

Nutmeg State Joins Militant Fund Drive

By George Lavan

National Fund Drive Director

Last week we cited as a prime contender in a good-news contest the letter from a new group of Militant supporters in San Diego wanting in on the 30th Anniversary Fund Drive — to the tune of \$300 and showing the color of the money used in that region.

This week a letter arrived from "friends of the Militant in Connecticut" asking to be entered on the scoreboard for a pledge of \$300 and including a down payment — and not in wooden nutmegs.

The similarity of the San Diego and Connecticut letters and pledges would almost lead one to suspect plagiarism as with the simultaneous discovery by Darwin and Wallace — at opposite ends of the earth — of the theory of evolution, it is a case of brilliant minds independently arriving at an identical conclusion.

We are happy and proud to enter both San Diego and Connecticut on the \$18,000 scoreboard. The good-news contest still remains open for all comers.

It was by an extremely unfortunate error at this end that Allentown was left off the scoreboard last week. We apologize all the more because it was that week that Allentown sent in a payment on its pledge.

When we emerged from the countinghouse Tuesday at the stroke of midnight with our cashbox and list of figures, the total stood at \$4,148. As you can see from the steam gauge that is pushing the quarter mark, the fund total is somewhat behind schedule figuring on a weekly installment basis. This is not an alarm or exhortation but just a reminder to the forgetful lest anybody get caught short in the last few weeks.

That reminder is not required by the cities whose names are printed at the top of the scoreboard (See page 3) in boldface capital letters. They are ahead of schedule. All who were in that front-running position last week remain there and now have been joined by Detroit and Boston.

(Continued on Page 3)



Youth Marchers to Protest In D.C. Against Jimcrow

OCT. 15 — The Youth March on Washington for Integrated Schools is scheduled to take place on Saturday, Oct. 25. A. Philip Randolph, President of the Sleeping Car Porters and co-chairman of the nationwide March declared last Friday: "At the rate things are going, this dramatic answer to segregationists by young people will be an event of national, perhaps international, significance." (Amsterdam News, Oct. 11).

Jackie Robinson will be the marshal of the March and will lead the students in the demonstration. Ernest Green, the only Negro to graduate from the Central High School in Little Rock, will also be at the head of the March. The students, ranging from elementary school to college, will first march to the White House to seek an interview with President Eisenhower. They will then march down to the Capitol and present to six congressmen their own declaration in defense of the U.S. Constitution. The demonstration will climax with a mass rally of the students at Lincoln Memorial.

The scope of the movement is indicated by the fact that 41 buses have already been pledged from New York City. The NAACP which is sponsoring some of these is also sponsoring several buses that will leave from New Jersey.

(Continued on Page 4)

Wants Rights Under Treaty

A Bronx, N. Y., Supreme Court ruling has denied citizens of Puerto Rican descent the right to take literacy tests in their native language of Spanish. Jose Camacho, who was born in Puerto Rico claimed that his constitutional rights were violated when he was denied the right to vote on the grounds he could not read English. His counsel said the treaty of Oct. 18, 1898 in which the U.S. took over the islands from Spain gave the Puerto Ricans the right to use either Spanish or English. He also pointed out that the state of New Mexico uses both Spanish and English for literacy tests.

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Socialist Ticket Fights For Place on N.Y. Ballot

Most UAW Units at GM Still Striking

OCT. 16 — Two thirds of the United Auto Workers members at General Motors were still on strike today two weeks after the signing of a national contract agreement between UAW president Walter Reuther and the corporation.

The workers are striking on a local level over local supplements to the national agreements in an attempt to resolve pressing problems — particularly speed-up — which Reuther failed to deal with in the national negotiations.

GM spokesmen announced, Oct. 14, that 32 UAW units out of 124 in GM plants have reached agreement. Since then, the Oldsmobile division in Lansing, Mich., has settled, bringing the total not striking at GM to about 85,000 out of 275,000 UAW members employed by the corporation. Oldsmobile is the only major GM division to reach agreement so far and GM has yet to turn out a single completed car since the beginning of the 12-hour corporation-wide strike which preceded the signing of the national contract agreement Oct. 2.

