Washington official who warned the public in the nick of time. What's the government for, if not to protect their right to make profits at public expense?

Their story is that you'll find only a harmless amount of aminotriazole in a can of their sauce. The quantity is so minute, claims George C. O. Olsson, head of Ocean Spray Cranberries, Inc., that you "would have to consume carloads" of the poisoned cranberries to feel any effect.

Dr. Donald A. Shallock of Rutgers chimed in with the assurance that aminotriazole has no effect on dogs "and we'd eat the chemical ourselves it's so safe."

There's a possible pitch for the TV hucksters to get right with the public after the TV quiz shows. Fix up a nationwide hour of entertainment in which Dr. Shallock eats the chemical. The results should be interesting, if not appetizing, considering that a dilution of ten parts in a million will cause thyroid cancer in a rat.

Nevertheless, many cranberry growers do have a legitimate complaint, for they cut out the weed-killer when they were warned about it. The trouble is that other private enterprisers used the poison anyway — it's a much easier, cheaper way of

weeding a patch than hiring a gang with hoes.

How many lessons like this do we need to drive home the fact that America can no longer afford the private enterprise system? If the cranberry industry were under public control — the growers guaranteed an ample living but barred from making profits at public expense — cases like this would be unknown. The use of new labor-saving pesticides would be instituted only by expert teams and only under strictest government supervision. This would be normal procedure under socialism.

What is most alarming about the contamination of America's entire \$45,000,000 to \$50,000,000 crop of cranberries is that it is not an isolated incident. Little of our food nowadays is free from residual DDT or other deadly insecticides or hormones that cause freak growth in cattle and chickens. And, of course, strontium 90 from atom-bomb tests will contaminate our milk for years to come.

Dr. David E. Price, Assistant Surgeon General, speaking at the fifty-fifth annual meeting of the National Audubon Society, Nov. 10, feared that pollutants might make man an obsolete species.

"Is there a connection," he asked, "between the release of new pollutants and the increase in certain types of diseases? Is this the reason, for example, why city people, who breathe more auto fumes, are more likely to develop lung cancer than country?" He concluded gloomily that there might not be a historian left a century from now to look back on today's events.

But if the distinguished doctor turns out to be wrong, a historian might look back at the holiday this year and say, "How thankful we can be! The absence of a single traditional dish on the American table that day set in motion the great change in thinking which was to lead in a few years to the outworn, incompetent, dangerously chaotic capitalist system giving way to the socialist order we enjoy today."

— Paul Abbot

Record Attendance Expected at British Assembly of Labor

An impressive list of delegates and visitors is shaping up for the National Assembly of Labor, sponsored by Britain's Socialist Labor League. The Assembly will take place Nov. 15 in St. Pancras Town Hall, London. The Newsletter, weekly journal of the League, reports that miners, railwaymen, engineers, dockers, motor car workers, Labor party members, Communist party members and students from all parts of England will attend.

"From Manchester will come railway delegates who were in the forefront of the dining car dispute . . . The large Standard Telephone Company shop stewards' committee will be officially represented by three delegates. The Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War is sending observers," says the Nov. 7 Newsletter.

French, U.S. Brass In Hassle over Laos

Quite a rhubarb has developed between French and American military personnel over who is supposed to train the royal Laotian troops in what. According to an agreement signed in July, the French, who once held the little kingdom of Laos as an outright colony, are supposed to handle tactical training while the Americans are to give instruction in the use and maintenance of materiel.

But imagine the discomfiture of a French general, who on recently reviewing the Laotian troops was greeted with a snappy American-type salute. Close order drill also followed the U.S. order instead of the French pattern.

The French charge the American military mission in Laos with poaching on their territory. On the other hand, the U.S. treasury pays the full bill for maintaining the Laotian army — some \$225 million in the last four years. Doesn't that give this country at least the right to call the close-order drill?

Nkrumah Voted Wider Powers

Ghana's Parliament voted enlarged powers to Premier Kwame Nkrumah in running the executive branch. One clause of a recent bill provided that any cabinet proceedings are valid even if "some person not entitled to do so sat or voted in the cabinet or otherwise took part in the proceedings." This clause, it was said, permits the Prime Minister to appoint any person he desires to participate in cabinet actions even if the appointment has not been voted on by parliament.

