

Rockefeller Puts Willie Reid Back On Chain Gang

By George Lavan

Flouting the petitions of thousands of citizens and the requests of Negro, labor and civil-liberties organizations, Gov. Rockefeller on Nov. 23 ordered fugitive Willie Reid sent back to a Florida chain gang.

Crisis Hits Ceylon Govt.

The ghost of Ceylon's Prime Minister Bandaranaike, assassinated two months ago, is haunting his party right out of power.

Rockefeller issued a statement remarkable for its legal sophistry and crocodile tears. He was prevented by the Constitution, he said, from refusing to extradite a fugitive.

Begin Operation Upturn In Socialist Fund Drive

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Director

"OPERATION UPTURN!" Those two words would certainly win if we had offered a prize for a slogan to express what's most needed to meet the December 15 deadline of our Socialist Publications Fund.

In large measure on what's done by New York and Los Angeles. I really am confident that both cities will come through with colors flying.

The honor role of those who started operation upturn going on their own initiative includes Seattle which sent in 25% of its total quota this week; Philadelphia which matched that percentage performance; Detroit which sent in 22% of its quota; Connecticut 20%; and Milwaukee 13%.

That familiar old "if" refers to the half dozen branches that undertook the largest quotas in this drive and who are (with the exception of the Twin Cities) lagging behind.

Witch-Hunters, Go Home to Yankee-land!



Pickets outside the San Juan courthouse protest the House Un-American Activities Committee's "investigation" of "Communism" in Puerto Rico. Shocked Puerto Ricans learned that the witch-hunters do not scruple about ransacking private mail and using the contents to smear individuals.

Those Railroad "Featherbeds" Are Lined with Sharp Thorns

By Harry Ring

Were you aware that "passenger engine crews and road freight engineers get more pay per hour than railroad executives?" That a Pennsylvania engineer makes a 452-mile round trip between New York and Washington, D.C., in a single day and collects 4 1/2 days' pay . . . around \$100? That diesel engines carry firemen "who tend no fires"?

A few isolated cases? No, sir. According to the public-minded capitalists who run our railroads, you and the rest of the American people are paying a half a billion dollars annually for union "featherbedding."

Such distorted or completely fabricated claims are part of a nationwide campaign designed to roll back the railroad unions whose contracts came up for renewal Nov. 1. It's part of the overall drive that big business is waging against unionism in a series of key industries.

The established incentive pay system on the railroads sets 100 miles as the basic unit of work for passenger and freight-train engine crews and 160 miles for conductors and brakemen on passenger trains.

They are also demanding an end to the monthly mileage limit system which helps spread the work. In addition they propose elimination of rules barring them from sending crews back into established crew change points.

Another case involved the president of Norfolk Southern Joseph P. Kingsley and board chairman P. B. McGinnis. According to an ICC examiner, these two men, in the five years up to 1953, "collected total compensation of \$716,771 in the form of salaries, bonuses and fees from the railway and its subsidiaries."

The widely criticized federal student loan program requirement that applicants sign a "non-Communist" oath was dealt a heavy blow when Harvard and Yale universities announced Nov. 18 they were withdrawing from the program in protest.

Similar action against the McCarthyite oath had been previously taken by Princeton, Amherst, Oberlin and other colleges. College heads have pointed out that farmers, small businessmen and other applicants for federal grants are not required to sign such "loyalty" affidavits.

Following the action by the heads of ultra-respectable Harvard and Yale, the presidents

of three New York City colleges — CCNY, Brooklyn and Hunter — asserted that they found the oath personally distasteful; but, they claimed, their financial situation didn't permit them to withdraw from the program. The three colleges, in the richest city in the world, argue that they can't raise what they drew under the program this year, \$141,000.

It's Still Train Robbery Even Without the Pistols

Replying to the rail magnates' charges of union "featherbedding," the Nov. 7 issue of Labor, weekly paper of the Railroad Brotherhoods, offers a few timely reminders of what might be called the Great Train Robbery among the operators.

Last spring the Interstate Commerce Commission fined the Southern Railroad \$20,000 after investigation revealed that funds charged up to "maintenance of way" had been used to build a swank "rest and recreation" center for its executives at the Lincoln Green Forest in South Carolina.

"This 16,000-acre plus resort," reports Labor, "is equipped with de luxe lodges, stables, kennels; with a special lake for fishing; with a forest preserve for hunting and other attractions, all for the comfort of Southern officials."

But the really big fry don't rely on generous salaries and expense accounts alone. In 1958 the Louisville & Nashville Railroad notified its shareholders that it had established a "stock option" plan for its officials under which they could buy 50,000 shares at \$59.20 a share.

Five top officials of the line snapped up 10,400 shares at that price. Each share is currently selling for \$82. A tidy profit for the lucky five!

Despite such give-aways, the stockholders of this "sick" industry are, on the whole, doing nicely. In the first eight months of this year, net operating profits reached \$503 million, a 27% increase over the same period in 1958.

During that year the rail barons actually outdistanced both the airlines and truckers in profits with \$9.6 billion in gross revenues and a net profit of 6.3%, almost double both gross and net figures for the airlines and truckers.

Far from quenching their thirst for profits, however, this record seems to have made the railroad barons still thirstier. That's why they're out to worsen job conditions, curtail services and hike passenger and freight rates.

law doesn't apply to the railroad industry. Many road service employees and others, receive no premium pay for Saturdays, Sundays and holidays; no pay differential for night work; no pay for layover time between runs; no pay for standby time when they must remain subject to call; no pay for expenses incurred for food and . . . (Continued on Page 4)

Witch-Hunters Find Hot Seat In Puerto Rico

Shouting "Yankees, go home," hooting and jeering at its "disclosures," the Puerto Rican people gave the House Un-American Activities Committee the hottest reception of its infamous history. In fact, the witch-hunters concluded the hearings abruptly with four witnesses yet to go.

"Pickets marched and chanted outside. Forty outstanding citizens signed a protest which was carried as an advertisement in papers. Sixty-nine members of the faculty of the University of Puerto Rico issued a concurring statement, joining the protest, and political demonstrations against the Committee's intrusion were held throughout the island . . ."

"After the first witness, Mr. Cuesta, had refused for two hours to answer any questions, Cong. Scherer made a speech in which he accused Clark Foreman, the Director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, of being responsible for the resistance to the Committee . . ."

"At this point the head of the committee of lawyers appointed by the Bar Association, Mr. Abraham Diaz Gonzales, rose and publicly shouted that the Congressman was lying. The whole audience applauded and for several minutes demonstrated against the tactics of the Committee. Chairman Tuck then recessed the hearings."

The subpoenaed witnesses at the hearings, Nov. 18, 19 and 20, refused to answer all questions on the grounds that the House probers lacked jurisdiction. At the end of the hearings, Congressman Tuck (D-Va.) announced he would ask the House of Representatives to cite all 13 witnesses for contempt.

The committee appointed by the San Juan Bar Association announced that it would defend the witnesses all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court if necessary. Speaking for the Bar Association attorneys, Mr. Gonzales said that the Congressional group's "excesses in abusing its powers caused a sorry spectacle."