CONTRACT NOT RATIFIED

Ford and Chrysler are operating without strikes at present though local issues are still being negotiated and the national agreement has not yet been ratified by the UAW membership at those corporations. After the Oct. 20 deadline for membership ratification of the GM contract, the international union will step into the local talks. At this point, it doesn't look as if the deadline will be met.

An example of the way things are going on the local level is the Buick, Oldsmobile, Pontiac Assembly plant at Linden, New Jersey (Local 595), where the workers voted today to reject the national agreement. The vote was 617 to 234 at a local membership meeting open to the press.

During the discussion one shop committeeman noted that it was "unusual and disgraceful to sign national contract prior to authorizing all the locals to strike."

Every speaker from the floor emphasized that this contract did nothing to halt — much less to roll back — the "terrible speed-up." The local's president repeatedly asked for a speaker in favor of the agreement, but not a single worker responded.

The three-year length of the

(Continued on Page 4)

Picketline Against Chiang Kai-shek



New York Independent-Socialists demonstrated, Oct. 11, at the Empire State Building offices of Chiang Kai-shek's UN delegation. Demonstrators protested U.S. intervention in the Far East and demanded withdrawal of troops from Formosa, as well as Quemoy and Matsu. "Drop Dulles — Not the Bomb," declared one banner.

Standing Army of Jobless

By Gordon Bailey

A standing army of unemployed has appeared once more as a prominent part of the American economic scene. According to Martin R. Gainsborough, chief economist for the National Industrial Conference Board, recovery from the recession has almost reached its pre-recession peak. However he said, "The percentage of the labor force unemployed is uncomfortably close to the postwar peak and a hard core of continuing unemployment is to be found in the durable goods industry."

In the previous recessions of 1949 and 1954 the subsequent pick-up absorbed virtually all the laid-off workers. Today, however, the most optimistic economists are unable to see full employment even if the present rate of recovery continues. This is revealed in an article in the Oct. 17 U.S. News and World Report which predicts a return of prosperity in 1959. While claiming that two million workers will be rehired next year the magazine says, "Unemployment, even so is to drop by only about 800,000. Why? Mainly because the labor force will grow by more than a million in the year ahead offsetting the increase in jobs."

Increasing in the labor force is equipment by big business continues through both booms and recessions. In fact it is especially during business slowdowns that the giant monopolies eliminate their more antiquated plants, install more cost cutting machinery and get rid of the "less productive" workers.

For the unemployed worker depression spells tragedy. But for the big capitalist, depression provides the opportunity to improve his profit-making position in the subsequent upturn. Not only does the economic squeeze drive out weaker competitors, but the millions of workers thrown out of jobs form a pool of unemployed that threaten the standards of those still working, thus potentially weakening the bargaining power of labor.

Just as Detroit auto workers, unemployed for nine months or more, are beginning to doubt they will ever be rehired, so workers in general will come to realize that unemployment is no longer a temporary phenomenon. So far, however, the union leadership has not put forward a program to fight permanent unemployment.

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(Continued on Page 4)

Civil Liberties Union Condemns Violation of ISP Election Rights

NEW YORK, Oct. 13 — As we approach press time, the United Independent-Socialist ticket is awaiting final court decision on its appeal from the Oct. 9 ruling of Carmine De Sapi's Department of State which declared its independent nominating petition invalid. Fighting the Tammany-rigged decision every inch of the way, the Independent-Socialists have won important support from the American Civil Liberties Union and its New York City affiliate.

The opening round of the court battle in the State Supreme Court today marked the complete collapse of lurid charges of "fraud," "forgery" and "misrepresentation" made by the three Democratic party lawyers who filed the challenge against the Independent-Socialists. Their charges had been prominently featured in the Albany press at the time the three members of the Democratic party state law committee originally moved for disqualification of the 27,000 signatures filed by the Independent-Socialists.

NO WITNESS APPEARS

When the Supreme Court hearing of the appeal opened yesterday, the attorney for the challengers insisted on additional time to present testimony by unidentified witnesses — presumably to substantiate the charges made in the press. However, the hearing was concluded today without a single witness to ISP "fraud" being brought forward. The case was argued solely on technicalities.