From a Veteran Socialist Fighter

Editor: As I sit in my room alone, thinking of my past, a veteran of three wars, I cogitate on the stupidity of politicians and patriots.

Uninformed men die, drafted into wars not of their own making. Silly flag waving and bands playing arouse the enthusiasm of these poor victims who march forward to their deaths.

The McKinleys, Wilsons, Roosevelts and Trumans are glorified; have their brief moment of huzzas, and lapse into oblivion. Can't these stupid men realize that they too must die?

The owning class, too, must in the end say goodbye to Earth, leaving behind their possessions which their heirs will have to worry about. For possessions mean worry, ulcers and heart trouble. So in the end the poor and dispossessed have all the best of it. And the owners of automation have to do the worrying.

Nearing my eighty-fifth birthday, I've been in the labor movement since 1888 when I was an apprentice member of the Knights of Labor. Went into the Socialist party in 1909 when I left the Marines. Then into the Industrial Workers of the World and now retired on a pension.

I too will soon join the ranks of dead comrades-in-arms. But at least I can go to my final rest knowing what it is all about, knowing that not too long after my passing the tax-troubled people of this capitalist world will

awaken, take a few leaves from the book of Russia and China, smite the owning class hip and thigh and do away with unemployment.

Automation will belong to the working class and enable them to shorten their hours of toil. The witch-hunters and stool pigeons paid by the FBI and legislative committees, bent on investigating someone or some group, will be retired together with the plugging politicians that inspired them.

Sorry, comrades and fellow-workers, that I won't be on hand to see man finally join the age of reason.

Paul Dennis San Antonio, Texas

We Need More Barenblatts, and Fewer Van Dorens

Editor: Last Thursday I went to a meeting sponsored by the Committee of First Amendment Defendants. The main purpose of this meeting, besides an attempt to get something started in defense of the courageous Americans who have stood for their rights and invoked the First Amendment, was to bid a sad farewell to Lloyd Barenblatt, a teacher who is going to jail for six months because of his stand on the First Amendment, and to Dr. Willard Uphaus, who may have to stay in prison the rest of his life for a similar "crime."

As I listened to Mr. Barenblatt, I was reminded of another teacher — not because of any similarity, but because of stark contrast. The other teacher was Charles Van Doren.

What a tragic testimony to our society it is when someone like Van Doren is now considered practically a national martyr in the public eye because he was "brave" enough to admit that he was given the answers on the quiz show.

The fact that he was good enough to simply confess makes everything all right. But does it? What has happened to the code where honesty is supposed to rule supreme?

On the other side of the picture you have Mr. Barenblatt who didn't make national headlines as a phony and who didn't drag his tail into a congressional hearing but rather who said, as an American, I not only have the rights granted me by our constitution, something we should treasure and honor rather than consider subversive, but also the duty to fight to maintain these rights.

How much better off our children would be if they could have the Barenblatts as teachers whose code is honesty and integrity rather than the Van Dorens, who, with all their whimpering, still hold the American dollar above integrity.

Sherry Finer New York

How Do We Know?

Editor: Signs on New York City wastebaskets now advertise: "Cast your ballot here for a cleaner city." What do you think they mean by that?

Puzzled Brooklyn

... Steel

(Continued from Page 1) Besides these proposals, legislation that would place unions under the anti-trust laws or that would outlaw industry-wide bargaining is again being broached.

Thus after Taft-Hartley and Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin, the labor movement is threatened with passage of still tougher anti-union laws. The employer offensive keeps alternating from legislative assaults to attacks on the economic front and back again. Big business control of Congress, the White House and the Supreme Court, plus the pooled economic strength of the monopolists, allows the capitalist class to whipsaw the workers.

More Militant Tone

A number of top union officials are clearly getting restive under the ceaseless pounding of big business, and are adopting a more militant tone. Thus, Nov. 9 at the convention of the AFL-CIO's industrial union department, Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the United Auto Workers, denounced the Taft-Hartley injunction in steel as a "political pay-off" by the President for financial contributions to his 1956 campaign.