The American Civil Liberties Union also protested the hearings. On Nov. 11 the ACLU called on the House Un-American Activities Committee to drop the "investigation" into Puerto Rican "Communism."

Some people apparently like to pay for the privilege of being kicked in the teeth. On Nov. 16 the AFL-CIO gave its annual community service award and a check for \$5,000 to former President Harry Truman who still holds the record for Taft-Hartley strike-breaking injunctions.

Big Business Steps Up War Against Labor

By Tom Kerry

Witch-Hunters Find Hot Seat In Puerto Rico

Big business has declared total war against the American labor movement.

The government in Washington is aligned with the magnates of capital in conducting this war.

The capitalist press, radio and television have placed their facilities at the disposal of the war-makers.

The object is to undermine, weaken and destroy the ability of the unions to defend the living standards of the American working people.

It is, in the true sense of the word, a class war — the rich against the poor, the oppressors against the oppressed, the exploiters against the exploited.

That this is no exaggeration is attested to by some of the most conservative labor leaders in the country. Speaking at the recent Washington convention of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department, George Meany declared that the number one problem of the union movement "is the present-day war on organized labor by the reactionary forces who seem at the moment to control the entire American scene."

Walter Reuther, IUD president, charged that "American big business is carrying on a total struggle against the American working people." He added, "The money changers have taken over the temple of government" and are using the power of government in a drive to enslave the workers.

Lesser union leaders at the IUD conference enlarged upon this theme, citing concrete examples of the employers banding together to fight the unions. The use of scabs, National Guard troops, court injunctions, anti-union legislation, government police power, on city, state and national level, is a constantly recurring pattern.

Taking note of these developments the top union leaders have sounded the alarm. In a letter to all officers of national and international unions, state and city central bodies, and directly affiliated unions, following the Supreme Court steel injunction, AFL-CIO president George Meany wrote:

"More than ever, the issue is now joined. More than ever, it is an issue, not just between the United Steelworkers of America and the steel industry, but between the American labor movement and the forces of reaction in big business . . ."

"Under the terms of the injunction, the workers must return to their jobs for a period of 80 days. In these 80 days the steel companies will be free to produce and to profit under the terms existing prior to the strike. The Steelworkers have no choice but to obey the injunction during this 80-day period."

"But the rest of the trade union movement can — and will — use this period to become prepared for the battle that seems certain to begin again the day this injunction expires."

Brave words! Prepare for battle — yes! But by what methods and through what means? If the Steelworkers had "no choice but to obey" a court injunction issued at the behest of an anti-labor administration, will that be the banner under which labor goes into battle following the . . . (Continued on Page 4)

"Land, Work and Hope" Are Key Words in Cuba

The American press nowadays is filled with howls, lamentations and diatribes about the Cuban revolution and the Agrarian Reform Law which takes land from the rich and makes it available to the poor.

It is hard to find anything reporting accurately the feelings of the Cuban people. But occasionally something does manage to get past the editor's blue pencil. A recent instance was an article by Henry N. Taylor, a Scripps-Howard correspondent, who indicates how the horizon of the Cuban peasant has lighted up.

"The key words are land work and hope," he writes. "For generations these values have been denied to the gaunt, sun-wrinkled, sugar-field workers. They were born beaten, lived hungry, died early . . ."

In glaring contrast to the profits cleaned up by the sugar barons, 450,000 sugar workers had an income of about \$120 a year. According to Taylor, "a private American survey in 1957 estimated that 96 of every 100 Cuban farm workers never had eaten meat." It was found that 14% had tuberculosis and over 60% lived in dirt-floored, palm-thatched huts.

The U.S. government has threatened to curtail the sugar quota, because thousands of acres of American-owned farms and cattle ranches have been taken over. But the threats have failed to dampen the spirits of the peasants.

They are immersed in the task of making full use of their own 67-acre plots of land.

Cuba's fortunate combination of rich soil and excellent climate which will produce anything, except wheat, abundantly. Given these conditions, it is incredible that Cuba should have to import 30% of her food supply.

Up to the present, if a peasant wanted to buy land in order to plant his own beans he faced enormous obstacles. Landlords with huge amounts of wasted "and kept land prices high"; if a peasant had land, he had to pay exorbitant bribes to Batista's government to get permission to plant; finally seed was controlled by "the same people who made profits from imported vegetables. Naturally, peasants found seed 'unavailable.'"

All this has been swept aside by the revolutionary government. "For the first time," reports Taylor, "since the Spanish first came to Cuba soon after Columbus, soldiers are in the countryside for other purposes than to strut and steal and shoot. Many work in full uniform, side by side with peasants, to build new cooperative farms."

Despite these facts, however, Taylor refers to Castro's Agrarian Law as "drastic." The law gives farm workers a choice between joining government cooperatives or operating their own 67-acre plots of land.

# The Whole Damned System Is Rigged

By Joseph Keller

Shock and dismay were widely expressed when Charles Van Doren confessed that the TV quiz show on which he had won \$129,000 had been rigged. Many people were especially upset by the fact that a member of a family distinguished for intellectual achievements, a family of noted poets, scholars, historians and even a Pulitzer Prize winner, could lend his good name to a commercialized TV hoax. Many young people, especially among the students, have been stirred by this incident to inquiry and speculation on the nature of morality in our society. Professors, editors, politicians and propagandists have hastened to answer the questions raised.

Most commentators find in the incident little more than the kind of "excess" you might expect in a "raw new" industry. A few find a deeper and more symptomatic significance in the TV quiz exposure. In an article in the Nov. 15 New York Times Magazine, Charles Frankel, professor of philosophy at Columbia University, describes the universality of the use of deception. "In politics and business, in education as well as entertainment, the arts of deception have clearly won an honored place," writes Prof. Frankel. "The very oddity of the events that have disturbed us, in fact, is symptomatic. Values are strangely askew, intelligent men lose their moorings, sophisticated men turn out to be strangely naive."

The good professor concludes that the government should establish institutions "that embody public purposes and that exist to protect and advance them" and which work "to change the existing moral atmosphere." But can we change the moral atmosphere without changing the social system which creates it? For Charles Van Doren is both a product and a victim of a social order whose very essence is corruption. He is not symptomatic simply of an "extraordinary" development in the years

"since World War II," as Prof. Frankel states. This "moral atmosphere" has existed since capitalism established itself as the dominant world system. In their Communist Manifesto of 1848, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels described the moral foundations and effects of capitalism: "The bourgeoisie [the capitalist class], wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations . . . and has left no other bond between man and man than naked self-interest, then callous 'cash payment.' It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervor, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value . . ."

"The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honored and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage-laborers."

It is not only in the mink coats, deep freezes and Persian rug hand-outs to White House aides, in the lying commercials and the fixed TV quiz shows, that we find the infection. It is bone deep. Its worst manifestations most frequently go unseen or, at least, unrecognized. Let us note a few examples.