Whether the ISP will be certified for the ballot now hinges on how the court rules on 16 disputed signatures in three counties. The challenge to these signatures is based on such grounds as that an address had been changed from "N.Y." to "New York" without the change having been initiated.

The ACLU also reported that it had brought the matter to the attention of Governor Harriman and that he had refused to intervene. It said a reply from the Governor's Counsel declared he would not "intervene in proceedings pending before the Secretary of State or other administrative agencies or officials of the State."

The ACLU stand, which was made public by Rowland Watts, staff counsel, and George E. Rundquist, city executive director, also noted that the Independent-Socialists had reported instances of intimidation by local election officials.

(Continued on Page 2)

Ohio Labor Unites to Fight Phony Right to Work

By Jean Simon

CLEVELAND, Oct. 14 — Organized labor has plunged into the political action in Ohio, and discovered that it can swim.

Meany and Reuther's "theories" that a labor party is not in the cards for the American working class are being jolted. The struggle against the employer-sponsored "Right-to-Work"-without-unions constitutional amendment is driving home the lesson that labor cannot defend its rights and working conditions today without its own independent political organization.

Anti-union forces introduced the RTW law in the Ohio legislature six times unsuccessfully. The power of the working class in this state, the second industrial state in the nation, was too great for the Democratic and Republican politicians to take a chance on passing it.

TRY GIMMICK

This year, counting on the customary apathy of the voters in a non-presidential election, the RTW advocates decided to try to pass it by a gimmick.

Ohio labor leaders were slow to respond. Instead of challenging the RTW movement from the first with a vigorous campaign against the petition drive, they were trapped in the democratic pretense of the form of the referendum. They were unable to conduct an effective drive against the anti-working class content of the petition drive. As a result, the necessary petitions were secured and the measure was certified for the ballot.

By then the alarm in the labor movement had grown to proportions that demanded action — and "all hell broke loose."

Labor created its own political organization to fight the Right-to-Work amendment, United Organized Labor of Ohio.

ALL UNIONS IN UOLO

All the unions are included — AFL-CIO, United Mineworkers, Teamsters, Railroad Brotherhoods, etc. The state and local central labor bodies began to serve as organizing centers for the mobilization of non-union as well as union and unemployed workers in their communities. The National Association

for the Advancement of Colored People, meeting in national convention in Cleveland, and the State Conference of the NAACP took a stand against RTW. All the leading church groups with a mass base issued statements against the proposed amendment.

The first phase of UOLO's campaign was a register-to-vote-No drive. The unions responded like they never responded to COPE's previous register-to-vote campaigns. By the Sept. 24 deadline Ohio had an all-time record registration.

In the Cleveland area alone, Cuyahoga county, over 50,000 voters registered on Sept. 18, high point of the sign-up campaign, and results in other industrial centers throughout the state were comparable.

All but labor's most unrepresentative foes publicly admitted that the RTW issue and the union drive were responsible for the unprecedented registration.

SECOND PHASE

Now the second phase of the UOLO campaign is under way, to get an overwhelming majority of the voters to go to the polls Nov. 4 and vote No.

of labor" or linking the UOLO campaign against "Right-to-Work" in any way with the politicians of Democratic or Republican parties.

The need for united, independent mass action to defeat Issue No. 2 ruled out the possibility of using the official AFL-CIO Committee for Political Education since it is too closely identified with support of Democrats and mere letter-writing campaigns. A new and different agency, the UOLO, had to be created.

ISSUE OVERSHADOWS GOVERNOR'S RACE

The new situation in Ohio politics as a result of the clear-cut class nature of the issue was accurately described by a columnist in the Sun Press, Cleveland area suburban weekly, who wrote in the Sept. 25 issue:

"Top pocket-book item in Ohio is the 'Right-to-Work' question on the November ballot. It overshadows and has become part and parcel of the governor's race and it has placed all candidates for public office

(Continued on Page 4)

A Letter About San Francisco Political Conference

Editor:

It is clear that there is a new mood prevailing in the left-wing political community of this area. Throughout, there are unmistakable signs of a rebirth of socialist thought and action. This mood is marked by a strong desire for unity of action among all radicals. In sharp contrast to the past is the air of friendly and tolerant discussion even when differences are most sharp and seemingly unbridgeable. A real turning point has been reached in the life of the radical movement here.