When Eisenhower's press secretary, James Hagerly, charged Mazey with "demagoguery," Mazey retorted: "I wouldn't expect any other reaction from a stooge of the steel companies. I'm not surprised to get this kind of answer, from a lackey of big business."

Hit Kennedy

But it wasn't only Eisenhower who was denounced as a tool of the bosses at the IUD convention. At the insistence of the International Association of Machinists, a resolution, praising the role of Sen. Kennedy and five other Democrats in the congressional maneuvering over the new "labor-reform" measure, was sidetracked.

"We are unalterably opposed to anyone who voted for the law," Elmer Walker, secretary-treasurer of the Machinists, declared. "They are guilty of scabbing on the labor movement."

But imprecations against Eisenhower and Kennedy are not enough to defeat the employer offensive. Labor has the power to smash the big business assaults, but only if it acts independently on the political field and begins building a labor party.

Champions of Bill of Rights



Lloyd Barenblatt (left) and Dr. Willard Uphaus have staked their freedom in the fight for the preservation of constitutional liberties. Barenblatt surrendered to federal authorities Nov. 6 to begin a six-month prison term for refusing to cooperate with congressional witch-hunters. Dr. Uphaus faces life imprisonment for defying New Hampshire inquisitors.

Rally Staged in Defense Of the First Amendment

By Harry Ring NEW YORK, Nov. 7 — A campaign to defend the First Amendment of the Constitution of the United States was opened at a rally here last night of more than 500 people.

The meeting was sponsored by the newly organized Committee of First Amendment Defendants. Thirty victims now face prison for invoking the First Amendment against federal and state inquisitorial bodies. The new committee's appeal for support was generously answered by contributions from the audience of \$1,105.

Principal speakers at the rally were Lloyd Barenblatt, a former Vassar College psychology instructor, and Dr. Willard Uphaus, a Methodist minister.

For Barenblatt, the meeting came five days before he was scheduled to begin a six-month prison term for contempt of Congress. He was convicted after invoking the First Amendment against the House Un-American Activities Committee in a bold move to test the legality of its existence.

Dr. Uphaus, 68, expects soon to be imprisoned in New Hampshire. He was convicted of contempt for refusing to turn over to the State Attorney General the guest list of the World Fellowship Center of which he is

Gov. Rockefeller Considers Fate Of Willie Reid

By Alex Harte NEW YORK, Nov. 11 — The U.S. Supreme Court on Monday refused to hear the appeal of Willie Reid, the Florida chain-gang fugitive, thus ending all possible court action in the case. Now Reid can be saved from sudden death at the hands of Sheriff Willis V. McCall or from a slow-torture death at the hands of the chain-gang guards only if Gov. Rockefeller refuses to carry out the extradition.

Reid's attorneys succeeded in securing an interview with Rockefeller yesterday, but no definite answer was forthcoming. The New York governor, who is running all over the U.S. in his bid for the presidential nomination, said he would give his answer next week after he had returned from a speaking tour in the Far West.

Democratic Gov. Averell Harriman signed the writ of extradition against Reid several years ago. Up till now the Republican administration of Rockefeller has refused to countermand this order to turn Reid over to the racist officials of Florida. Earlier this year spokesmen for Reid had an audience with Acting Governor Malcolm Wilson (Rockefeller was then in Venezuela) which resulted in another refusal. Following that, Reid's attorneys took the last legal resort in the case — an appeal for certiorari to the U.S. Supreme Court. It was the high court's refusal to grant this — that is, to review the facts in the case — which closed the last legal avenue.

Undoubtedly Rockefeller's decision will largely hinge on the public reaction. It is very likely that the audience granted to Reid's lawyers yesterday was the result of pressure brought in the past few weeks and the volume of telegrams received by Rockefeller in the 24 hours following the adverse decision by the Supreme Court. At a recent meeting of the Governor with New York labor leaders, an official of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters made a lengthy and eloquent plea that Rockefeller not hand Reid over to Florida officials should the Supreme Court rule against him.