**Professor Eisenhower**

Within 24 hours of Van Doren's confession, Columbia University fired him from his \$5,500-a-year instructorship because he had yielded to the temptation to make twenty times that much in a few weeks through a public deception. Yet this same great university had lent itself to an infinitely more insidious public hoax when it named General Dwight D. Eisenhower as Columbia's president in 1948, a post he held only until he took over command of the NATO forces in 1950. The selection of Eisenhower as Columbia University's president was part of a "public relations" campaign to "demilitarize" Eisenhower and to create a false image of him as a "civilian" leader. Thus, in 1952, the professional militarist Eisenhower was palmed off on the voters as a "noted educator," no less.



NOTED EDUCATOR

Now, take some of Eisenhower's more recent acts — his moves to help break the steel strike. In preparation for invoking a Taft-Hartley injunction against the Steelworkers, Eisenhower set up a "board of inquiry" to provide him with the "facts." The head of this board, which is still intervening in the steel struggle, is not unknown to the steel workers. He is Prof. George W. Taylor of the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce of the University of Pennsylvania. (The Wharton School trains business executives.) Prof. Taylor was chairman of the War Labor Board during World War II under the late Pres. Roosevelt. He was the author of the notorious "Little Steel Formula" which froze wages for the entire period of the war; and he was

bitterly denounced by organized labor.

Naturally, Eisenhower could depend on Taylor to make an "impartial" inquiry. How does the rigging of a TV quiz show compare with the rigging of a government board to aid profiteer corporations against striking workers?

Eisenhower, of course, has no monopoly on this type of capitalist morality in American presidents. His predecessor in office Harry S. Truman was at least as notable in this regard. He even made "quiz show" appearances before the House Banking and Currency committee on April 14, 1958, when he expounded on the failures of the Republican administration to meet the challenge of unemployment.

### "Healthy Unemployment"

Representative Henry O. Talle, of Iowa, read to Truman a statement the latter had made eight years before as quoted in an exclusive personal interview with Arthur Krock which was published in the Feb. 15, 1950, New York Times. The interview took place during the peak of the 1949-50 recession when even the loaded government figures showed unemployment approaching five million. Truman, who was then seeking to minimize the serious economic situation, had told Krock:

"A certain amount of unemployment, say from three to five million, is supportable. It is a good thing that job-seeking should go on at all times; this is healthy for the economic body."

Rep. Talle reminded Truman he had made this statement at a time when unemployment amounted to 8.1% of the labor force, whereas currently (in April 1958) the percentage was 7.7. Talle asked the former President what had changed his mind. Truman snapped:

"That exclusive interview never happened. It came out of the air."

By denying he had even given such an interview, Truman in effect was accusing Arthur Krock, who is known as the "Dean of Washington Correspondents," of being a falsifier and forger. Krock replied in defense of his professional and personal integrity. He answered Truman in the April 15, 1958, New York Times with crushing documentary proof that Truman had given the 1950 interview, had carefully checked Krock's article in advance of publication and had publicly acknowledged it and approved its contents at a press conference the day after the article appeared. Krock further revealed that Truman himself had solicited the interview. Moreover, the Advisory Board on Pulitzer Prizes in 1951 had certified Krock's exclusive interview as the 1950 prize winner in national reporting.

Krock attributed Truman's eight-year-late disclaimer of the interview to a possible "faultry" memory. But does anyone doubt that if a union leader or an alleged "communist" were to make a similar reply to a similar question before a Congressional investigating committee, he would end up in prison as a perjurer? The most significant fact, however, is not that Truman answered falsely on such a crucial question of public import. It is that virtually the entire national press chose to ignore or play down the incident. So what? — what if an ex-President testifies falsely before a Congressional hearing? Read all about the poor college kids who took payoffs to throw basketball games!

### Who Owns America?

There is no vital area to which you can point, from the summits of government to the giants of finance and industry, that is not rigged to deceive the people. Take the question of who owns this country. We are told that this is a "people's capitalism," inferring that the ownership and

control of the dominating corporations is widely spread. There has been publicity recently about the Du Pont's control of 23% of General Motors stock and the refusal of the courts to make the Du Pont family divest itself of this stock after a ten-year federal suit. But do you know how the Ford Motor Company stockholdings are rigged to keep control in the hands of the Ford family?

There are three classes of Ford stock: common stock sold to the public; class A stock owned exclusively by the Ford Foundation which is controlled by the Ford family; and class B stock which is owned by the Ford family. The family-held class B shares, however, retain 40% of the voting power of the company so long as these shares exceed 2,700,000. The Ford family holds 6,293,000 such class B shares. The Ford Foundation held, as of last March, 34,132,239 class A shares. Publicly held common stocks, which are converted class A shares, total only 14,336,504 at this writing. The Ford company, of course, boasts of its 260,000 "owners" or shareholders. But the Ford family can outvote all the common shareholders with just 2,700,000 class B shares.

It was inside-page news even in the New York Times when the ten largest rubber corporations recently pleaded nolo contendere — no contest — to an anti-trust criminal indictment in a price-fixing case. On Nov. 9, federal judge Gregory F. Noonan levied a total fine of \$177,500 against the corporate defendants and admitted to the Justice Department's Anti-Trust Division lawyer:

"I have the deep-rooted feeling that perhaps the best way to enforce the laws against chronic violators is to put some of the individuals [in the indictment]. You can't send a corporation to jail."

### Built-In "Fix"

The whole damned system is rigged. That is what Karl Marx revealed a century ago. He exposed the exact way in which the capitalists rook the workers even when the workers are convinced they are getting a "fair day's pay." Marx uncovered the secret of surplus value, whereby the worker sells his labor power to the capitalist for a fixed wage and this power to labor creates surplus value above the value of the wage received which is appropriated as profit.

The great "crime" of Marx in the eyes of the capitalists and their agents was his exposure of this built-in "fix" of capitalism — the exploitation of labor for the extraction of surplus value, the source of all profits. But, the agents of capitalism don't attack Marxism for its devastating analysis of how capitalist exploitation works. Even in this, the system is rigged. Marxism is framed up and assailed as a doctrine of the "overthrow of the government by force and violence."

The late Leon Trotsky once wrote that we are living in "the epoch of the lie." This system, built upon a fraud, can be defended only by more and greater falsifications. Wherever you touch it, corruption bursts forth. It will take but one firm push by the American working class to make the whole capitalist structure crumble. The future socialist generations may well recall capitalism, above all, as the System of the Great Hoax.

## ... Fund Drive

(Continued from Page 1)

My enthusiasm about the meeting, of course, was especially high because \$60 was contributed for our fund, some of it from long-time friends and some from people who reached into their pockets for the first time to help the socialist cause. Speaking of money, I want to leave room for several "payola" plugs. (According to the papers that means accepting a bribe to boost someone's record.) I don't have any rock 'n' roll to push, but I want to get in a few words about the coming New York and Los Angeles bazaars. My angle is brazenly obvious — I hope.

New York is collecting a mass of really wonderful items for its bazaar which will be held Saturday, Dec. 12, at 116 University Place. Be sure to attend for some spectacular Xmas bargains. It's a painless way to help a worthy cause.

The "low-cost-of-living" bazaar in Los Angeles will be held Sunday, Dec. 6, at 1702 East Fourth Street. According to the grapevine it will be the very best yet.

A "good and welfare" note. The scoreboard shows that our Pittsburgh correspondent hit the 100% mark this week despite a siege of illness. Here's hoping for a speedy recovery.