This turning point has been reached after an intense eight-month discussion and debate. And the culminating confrontation of views took place at the Sept. 27-28 Independent Political Action conference at the headquarters building of the Longshoremen's Union.

BACKGROUND

A brief discussion of the background of the conference is in place. It grew out of the experimental and exploratory political campaign around the candidacy of Holland Roberts for the non-partisan office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction early this year. The campaign was organized by a coalition of socialists from three main groups, the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party and a large group of presently unaffiliated radicals, most of whom were members or supporters of the CP. A scattering of liberal pacifists added to the campaign effort.

The Roberts campaign immediately reflected the debate that was going on in New York over the correct course for socialists. One part of the campaign staff was for a fundamental socialist campaign—the other argued for a "people's coalition" campaign with hidden persuaders for socialist ideas. They promptly earned the description of "subliminal socialists." The candidate himself finally lined up with the "subliminal socialists." While the difference was deep, the discussion was carried on in a most fraternal manner. At the end it was agreed that the debate should be put before a wider audience. It was this that led to the conference.

HOLLOW VICTORY

Most of the active radicals in the area turned out to participate in or observe this most important political debate. Some 200 persons registered at one time or another for the conference but average attendance at each session did not reach this figure. During the first day and a half of the conference, supporters of the two contending views were pretty evenly matched with a slight edge on the side of united socialist political action. However, in the crucial voting at the final session, the local Communist Party leadership went all-out to bring in enough supporters to turn the scales decisively for their position. But their victory is generally regarded as a hollow one. A widely held view was summed up by one observer, a political science student from the University, who commented, "The socialists lost the vote but won the conference."

Local CP spokesmen had originally opposed convening of the conference, viewing it as cutting across what they describe as the main political job—"the defeat of Knowland." But unable to prevent their own people from participating in the conference, they threw their weight behind a catch-all resolution designed to stop the formation of a socialist electoral bloc. The resolution called for creation of the "Independent-Socialist Party." The resolution was adopted at the initiating conference of the Independent-Socialist ticket held here June 13-15. The final draft of the platform includes several minor revisions and two additional paragraphs in the section entitled, "For democracy, for planned economy, for socialism."

A.S.
San Francisco
Oct. 14

Indep.-Socialists Issue Platform

NEW YORK — The United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee last week began public distribution of the final draft of its election platform. The original draft was adopted at the initiating conference of the Independent-Socialist ticket held here June 13-15. The final draft of the platform includes several minor revisions and two additional paragraphs in the section entitled, "For democracy, for planned economy, for socialism."

The first of the additional paragraphs is: "The traditions of the American people and the high development of the American economy assure that American socialism will not only be based firmly on the Bill of Rights but will also give these rights far more substance than they have ever had under capitalism."

The second is: "We see man not solely as a competitive individual but also as a social being who finds fulfillment when he can identify himself with the cooperative goals of an entire people. Only in a society characterized by cooperative institutions can a worker, understanding the common goal to which his labor is devoted, feel the social usefulness of his work — and the intellectual, the artist, the writer, whose creative talents are today shunted into escapist and commercial forms, find the richest areas of communication."

Copies of the platform may be obtained by writing to Independent-Socialist Party, 799 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y.

Harriman: No Traitor to His Class

By Ethel Bloch

This year's gubernatorial race in New York State features contention between two multimillionaires — Averell Harriman, Democrat, and Nelson Rockefeller, Republican. Many articles have recently been written about them, the gist being that because both men are so wealthy through inheritance (though themselves untainted by the greedy manipulations of their fathers and grandfathers) they do not have to struggle for their daily bread and can dedicate themselves unselfishly to the welfare of the people. Can it be true that Harriman and Rockefeller are now divorced from their economic class and its special interests and are able to serve all mankind?