Yesterday Rockefeller received a telegram from Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People declaring that "if New York extradites Reid to the custody of a sheriff whose record includes the shooting down in 1951 of two handcuffed Negro prisoners, New York will be sending him to his death." The NAACP national convention this summer passed a resolution appealing to Rockefeller on Reid's behalf and the national office put up the

... Railroad

(Continued from Page 1) reaching effects on the American way of life.

Meany charged that the monopoly corporations, through their high-powered Madison Avenue agencies, are making a science of the big lie and that they hope to establish totalitarianism.

To the railroad workers he pledged the full support of the 17,000,000 members of the AFL-CIO and said it may be necessary for them to use their economic power just as the steel workers had to, but he prayed to God they would not have to. He urged the railroad workers not to be rash and to rely on the Railway Labor Act. He meticulously avoided using the word strike.

To the rest of American labor he gave this advice. He said he couldn't understand why these bosses had changed. For years, he said, we had intelligent relations with them. Now, he said, they have turned on us. First, the steel companies amassed a war chest; now the railroads with \$650,000,000 in profits are preparing for war.

But labor doesn't want war. He concluded by declaring that intelligence, truth and confidence were the weapons labor would use to fight back this onslaught.

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Chicago Forum Lists British Labor Speaker

CHICAGO — Clive Jenkins, British union official and well-known figure in the Labor Party, will speak at a public meeting here on "Why Labor Lost the Last Election." The meeting will be held Tuesday, Nov. 17, 8 p.m., at the Masonic Temple Building, 32 West Randolph, under the auspices of the American Forum.

Jenkins is the author of the recently published book, "Power at the Top." He is a contributor to the left-wing Labor journal, Tribune, and is an officer of the Technicians Union.

NEW YORK — Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary Socialist Workers party, discusses "Labor's Role in the 1960 Elections." Sat., Nov. 28, 8:30 p.m. YMCA, 2200 Prospect Ave. Auspices: Cleveland Militant Forum.

NEW YORK — Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary Socialist Workers party and former Teamsters union official, discusses "Labor's Role in the 1960 Elections." Question and discussion period. Friday, Nov. 20, 8 p.m. Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1. (Students 50 cents.)

Local Directory

- BOSTON Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200. CHICAGO Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736. CLEVELAND Socialist Workers Party 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Thursday nights 8 to 10. The Militant, P.O. Box 1904, University Center Station, Cleveland 6, Ohio. DETROIT Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, TE 1-6135. LOS ANGELES Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. MILWAUKEE 150 East Juneau Ave. MINNEAPOLIS Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon to 6 P.M. daily except Sundays. NEWARK Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N.J. NEW YORK CITY Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852. OAKLAND-BERKELEY P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif. PHILADELPHIA Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 P.M., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820. SAN FRANCISCO The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Rm. 4. Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Forum FR 6-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321. SEATTLE 1412—18th Avenue, EA 2-5554. Library, bookstore. ST. LOUIS For information phone MO 4-7194.

Frothee in Your Beer

By Herman Chauka I managed to survive the news that the TV quiz shows were fixed. But when I'm told that TV commercials are deliberately designed to bolster my inferiority complex (which is already bad enough), then it's time to blow the whistle.

Here's what I mean. I watched that gorgeous young lady pour a stein of Hagenslager. A pale dry brew with a cool, creamy head of foam that sent me right down to the corner grocery for two handy six-can packs. I poured myself a glass, stopping half way to leave room for that creamy head. What happened? A thin performance like the suds you get from the new miracle detergents. That's Hagenslager when I pour it.

Even worse was that specially carbonated million-bubbles-to-the-ounce club soda. On the TV screen it sparkles and dances like champagne. But I can't get bubbles like that out of it even when I shake the bottle with my thumb on the opening.

Take the stain on the living-room couch where I spilled the TV dinner. The very night it happened I saw the demonstration for One-Whack, the jiffy giant spot killer. The camera panned in on a couch with a spot that looked like the contents of the kitchen sink grease trap. A dash of One-Whack on a rag, a quick, easy swipe across the couch and not a stain in sight.

In the morning I plunked down my 99 cents for a bottle. One swipe at the stain. Two swipes. Nothing happens. Maybe this stain needs rubbing. Sure enough; things begin to happen. The stain spread everywhere the rag touches.