Don't miss a week. Send in your subscription to the Militant.

## FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Boston	\$ 350	\$ 350	100
Pittsburgh	10	10	100
St. Louis	80	60	75
Twin Cities	1,700	1,175	69
San Diego	245	164	67
Detroit	600	395	66
Connecticut	100	65	65
Milwaukee	300	190	63
Newark	265	154	58
New York	4,200	2,210	53
Philadelphia	400	211	53
Bay Area	800	419	52
Chicago	1,000	500	50
Denver	40	20	50
Los Angeles	4,400	2,161	49
Cleveland	750	325	43
Seattle	500	172	34
Allentown	110	35	32
General	150	36	24
Total through Nov. 24	\$16,000	\$8,652	54

# BOOKS

## On the Assassination of Trotsky

**THE MIND OF AN ASSASSIN.** by Isaac Don Levine. Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, New York, 1959. 232 pp. \$4.50.

Isaac Don Levine has attempted in this book to assemble all the main facts known or surmised about the assassin of Leon Trotsky, to deduce from these what the killer's mind is like and to suggest how this kind of mind fits into our times. Unfortunately the handling of the material suffers injury from the author's preoccupation with a propagandistic theme — that communism is by nature totalitarian and conspiratorial.

The principal merit of the book is the new evidence it presents on the identity of the assassin. It had been rumored in Spanish refugee circles in Mexico that "Frank Jacson," or "Jacques Mornard," was Ramon Mercader, a Stalinist participant in the civil war in Spain who had been recruited by his mother Caridad into the NKVD, Stalin's secret police. Dr. Alfonso Quiroz, a Mexican psychiatrist, discovered in Madrid a 1935 police record that made it possible to confirm this through the killer's fingerprints. The discovery was announced by the warden of the federal penitentiary in 1953, but Mercader still denied its truthfulness.

### From Family Album

Levine managed in the past year to locate further documents in Barcelona. As illustrations in his book, he includes from the Mercader family album an early photo of the mother, taken in the 1920's; a teen-age photo of the assassin; a photo of the assassin at the age of about 19, wearing the uniform of a junior lieutenant in the Spanish Republican Army and standing beside his grandmother; and photos of his brothers Pablo and Jorge and his sister Montserrat. A later photograph of his mother, matched feature for feature by the Mexican police, demonstrates the marked resemblance between mother and son.

According to Levine, Caridad Mercader is living in Paris with her daughter and son-in-law, having been seen there as recently as March of this year. He mentions that the assassin's father, Don Pablo, is still alive in Barcelona.

In the final chapter of his book, Levine quotes extensively from a letter he received from Enrique Castro Delgado, a former member of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau of the Spanish Communist party who held top posts at the front in the fighting against Franco. Delgado, now in Mexico, writes that Caridad Mercader, whom he knew for years in Moscow after the Spanish defeat, finally became disillusioned with Stalinism and confessed to him bitter regret over the assassination of Trotsky, in which she as well as her son was involved.

Besides details of this kind about the identity of Trotsky's assassin, Levine attempts to probe the wider ramifications of the murder plot. An important part of this information about Zborowski, an NKVD agent who succeeded in winning the confidence of Leon Sedov, Trotsky's son, and who had a hand in his mysterious death in 1938.

However, in his eagerness to list every detail touching Stalin's plot to kill Trotsky or to prove his central thesis about the conspiratorial nature of communism, Levine fails to draw the line on doubtful material. As explanation for the expulsion of Trotsky from Norway, for example, he cites testimony by Louis F. Budenz, former editor of the Daily Worker, that Moscow used a report he made to the NKVD of an alleged conversation Trotsky had with the Rev. A. J. Muste on "plans for the violent overthrow of the Soviet regime." The real reason for Trotsky's expulsion was more likely a hint from the Kremlin that the Soviet government happened to be a good customer of the Norwegian fishing industry.

### Vivid Account

For those unfamiliar with the details of the actual murder of Trotsky, the book offers a composite picture based on reports of eyewitnesses, including my own account. These are quoted to considerable extent. Statements made by the assassin to the police are fitted in.

Levine has conscientiously endeavored here to be as accurate as possible and he has succeeded well, in my opinion, in presenting these terrible scenes. I noted only a few minor errors; but these are not of a kind to affect the faithfulness of the account.

Likewise good is the brief history of Mercader's attempts to obtain parole. Obediently following the twists and turns of the Kremlin's foreign policy,

Mercader at one point sought to utilize the Minneapolis case to his advantage.

When leaders of the Socialist Workers party became the first victims of the Smith Act for the "crime" of opposing imperialist war and advocating socialism, Mercader implied that this justified his assassination of Trotsky, for among the Minneapolis defendants was Jake Cooper, one of Trotsky's guards!

The attempt to probe the mind of the Stalinist killer is based on a prolonged psychiatric examination of the prisoner under court order. Some interesting facts concerning Mercader's Spanish and Stalinist background were turned up but it seems far-fetched to seek the ultimate explanation of the assassin's crimes in his infant tribulations with wet nurses. The explanation for a political crime still lies in the field of politics.

David Alfaro Siqueiros, the Mexican-Stalinist painter, also tried to kill Trotsky, organizing the May 24, 1940, machine-gun assault, which Levine describes in this book. Is the ultimate explanation for this attempted murder (and actual killing of one of Trotsky's guards) to be found in Siqueiros' unhappy relations with his wet nurses?

What does such an explanation do to Levine's political theory that Mercader represents

"the Kremlin's happy robot of the future"? Do only unhappy infants of our capitalist world make happy Kremlin robots? (A robot that finally leaves, as Levine himself puts it, "the impression of a sedate bourgeois!")

It is in the politics of the assassination that Levine really goes off tangent. He holds that Stalin in seeking Trotsky's murder had his eye on the future world revolution. "To ride the coming revolutionary tide in triumph, he would have to eliminate his only potential post-war rival, Trotsky."

This absurd judgment stems from the reactionary view that Stalinism and Trotskyism are simply two wings of communism, both of them equally revolutionary and equally bad in the final analysis. One supposes that this is also what causes Levine to see the struggle between Stalin and Trotsky as principally a struggle between two conspirators.

The background of social and political struggles in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, which gives the real key to the historic contest, is thus missing from the book. The inclusion of some Stalinist plots and intrigues of dubious authenticity, occurring on the fringe of the main conspiracy against Trotsky and Sedov, scarcely compensates for this shallowness.

—Joseph Hansen

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## 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 Harvey Swados. A moving portrayal of nine men who work on an automobile assembly line. Cloth, \$1.25. Originally \$3.75.

**PORTFOLIO OF KÄTHE KOLLWITZ DRAWINGS.** Nine deeply moving studies of peasants, mothers and children, including an exquisite self-portrait. \$1.25. Originally \$3.

**HISTORY OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST YOUTH MOVEMENT TO 1929.** Young Socialist Forum Publication. Good gift for a young friend, or for yourself if you haven't read it. Striking drawing by Kaethe Kollwitz, "No More War," on cover. Mimeographed, \$6.50.