In Harriman's case this would seem plausible at first blush because he enjoys the endorsement of the state's AFL-CIO leaders and, perhaps even more convincing to some, the support of the Communist Party leaders. (True, the AFL-CIO bureaucrats opposed Harriman when he first threw his hat in the gubernatorial ring in 1954 — they wanted Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. at the time. But once Harriman had the nomination cinched, they obediently swung into line behind the Democratic Party's choice. And the CP leaders in turn swung behind "Labor's choice.")

NEGATIVE SUPPORT

Since there is precious little in Harriman's record to commend him as a champion of the working people, the union and CP officials have been compelled to say a lot more about what's wrong with Rockefeller than about what's right with Harriman. For example, the Communist Party paper, the Worker, has devoted a good deal of space to the readily established fact that oil tycoon Rockefeller has a vested interest in U.S. intervention in the Mideast. Quietly ignored is the fact that banker Harriman played a decisive role in shaping that intervention.

The first major move by U.S. capital to cut itself in on lucrative British oil holdings in the Mideast came with the Iranian crisis of 1951. At that time Iranian Premier Mossadegh had nationalized the country's oil industry owned by British oil barons. Seizing the opportunity for the U.S. to move in, President Truman selected Harriman to negotiate a "settlement" between Iran



and Britain.

AS BLUNT AS A S

A good account of how Harriman handled the situation appeared in the magazine Business Week, Aug. 4, 1951. It gave a glowing description of how Harriman "worked a miracle in Iran — averted explosion of oil issue which threatened to blow West out of Middle East." The article describes his arrival in Iran — his being rushed in a limousine to the Shah's magnificent palace. There he stood at the bedside of the ailing Mossadegh and told him with "Yankee dollar bluntness" that the U.S. wouldn't help Iran to produce or sell its oil.

The Iranians had naively hoped they could simply hire foreign engineers and then just go ahead and market their oil. But Harriman set them straight on that "pipe dream," reported Newsweek. He reminded the Iranians that oil was controlled by an international cartel and that nobody would buy from them. If they didn't accept a "reasonable offer" from Britain, Harriman told them there would be no more U.S. aid. If they did settle, he hinted, such aid might increase. Truman's choice of Harriman for that particular mission was based on a well-established record. Harriman first entered the government as a National Recovery Act administrator during the depths of the depression. Roosevelt, deeply aware that the very life of the capitalist system was at stake, needed and sought out men who were rooted in big business but yet cool headed and clear thinking about the job that had to be done. Interestingly enough, it was during

Under the pressure of these threats, Iran agreed that Britain should continue to produce and sell its oil.

"Win or lose," declared

Newsweek, "the Harriman mis-

sion has blazed a trail for a

new U.S. policy of direct par-

ticipation with Britain in Mid-

Eastern affairs . . . and the

Harriman mission has proved

how effective direct U.S. in-

tervention can be as a catalyst

and lubricant for settling Mid-

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Meany on Class Government

It's a "lot of bunk" to talk about labor seeking to establish its own government in America. At any rate that's what AFL-CIO President George Meany told the convention of the International Chemical Workers Union, Oct. 8. "I don't want a government run by Wall Street . . . or a government run by labor," Meany said. "We have no such thing in mind."

What Meany wants has little relation to the reality of American life. Big Business and Labor, motivated by conflicting interests, are the two basic social powers in America. And in all history there has never been a society dominated by conflicting class interests that was ruled by an impartial government. America is no exception. The fact is that we do have a Wall Street government and will continue to have it until it is replaced by a government run by labor.

Both major parties use their power of government to carry out domestic and foreign policies beneficial to Wall Street and inimical to labor. To counter this, Labor engages in political action. Meany concedes Labor had to enter politics to preserve its very existence. But, he in-

sists, Labor's political efforts must be confined to defending its present status and must be exercised within the framework of the two-party system. For Labor to set up its own party and aim for power, he asserts, "would mean an end to democracy."

Here, too, Meany is not attuned to reality. It is Big Business rule that has curtailed democratic rights in America, and most specifically for Labor. This is indicated by the current coast-to-coast campaign to legislate the union shop out of existence.