That new Chevy I dream about. (Our budget permits a modest amount of cost-free dreaming.) GM uses nothing but Libby-Owens special, distortion-free plate glass for its side windows. I could never stand a side window that gives you a distorted view of the billboards.

The TV camera really makes the point. Brand X glass makes you feel like you're looking through a batch of transparent ripple-cut french-fried potatoes. Then you get a sample

Notes in the News

THREATEN TO JAIL FLORIDA NAACP LEADERS — An "anti-subversive" committee of the Florida State Legislature recommended Nov. 5 that Rev. A. Leon Lowry, state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, be jailed for refusing to appear and testify on "Communist infiltration" of the NAACP. According to information received from Southern integration fighters two other Florida NAACP officials face contempt charges for refusing to hand the committee the membership list of the organization.

SHARP-EARED COP — Last month Joseph Ruiz, 22, was acquitted in New York on a charge of using loud and boisterous language. On Oct. 30 he was arrested again by Patrolman John Farrell on a charge that he had "annoyed passers-by by talking to them." Ruiz was held in jail for a week because he was unable to raise \$500 bail. On Nov. 6 he again won acquittal. Why? Ruiz is a deaf-mute. "If he is deaf and can't speak, then he can't make noise," said Magistrate Walter Gladwin. "Maybe the patrolman can tell us how he spoke." The patrolman didn't say.

PIOUS HYPOCRITES — The Methodist Church apparently isn't too effective in preaching the gospel of the brotherhood of man. Only 18.9% of 7,000 Methodists polled in a national scientific survey believed that all racial discrimination and segregation should be abolished. The findings were reported Nov. 6 by Dr. Walter G. Meulder, Dean of the Boston University College of Theology.

TENNESSEE JURY AT WORK — After 49 minutes of "deliberation," a Tennessee jury recommended Nov. 6 that the charter of Highlander Folk School, an interracial, non-profit in-

Ticker Tape Parade Greet's Sekou Toure

By Flora Carpenter In refreshing contrast to dignitaries like Churchill and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, for whom Washington reserved the red carpet for so many years, we have lately had the

privilege of welcoming such visitors as Castro and Khrushchev, representatives of anti-imperialist forces that have compelled modification of Wall Street's bad-neighbor diplomacy.

The latest of this new type to visit America was Pres. Sekou Toure, a young Negro leader of the nationalist revolution that is breaking ground throughout the continent of Africa.

The head of the one-year-old government of independent Guinea was greeted by 200,000 New Yorkers in a ticker-tape parade last week. This warm welcome was not without a note of confusion supplied by city fathers who have been slow in keeping up with events. They decorated the parade route with flags of Ghana, another newly independent African republic.

Toure smiled at the error and got down to the business of his trip which was to help enlighten Americans on the aims and aspirations of the African people. "Yes or no?" he asked in a speech before the United Nations General Assembly. "Are you for the independence of Africa?"

He told the UN delegates that Guinea feels its task is incomplete so long as other Africans still have their freedom to gain. "Guinea's freedom is encroached upon," he said, "while Algeria is not yet free."

Answering the charge that Guinea's acceptance of aid from the Soviet bloc implied "communist" domination, Toure declared that Africa's attitude toward capitalism and the Soviet system would be determined by the help each gave in helping Africans to break the "chains that bind them."

At a dinner in his honor sponsored jointly by the American Committee on Africa and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People,

Toure placed responsibility on the French, Spanish, English and Belgian colonialists for dividing Africa. The struggle for a united Africa, Toure explained, is supported by African workers and farmers because "they have everything to gain." It is also receiving the support of youth organizations, artists and intellectuals. Speaking of discrimination and prejudice he said that Africans "want a world where there is no division" due to race or sex.

A. Phillip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL-CIO, was one of four panelists who questioned Toure after his speech. He asked if there was a trend toward a federated African labor movement. Toure replied that "A labor movement is an instrument of struggle for the workers" against intimidation and pressure "to assure for the workers a better future . . . the worker must organize to better his standard of living . . . and that is why Africa must be free if the workers are to be free."