**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.

**THE IRON HEEL.** by Jack London. The powerful socialist novel in which the author propheticly foresees fascism. A perfect gift. Paper, \$1.45.

**FRANCIS BACON.** Philosopher of Industrial Science, by Benjamin

Farrington. Biography of a Marxist thinker placed in his social-economic setting. Cloth, \$1.25. Originally \$3.50.

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## PIONEER PUBLISHERS

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New York 3, N. Y.

### Business Manager's Desk

## One Visitor We Like to See Even If It's Twice Each Day

By Karolyn Kerry

Working in the Militant business office has compensations that cannot be measured in monetary terms. We look forward, for example, to each visit of the mailman with real anticipation. Today we received a letter from H.J., an old friend in Tennessee. Here is what he had to say:

"Received your letter some time ago; wanted to answer sooner . . . Before I go further I must congratulate the Militant on your fine work in reporting the NAACP convention. It must have been the best one ever. Wish I could have been there. The Militant gave such a detailed account that I was able to give a report to our Civic group here."

From Montana, J.B., an old, old friend, sent a message that helped make the day brighter: "Just a line today. This is a heck of a country to get around in and we had a big snow this week so the roads are bad. Will get you some help for the fund

drive and some subs as well but might be late. "Because of my eyes I have only glanced through Jim's book [Notedbook of an Agitator] but would say it was great from what I have read. I lent it to a high school girl to read and so I'm sure it will do a lot of good."

From E.M. in Connecticut: "Thank you very much for your letter and the sample copy of the Militant. I would like to subscribe and enclose a check for \$3. Thank you again for your interest and your help."

From Los Angeles, Louise Manning writes, brief and to the point. "Enclosed please find check for 17 subscriptions and one Notebook of an Agitator." This note, coming on the heels of another equally large batch of subs, including a number of combinations of the Militant and the International Socialist Review, speaks volumes. To me it signifies that not only are the comrades enthusiastic about getting subs but even more im-

portant many of our readers are taking advantage of our combination offers.

From St. Paul we got the kind of complaint we like to hear. J.C. writes: "Dear Sirs: I am anxiously awaiting the arrival of my first copy of the Militant. It has been nearly a month and a half since I sent in my sub and I know you received it because I just recently received my ISR. As this causes a small uproar around the house when I borrow my parents' copy without permission it would be greatly appreciated if my sub would be started." OK, J.C., and I hope this quote doesn't cause another uproar.

Bob P. of Seattle writes on checking our sub figures with theirs: "I guess you are not crediting us with two subs I had counted but that's all right, for we are already over the top on our warming up quota by 103%. We here all agreed that we had coasted into this advantageous position and that enlistment into such an illustrious army should be with banners flying and my proposal to double our quota went over with a bang."

### NO LONGER JUST A THIRD

Leo Carlin, Mayor of Newark, N. J., reported Nov. 22 that 52% of the houses in the city have been found sub-standard. He said 27% should be repaired and 25% torn down. A quarter of a century ago, Pres. Roosevelt said one-third of the nation was ill-housed.

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Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN Managing Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY  
Published weekly by the Militant Publishing Assn., 116 University Pl., N.Y. 3, N.Y. Phone: CH 3-2140.  
Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's policies. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. XXIII — No. 48

Monday, November 30, 1959

## Stinging Slap

The Algerian revolution served notice that it is by no means dead. On Nov. 20 it reached up and gave French President De Gaulle a stinging slap. Throughout Asia and Africa, the peoples must have cheered at the accuracy of the blow and laughed at the anger it provoked in De Gaulle, the self-inflated oracle of the "greatness of France."

De Gaulle has been behaving as if the struggle of the Algerian people for national liberation was as good as crushed. The terms he offered the Algerians on Sept. 16 were insulting. His offer of "self-determination" was a patent fraud.

The leaders of the Algerian National Liberation Front, however, agreed to talk the matter over with the French, and on Nov. 20 named five men to represent them. All five are prisoners of the French.

Four of them fell into French hands in October 1956 when a Moroccan plane carrying them from Morocco to Tunisia and flying over the Mediterranean Sea was forced by the French to land in Algeria. In short they were kidnapped in violation of international law. The Moroccan government protested vigorously against this gangsterism, but the French just brushed the protests aside.

Among the captives is Mohammed Ben Bella, vice-premier of the Algerian government in exile. He is the most popular figure among the Algerian freedom fighters. It was under his command that the war of national liberation began five

years ago. He was one of the four to be treacherously seized by the French.

By naming those who were kidnapped as its spokesmen, the National Liberation Front forcefully reminded De Gaulle that it hadn't forgotten about the perfidy of French imperialism and that it wasn't ready to cave in before his bluster or be suckered by his "self-determination" scheme.

Furthermore, by naming Ben Bella instead of a prominent moderate as negotiator, the Algerian government in exile served notice on De Gaulle that it considered itself to be negotiating from strength and not from weakness.

Finally, the Algerians rebuffed De Gaulle's arrogant stand that no political settlement of the Algerian problem could be discussed until four years after fighting stops. The government in exile directed its five envoys to take up "conditions and guarantees of the application of self-determination"—that is, to concentrate on the terms whereby Algeria will obtain its independence. The Algerians insist that agreement on this question must precede any talk about a cease fire.

De Gaulle has angrily refused to accept Ben Bella and the other four captives as negotiators for the Algerian freedom fighters and again threatened the Algerian National Liberation Army with annihilation. But the Algerian people are determined to end French imperialist rule. They will not readily stop fighting without guarantees that independence will ensue.

## Tito and Mao on "Summit"

Though at loggerheads, the Yugoslav and Chinese Communist party leaders agree on one thing: any "peaceful coexistence" agreement that Moscow and Washington might conclude will not necessarily be binding on them.

For the Yugoslavs, Marshal Tito, addressing 100,000 persons near the Bulgarian border on Nov. 22, warned of "a constant danger" that any East-West agreement would be made at the expense of the small and less powerful nations. "I never could fall in with a policy which ignored the small countries and those outside both blocs and in which the big again became the tutors of the small," he said.

Tito speaks from experience. Once before the Yugoslavs had to challenge an arrangement between the Soviet bureaucracy and Western imperialism because it violated Yugoslav national rights. That was during World War II, when Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt agreed to divide Eastern Europe into spheres of influence. According to the terms of the secret deal, Yugoslavia was to be shared 50-50 between Anglo-American imperialism and the Soviet Union. The monarchy was to be restored and capitalism guaranteed. Fortunately, the Yugoslav CP, which stood at the head of a revolutionary partisan movement, ignored the arrangements, defied Stalin's orders and went on to create an independent workers' state.

As for the Chinese, they have not publicly expressed themselves against Khrush-

chev's current "peaceful coexistence" maneuvers. But leading Polish Communist party officials who participated in the Peking celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the Chinese revolution report that Mao Tse-tung is absolutely opposed to having Khrushchev negotiate for China at a summit meeting. (This was revealed by A. M. Rosenthal, New York Times correspondent, who was recently expelled from Poland because he had "probed too deeply" into Communist party matters.)

According to the Poles, "During the discussions between Premier Khrushchev and Mao Tse-tung . . . the Chinese leader said that Far Eastern issues of concern to Peking could not be negotiated without . . . China's participation." (N.Y. Times, Nov. 24.)