Meany and the rest of the top union brass hope to preserve the status quo because of the handsome emoluments they derive under it. But the ranks of labor cannot settle for a status quo that offers them chronic unemployment, deteriorating job conditions, inflation and the threat of war.

Whether Meany likes it or not, that's why Labor will inevitably build its own party and substitute its government for that of Wall Street. And that won't mark the end of democracy, but its real beginning.

Guardian of 'Socialist' Purity

Although the leaders of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation insist they have sole right to the word "socialist," they seem intent on discrediting by their actions all that socialism stands for.

At the unity convention of the SP-SDF two years ago, the leaders decided not to run candidates against "labor-endorsed" capitalist politicians. But apparently not content simply to throw in the towel, they seek to smear those socialists who refuse to follow their example.

Thus, when the United Independent-Socialist electoral coalition was established in New York last June, the SP-SDF, refused to participate though urged to do so and though free to present its views and help shape the policies of the new organization.

This refusal to participate was bad enough. The SP-SDF leaders made matters worse when, in the midst of the United Independent-Socialist battle for a ballot place, they threatened court action to prevent the new coalition from using the ballot designation, "United Socialist." The provocation fizzled when the United Independent-Socialist campaign committee decided to reserve its fighting energies for its capitalist opponents and changed its ballot designation to "Independent-Socialist."

Now Irving Suall, national secretary of the SP-SDF, has leveled a smear attack on a second independent-socialist electoral

effort—that of the United Liberal and Socialist Party in the state of Washington.

In a Sept. 26 letter to the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, Suall writes: "The United Liberal and Socialist Party" program fails to make any criticism of the Soviet dictatorship . . . The failure of the United Liberal and Socialist Party to speak out on the nature of the Soviet tyranny indicates that organization has nothing to do with genuine socialism."

The following is a direct quotation from the program adopted at its formation, Sept. 9, by the United Liberal and Socialist Party: "Our opposition to the cold-war policies of the U.S. government cannot be construed as support or defense of the bureaucratic regime in the Soviet Union or its hostility to the socialist aspirations of the people within the Soviet orbit as demonstrated by the brutal repression in Hungary."

True, this stand has nothing in common with the SP-SDF's exploitation of Kremlin crimes as a pretext for supporting the imperialist cold war against the Soviet Union. Despite its opposition to the policies of the Soviet regime, the United Liberal and Socialist Party refuses to water down its support to the progressive property relations in the Soviet Union or its opposition to American capitalism. It is this that associates it with "genuine socialism"—Suall's protests notwithstanding.

The Militant Army

By Karolyn Kerr

Subscription Campaign Director

Supporters of The Militant throughout the country are celebrating the 30th Anniversary of our paper by launching intensive subscription campaigns hinged on the special Militant "Six-for-Five" Club subscription plan. Orders for the prepaid books of six subscriptions, which sell for five dollars, are coming in from individuals and groups of Militant supporters in cities from coast to coast.

Our group of Militant supporters in Los Angeles have taken a quota of 300 subs for the period of the campaign which terminates on December 15. New York has already ordered 20 of the six-for-five subscription books. The Twin Cities, Minneapolis and St. Paul, have ordered a like amount. The first week of the campaign registered a total of 22 subscriptions received with New York sparking the campaign with a total of nine for the week.

Oakland writes: "Can you send us five of the club subscription books? We are hoping this will be our minimum order and just a beginning."

Chicago has a new wrinkle which we pass on as an example for others to emulate. "We will try," they write, "to set the tone during the sub campaign that everyone attempt to get at least one sub a week. And reports will be based on effort and secondly on achievement. To demonstrate this we will hang up scroll each week listing the comrades who went after a sub. Those who get a sub will have a star after their name." We think the idea of giving recognition for effort as well as achievement is a good one. With this approach we can expect top re-

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The Militant Across 30 Years

Peerless Record in Civil Liberties Fight

By John Thayer

For the Militant the defense of civil liberties and of victims of the witch-hunters has been a 30-year crusade. Its guiding motto has been: An injury to one is an injury to all! On that basis it has defended and will defend every working-class organization, newspaper and individual whose civil rights are under attack.