For our part, we believe that what Tito and Mao say about no deals at the expense of Yugoslavia's and China's interests goes double for the interests of the international working class. We think that negotiations between the Soviet and U.S. governments covering such matters as American military bases abroad, nuclear tests, trade and similar questions are completely in order and can prove highly beneficial. But we too warn that Khrushchev's "peaceful coexistence" policy aims at settling more than these questions. It aims at a world status-quo deal that would sacrifice the working-class struggle for socialism in every land. And to that we are dead opposed.

## A Fair Demand

Propaganda designed to discredit the Cuban people and their government has been increasing lately. The State Department has encouraged this by its own protests over what it terms "anti-American" expressions in Cuba.

The gist of the propaganda is that Cubans who agree with Premier Fidel Castro's "outbursts of anti-Americanism" are "ungrateful." That the U.S. has for 50 years played the role of "good neighbor," in fact the U.S. has been "generous" to a fault.

After all, we are told, America has always given preferential treatment to Cuba. Isn't it true that this year, under the sugar quota, established by Congress, we are buying 64% of Cuba's sugar crop at six cents a pound or double the world market price? The wind-up usually carries an implied threat that Congress might cut the sugar quota if Cubans refuse to listen to reason.

In a note, Nov. 13, rejecting official U.S. protests, the Cuban government pointed out that "Cuba has actually given more than she has received." The note called attention to an agreement signed between the two countries in 1903, when Cuba has barely won freedom from Spain, which granted the U.S. "preferential duties ranging from 20-40 per cent below those charged to other countries . . ." while the U.S. "reserved the right to raise, unilaterally their import tariff, without detriment to those preferential duties."

Cuba was forced to take the bulk of her imports from America. "The only reciprocity derived . . . from that treaty was the preferential treatment of the imports of Cuban sugar, tobacco and certain minor products into the United States."

In 1934 another trade agreement allowed the U.S. preferential duty reduction ranging from 20% to 60%. This, the Cuban government declares, "coincided with the adoption of the sugar import quota system." Under that system Cuba lost "the single reciprocal concession we ever had in our trade with the United States," and "the American Government is free to change at will, disregarding our historical rights, the size of the Cuban sugar quota."

Cuba is now asking for a bilateral agreement that cannot be "modified by any unilateral decision" of the State Department. Considering the exploitation that the Cuban people have been subjected to, this demand is not only justified it is very mild.

The one-sided trade "agreement" now existing between the U.S. and Cuba is a vestige of the Batista days when American capital ruled the Cuban economy as a semi-colonial source of super profits.

The next move is up to the State Department. It will be watched by millions of people throughout Latin America who, like the Cubans, have good and sound reason to suspect Washington's much touted "generosity."



"Please, Fifi! Maybe his thumb was big and greasy; but it was on the scale, not the meat!"

## De Gaulle Pours Sand In 'Coexistence' Works

By Daniel Roberts

Since Khrushchev's visit to the United States last September, the U.S. and Soviet governments have taken further measures — such as broadening the cultural-exchange program — to relax international tensions. But Khrushchev's attempt to conclude a two-power deal between Moscow and Washington, aimed at preserving the world status quo indefinitely, evidently keeps running into snags.

First, U.S. imperialism appears as yet reluctant to enter into such a deal. Not that the ruling class of this country has any scruples about forcing people at home or abroad to accept the capitalist status quo. But American big-business policy makers evidently fear to accept, even for a few years, a pact such as Khrushchev proposes lest it swerve them too far off their main course, which is to prepare for war against the Soviet Union.

Second, the thaw itself has pointed up the fact that even partial agreements between the U.S. and the Soviet Union are not easily arrived at because "third powers" constantly intervene and complicate the process. Take the cessation of nuclear-bomb testing, for instance. An agreement to cease contaminating the atmosphere by exploding atomic bombs would be highly beneficial to mankind. Because it fits in with its current diplomatic objectives of seemingly promoting peace, Washington has indicated that it might be willing to conclude such an agreement with Moscow.

But it turns out that even if the U.S., Britain and the Soviet Union agree to end nuclear testing, Pres. de Gaulle of France will go ahead with atomic explosions on his own. France has not yet tested a bomb, but it plans to detonate one in a few months in the Sahara Desert, despite the protest of all African nations.

On Nov. 20 by a vote of 51 to 46, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution urging France not to conduct this test. But the French government has announced that it will give up nuclear testing only if the other nuclear powers begin dismantling their atomic stockpiles. This is something U.S. imperialism simply will not do. So De Gaulle — unless the White House buys him off — can be expected to carry on with atomic explosions, and if he does, this may kill the prospect.

### French Plan Test

In France, the CP leadership decided on Nov. 3 to support De Gaulle's plans for Algeria. These plans are designed to retain French imperialist control over the country while offering the Algerian people the semblance of "self-determination." Last September, the CP leaders denounced De Gaulle's scheme. But they reversed their stand after Khrushchev praised it in his Oct. 31 speech on foreign policy delivered before the Supreme Soviet in Moscow.

In India, the CP's national council on Nov. 14 adopted a resolution stating that Prime Minister Nehru had taken the "correct stand" in rejecting Peking's claims in the border dispute between India and China.

In Indonesia, the CP last July supported President Sukarno in the establishment of a semi-dictatorship that leans heavily on the military.

In Iraq last August, the CP national leaders issued a stern warning to the membership that they had no intention of leading a workers' bid for power against Gen. Abdel Kassem's regime. The CP members were told they must accept the "necessity of a long coexistence" with Kassem. The orders were reprinted with a show of satisfaction by Pravda in Moscow, according to the Aug. 21 Christian Science Monitor.

All these readjustments of CP policy are designed to convince Washington that a deal with Moscow will help contain the upsurge of the colonial peoples within bounds compatible with imperialist rule. In France, Khrushchev throws his weight behind De Gaulle to the detriment of the rights of the Algerian people. In Asia and the Middle East, he offers to help stabilize the rule of the colonial bourgeoisie and in this form to help keep these areas within the framework of world capitalism. That Washington has been

close watching CP policy is indicated by Joseph C. Harsch writing in the Nov. 4 Christian Science Monitor. Back in 1956, says Harsch, Secretary of State Dulles, after "one of his most unpublicized agonizing reappraisals," developed the concept that "it was already too late to attempt to exclude the Soviets from the Middle East, and that perhaps the time had come to conduct an experiment in inviting them into world councils."

Since then Washington has experimented from time to time with consulting Moscow about areas where the Soviet government had a "factual interest," in the hope that eventually Moscow "might become responsible in the exercise of responsibility."

Harsch reports that Washington is pleased with Khrushchev's Oct. 31 speech, especially his support for De Gaulle's proposals on Algeria. "Moscow is behaving almost as though it belonged consciously to a concert of great powers linked together in a common effort to maintain peace, stability, and order in the world," says Harsch.

Here is what is really exciting. Our own radio astronomy has now advanced so far that we are close to perfecting instruments

of comparable sensitivity! If we could decode the mathematical sequences which they might use as keys we could soon enter the galactic community of intelligence.

Dr. Frank D. Drake, a prominent radio astronomer, has indicated that the first questions he would ask (even though it might take 12 years because of the distance to get the answers). These would be "how to prevent cancer and heart disease; how to prolong life; how to control the energy of the fusion process in the hydrogen bomb for industrial power; how to develop man's creative potential; and, above all, whether — and if so how — the planetary society had managed to build a culture at peace, in which each individual lived a full physical and spiritual life."

Isn't that a prospect to stir the imagination! Far from being an isolated smear of protoplasm on a dust speck in an odd crevice of the universe, we may be part of a community waiting to welcome us and share knowledge of galactic scope. That's imagination with an American sweep! But would we be prepared to act on the information and advice we might receive from older and wiser planetary communities? What would we do, for instance, if we got an answer like the following to that important question about how to build a culture at peace:

"Fools! Read the accumulated wisdom in your libraries. Read Marx and Engels and Lenin and Trotsky. Follow their advice. And when you have learned to heed your own wise men, we'll be glad to talk with you, again. Over."

—Paul Abbott

IS IT WORTH IT?

One gauge of technological progress is the ailments that go with it. In grandpa's day, for instance, you might get kicked by an iron-shod horse. A few weeks ago a Kentucky doctor reported something new to the International College of Surgeons. It's "television bottom," a painful muscular affliction plaguing TV addicts with bad sitting posture.

Our Receivers

has as yet been able to achieve this status as Nehru's Congress party, which claims to be socialist, holds the preponderance of seats. The Swatantra party has gained most of its strength from the Congress party.

India and China Trade Proposals In Border Dispute

India's Prime Minister Nehru has given the People's Republic of China a set of interim counter-proposals in the current boundary dispute. Nehru proposed Nov. 20 that neither India nor China send out any more forward patrols along the McMahon line, which India claims is the legitimate frontier in the north-east and that the Chinese evacuate their post at Longju just south of the McMahon line. The Chinese refuse to recognize the McMahon line and claim that the border should be fixed some 50 to 100 miles further south. Longju is the only post they have set up south of the McMahon line, but when Chinese forward patrols penetrated south of the line last August border clashes ensued.

In Ladakh, west of Tibet, where Peking and New Delhi dispute some 6,000 square miles of territory, Nehru proposed that the Indians withdraw west of the line claimed by the Chinese, and the Chinese withdraw east of the line claimed by the Indians. In the meantime negotiations should continue in order to determine the final border.

Peking's interim proposals, set forth by Premier Chou En-lai on Nov. 7, call for Chinese and Indian troops to withdraw 12½ to 25 miles from their present positions both in Ladakh and along the north-east frontier. Although Chou's proposals well north of the McMahon line, the Indians reject these terms, because Chinese troops would still be inside territory claimed by India in Ladakh.

A Chinese-constructed road from Tibet to the Sinkiang area of China goes through the contested Ladakh territory. The area in dispute there is from 14,000 to 20,000 feet high and has no native population.

Japanese Report Soviet Trade Bid

A Soviet trade mission visiting Tokyo has offered to buy \$250 million worth of Japanese steel and machinery in 1960 from several Japanese companies. The trade offer offered to pay for these purchases on a long-term contract basis, whereby the Soviets would export iron ore, coking coal, crude oil and lumber to Japan.

Thus a five-year contract on iron ore would call for Soviet export of 3.2 million tons in 1965, 4 million tons in 1966 and not less than 4 million tons in each of the following three years.

The Soviet offer provides for more than seven times the amount to be earned by Japan in Soviet trade for this year.

Right-Wing Party Growing in India

India's avowedly pro-capitalist Swatantra (Freedom) party, formed last August, is making rapid progress, says Sharokh Sabavala in the Nov. 19 Christian Science Monitor. It is now in a position to claim the status of opposition party in the lower house of Parliament. For this it needs 50 votes in the House out of a total of 500. No other party

# The American Way of Life

## Life on Other Planets

William L. Laurence, science expert of the New York Times, wrote a column Nov. 22 that I am sure every science-loving American will appreciate. It is about life on other planets and how near we are to communicating with whatever reasoning beings may be on them.

Leaving out of account the million or so other galaxies within telescopic range, he estimates that if every one of the hundred billion suns in our own galaxy had a solar system like ours, as now seems likely, there are 100,000 trillion planets capable of supporting life as we know it on earth. Even if only one in a billion stars had a single planet like ours, we would still have 100,000,000 habitable neighbors in our galaxy.

### "Near Some Star"

It therefore stands to reason that many planets may have highly developed societies. As two Cornell University professors put it, "near some star rather like the sun there are civilizations with scientific interests and with technical possibilities much greater than those available to us."

"To the beings of such a society," they continue, "our sun must appear as a likely site for the evolution of a new society. It is probable that for a long time they will have been expecting the development of science near the sun. We shall assume that long ago they established a channel of communication that would one day become known to us, and that they look forward patiently to the answering signals from the sun which would make known to them that a new society has entered the community of intelligence."

Thus it may be that civilizations much older and more advanced than ours have been signalling for decades or centuries. True, it takes years for the signals to cross space; but in the case of stars like Tau Ceti and Epsilon Eridani the lag is only 12 years. They undoubtedly have receivers sensitive enough to "sift artificial signals from the jumble of radio noises coming from the earth and outer space."

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## Headlines in Other Lands

### Yugoslavs Report Big Economic Rise

During the last three years, output of goods and services in Yugoslavia increased an average of 11.9% a year and personal consumption 10.1%. This was reported Nov. 18 to the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist party by Mijalko Todorovic, vice president in charge of economic affairs.

In the last seven years, Todorovic said, national income more than doubled, industrial production rose almost two and a half times and farm output rose 51%. The economic gains did not eliminate the imbalance between advanced and backward areas, however. In the advanced regions in 1957 per capita income was ten times that of the backward areas.

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### Production Begins In China's First Tractor Factory

China's first tractor plant went into operation on Nov. 1 at Loyang, a completely new industrial center about 500 miles south of Peking.

Construction of the plant began five years ago. Heavy machinery in the factory is from the Soviet Union. Lighter machinery is Chinese made.

On Nov. 3, the official Hsinhua News Agency reported the first consignment of 13 tractors arrived in the northernmost province of Heilungkiang, a wheat-growing area.

### Peking Conducts Drive to Reduce Food Consumption

The People's Republic of China is operating with a stringent food supply this winter according to indications in the mainland press. "In recent weeks newspapers have been publicizing a campaign for economy in consumption of food grains," says Tillman Durdin in the Nov. 22 New York Times. "Persons who resist the austerity drive face being branded as 'rightists.'"

"A recent copy of the Peiping newspaper Ta Kung Pao . . . reported nation-wide pressure to have rural households and mess halls sign economy pacts. These are pledges to reduce food consumption, to mix coarse grain with fine grain, to alternate liquid meals — gruel of rice millet or some other grain — with solid meals and to trim rations during slack working periods."

The economy pacts have followed mass meetings called by local officials to impress on the masses the need of saving food. Wide compliance is reported, says Durdin.