The very first issue of the Militant (Nov. 15, 1928) carried an article on new evidence further proving the innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti who had been legally murdered the year before.

"There is no doubt that there will be more evidence forthcoming in the future," the article predicted, "that will strike further blows at the toppling evidence of lies under which the martyrs were buried . . . The case of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings, buried alive in California's prisons for more than 12 years, is in point . . . The hope of Mooney and Billings, of the Centralia IWW and of every other labor prisoner in the country lies in the protest movement of the masses."

The Militant would continue to agitate for Mooney and Billings, urging united efforts and financial support for their cases until the happy day it could write victory editorials for Mooney (Jan. 14, 1939) and for Billings (Oct. 20, 1939).

Though almost every issue of the Militant in its first years carried news of its fight for the right to be sold on the streets and to sponsor meetings in the face of attacks organized by the Communist Party, whose strong-arm squads often used blackjack and brass knuckles, the paper did not waver from its principles on civil liberties.

GASTONIA STRIKE

Thus the lead story of the July 1, 1929 Militant is on Gastonia. The story begins: "The eyes of all enlightened workers must turn today to Gastonia, North Carolina, the scene of the first great battle for the unionization of the South and the attempt to halt this work by the

time-honored method of murder frame-up against nearly a score of strikers headed by Fred Beal . . . The Communists, the most dynamic element in the working class, have played their part in the vanguard of the battle at Gastonia . . . But the Communists cannot and should not wage this fight alone . . . The issue of Gastonia has become a national issue which cries out for the formation of the broadest possible supporting movement."

Throughout the two frame-up trials and when Beal fled to the USSR, the Militant continued its support of the framed-up CP strike leaders.

When Beal returned in 1938 disillusioned with Stalinism, only to be betrayed to the North Carolina jailers, the Militant was one of the few papers to continue his defense.

As previously in his case, this was motivated by the belief in defending all labor prisoners, for Beal's changed ideas were not those of this paper but nearest those of the IWW.

It is impossible outside of a book to describe all the civil liberties cases championed by the Militant in its 30 years.

They involve all working-class organizations attacked, anti-fascists threatened with deportation to Mussolini's Italy, social democrats, Communists, anarchists, unionists, liberals, pacifists, conscientious objectors, Jehovah's Witnesses, Japanese-Americans during World War II, etc.

When during the Stalin-Hitler Pact the Roosevelt administration launched an anti-CP witch-hunt, the Militant carried such

headlines as, "Browder Convicted on Flimsy Charges" (Jan. 21, 1940) and editorials, "We Demand Browder's Freedom" (April 11, 1942).

While mourning the loss of Leon Trotsky, assassinated a few months before by a henchman of Stalin, the Militant still stuck to its principles. This is testified by a story headed "Olson Bars Stalinists From California Ballot; Socialist Workers Party Offers United

Front to Fight Ban" (Oct. 12, 1940) and on March 22, 1941 "SWP Fights Bill to Ban CP From Ballot in Wisconsin."

BRIDGES CASE

On July 21, 1939 there was an attempt to deport West Coast longshore leader Harry Bridges. This paper declared editorially: "We don't care a tinker's dam where Bridges was born — we know that the deportation threat has always been a measure to weaken the labor movement . . . Stop the deportation of Bridges by a mass solidarity protest."

This was but the beginning of a long series of articles and editorials defending Bridges in all the subsequent attempts to deport and otherwise victimize him.

The April 18, 1939 Militant called attention to a vicious anti-labor bill introduced into Congress by Rep. Smith of Virginia.

It was in 1941 that this vicious Smith bill, enacted into law, was first used against 28

leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and of the Minneapolis Teamsters. Unfortunately

not all the labor press real

ized the importance of this momentous trial while certain others cheered on the prosecution. The Militant's full reporting of the historic Minneapolis Labor Trial

makes those issues of great historic value.

In the post-war witch-hunt the Smith Act was ousted off and used with devastating effect. The July 26, 1948 Militant featured a statement from Farrell Dobbs, then campaigning for President on the SWP ticket, which began: "The indictment of the 12 Communist Party leaders under the notorious Smith 'Gag' Act is a monstrous blow against civil liberties, another step in the direction of establishing a police state and thought-control in this country."

The following issues carried an open letter from the SWP, offering to help form a united defense committee for the indicted CP leaders, and a radio speech delivered by Dobbs denouncing the Smith Act and the new indictments.

When the Foley Square frame-up trial began, the Militant sent Dobbs, who had himself gone to prison under the Smith Act, as its courtroom correspondent. Here are headlines of some of the stories he wrote: "Trial of CP Leaders Threatens All Labor's Rights"; "CP Trial Shows Juries Packed by Rich"; "Wall St. Sets Up Clamor to Speed CP Trial"; "Police-Spy Atmosphere Permeates Trial of CP"; "Paid FBI

Stool Pigeons Paraded at CP Trial." In all the many subsequent Smith Act frame-ups and fights for appeals and now for amnesty the Militant has been in the forefront.

ROSENBERGS

In the fight to save the Rosenbergs are such editorials as "Demand Clemency for the Rosenbergs" (Dec. 8, 1952) and, upon Judge Kaufman's denial of clemency, another (Jan. 12, 1953) entitled "The Witch Hunters Demand Blood." Feb. 16 a front-page editorial urged: "Demand Clemency for the Rosenbergs" in the campaign for Presidential intervention. The front pages of the Militants of June 1953 had main headlines, cartoons and front-page editorials on the need to save the doomed couple until the June 29 issue, under a drawing of the couple as a burnt offering on the altar of the witch hunt, announced: "Revulsion Sweeps World at Murder of Rosenbergs."

Wherever the freedom of the American people is under attack, the Militant is on the firing line, doing its utmost in defense. And you may be sure that will be true of the future, too. For the Militant lives by its credo: An injury to one is an injury to all!

Trotsky Diary in Exile Published by Harvard

By Joseph Hansen

TROTSKY'S DIARY IN EXILE

—1935, by Leon Trotsky. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1958. 218 pp. \$4.

Trotsky's last year in France was a difficult one. The government required him to live away from Paris, the intellectual center of the country, and even away from any of the provincial centers. They kept him under constant police observation. Deprived of secretarial assistance, his normal writing outlets blocked, Trotsky turned to keeping a diary.

This form of literary production was not congenial as to their choice of the most beautiful line ever written in English. Almost unanimously they came up with, "Enclosed find check." I cite this because it appears that most of the local fund directors belong to the same literary school.

Another possible clue to the brevity of the letters is furnished in the mounting pile of biographies about America's tycoons. It seems the money-accumulating bent, and especially its continuous continued practice, warps the individual psychologically. It is a matter of record that most "self-made" capitalists became so tight that they guarded their words as carefully as their cash. A question such as, "How do you do?" would bring a suspicious glance and the most grudging reply. Their psychological reaction was: "What's he trying to do? Worm a tip on the market out of me?" or, "The less I say the less chance of giving anything away."

I am loath to draw this conclusion about the local fund drive directors. I trust the dearth of details about how the enclosed money was raised, what the donors said, and future plans, is otherwise explained and that the next batch of letters will show they remain as sound in psyche as in their socialist conscientiousness.

FUND SCOREBOARD

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Newark	\$265	\$140	53
St. Louis	80	40	50
Twin Cities	1,742	746	43
San Diego	300	115	38
Chicago	1,000	371	37
Detroit	600	209	35
Boston	450	150	33
Seattle	550	136	25
Oakland	300	65	22
New York	4,500	853	19
Allentown	112	20	18
Philadelphia	528	97	18
Los Angeles	4,600	782	17
Connecticut	300	50	17
Cleveland	750	100	13
Buffalo	1,500	150	10
Youngstown	300	25	8
San Francisco	440	30	7
Denver	50	—	—
Milwaukee	250	—	—
Pittsburgh	10	—	—
South	200	—	—
General	—	69	—
Totals through Oct. 14	\$18,827	\$4,148	23

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