China suffered natural calamities this year on a scale reported to be the worst since before the 1949 revolution. According to official estimates, one-third of the country's farm acreage last summer was ravaged by floods, drought or insects.

Why Call Capitalists 'Managers' When They Are 'Bosses'?

Editor: The term "management," now so much exploited by high-caste journalists and other spokesmen for capitalism, is a pernicious fraud imposed on the working class, especially those workers not critically trained and on the watchout for such trickery.

are hired employees, and thus also are members of the working class, with the common interests of all the workers. Too many of these are now serving the capitalists, instead of reporting to the workers. Such service also is a fraud that should be destroyed by working-class unity and collective action.

As said, the term "management" is a fraud; in fact, the whole economy based upon that fraud is fraudulent. The action of the workers should make it honest and democratic.

Joseph Manlet Cleveland A Boss Actually Burns to Death Saving the Records

Editor: "My place is on fire, please pull the fire alarm box. I'm going upstairs and get my records." These were the last words of a boss in a Brooklyn dress company as he ran back into the burning building. I'm taking the time to write

you because when I read this story in the Nov. 20 World-Telegram I was reminded of a similar one I read in the Militant sometime this fall. It was about an old man who dashed into his burning office to save "the records." He managed to stagger out with one armful, but had to be physically restrained from going back for the rest.

When I read the Militant story I couldn't quite believe it. I thought maybe it was a little exaggerated. I can visualize, I think, dashing into fire to save the life of someone you know, but to save "the records"!

Now I'm ready to believe that there must have been more than a little truth in the Militant story. Nevertheless, these kind of news reports will always send a chill through me. It's rather awful to contemplate the fact that profit-making can so warp a human mind that even the safety of life is obscured. It's hard for me to believe that "the records" — any records — are more important than life.

D. B. New York City



"Remain Patient and Steadfast"

Under the title, "Integration at 'Little Rock,'" we printed the above picture in our Aug. 24 issue. It shows Jefferson Thomas standing alone waiting transportation to his home after finishing a morning session at Central High School, Aug. 17. The white students across the street jeer the only Negro student permitted in the school under token integration. The Militant observed that the "heroism of this youth has won world-wide admiration."

Last week the Militant received a letter about this photograph from Krishnanath, a contributor to Mankind, a magazine published in Hyderabad, India. Krishnanath, still in his twenties, has served several prison terms for his activities as a socialist and participant in political demonstrations.

The Indian socialist asked us to forward a letter, which he had enclosed, to Jefferson Thomas, and gave us permission to make it public. The letter is as follows:

Dear Jefferson, A letter from a socialist from the other end of the world does not take you unawares. Does it? I hope it does not. For it is your due.

I write this to congratulate you on your courage with which you are facing the uneasy quiet and humiliating jeering, etc., from the white racists at your Central High School.

We have been receiving news of racial discrimination at Little Rock and elsewhere with anger and sorrow for quite some time.

Only recently I saw your photograph at Central High Aug. 17 on the front page of the Militant of New York. It struck me as a portrait of silent suffering.

We wish you to remain patient and steadfast and hope many more of your folk will join your school immediately and your individual and collective suffering will ultimately effect a change of heart even of the diehard racists at your school and elsewhere. Even now and from this distant land, I can very well visualize that there are at least a few of your class fellows, all white, who have all love and affection for you, besides many others who are just neutrals. Hope the number of your friends increases and also that the passive love or neutrality of others turns into active affection and real integration begins at your school as also all over the United States.

This is also to invite you to write an intimate account of your experience at your school. Do write to us your true feelings of anger and sorrow and joy and also of the sources of courage, etc., that come you at school and outside. You may arrange your story date-wise, or even otherwise. But don't generalize overmuch. Be personal, pointed and sharp. And also do it at your earliest. Can't you just sit down and do it in almost no time as soon as you have my letter?

With heartiest greetings. Yours affectionately, Krishnanath

Notes in the News

YEAR IN JAIL FOR RENT GOUGER — David Zygelman, a New York landlord charged with violating rent laws, was sent to jail for a year by General Sessions Judge Mullen Nov. 18. The landlord had evaded the rent ceiling on rooming houses by calling his 100-family unit a "hotel" and charging more than the state limit of \$15 a week. Almost all of his tenants were on relief and many had to use food money to pay the rent. Zygelman pleaded guilty to five counts of a 105-count indictment and was sentenced to serve a year on each count. The judge tempered justice with some of the mercy usually extended to landlords by letting him serve the sentences concurrently.

NEVER FELT BETTER — United Auto Workers Vice President Richard Gosser of Toledo has been relieved of his duties and "requested" to take a six-months leave of absence. Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the union, said the action was taken because of Gosser's health. Gosser, however, seemed indignant about this concern for his health. He said he recently underwent a checkup and the doctors "tell me I'm in pretty good shape." Union President Reuther, who helped Gosser win his first election, is reported to have cooled toward him since Gosser was asked to testify in a union bribery case before a New York grand jury.

CRANBERRY SCARE WORRIES CHEMICAL MAKERS — The agricultural chemical manufacturers, who sold \$278 million worth of pesticides and similar products this year, are worried that public concern over the contamination of cranberries by a chemical weed killer may lead to tighter government regulation of the use of their deadly products. "We believe (!) products now on the market are thoroughly safe and any further restrictions would make our research cost prohibitive," an industry spokesman said. That's a strong argument, all the stronger because of the involvement of the profits of such giant corporations as Shell Oil and U.S. Rubber, now major producers of pesticides. To avoid stricter laws against chemical contamination of food, corporation spokesmen suggest that they and the government spend more money to "implore" farmers to read the directions before using the chemicals on the country's food.

AS SAFE AS CRANBERRIES — When the furor dies down over poisoned cranberries, lipstick manufacturers intend to make a fight against a federal Food and Drug Administration ruling banning the use of certain coal-tar dyes in lipstick. After a 90-day test, the department found that the potent chemicals killed laboratory rats. Animals that survived showed retarded growth, liver and kidney damage, enlarged

spleens, anemia and other ailments. Lipsticks now on the market were not confiscated because the dyes did not induce cancer in the 90-day test period. A long-term test is required to discover whether the coal-tar dyes are also cancer-inducing. Spokesmen of the profitable industry argue that women don't swallow enough dye to suffer harm and anyway cosmetics are not sold as food and therefore should be exempted from the food and drug law.

NEW VOTING CURBS FOR ALABAMA NEGROES — Gov. Patterson of Alabama signed bills Nov. 20 to put more barriers in the way of Negro registration. The bills increase the time that registration boards spend on clerical work, thus cutting down the time available to register prospective voters. The boards are also now permitted to vary the time spent in each precinct. By staying longer in predominantly white precincts, the time available for Negro voters to register will be cut down even further.

CITY OF DISTINCTION — New York is "the world's most corrupt city," in the opinion of Ian Aiken, correspondent of the London Daily Express. "Good old-fashioned graft is New York's oldest and, if you judge by the well-heeled company it keeps, most prosperously respectable industry," he reported. New York's Police Department, "probably the world's most consistently corrupt law enforcement agency" outside of Latin America, he added, is "laughingly called New York's finest."

VEXED VIEWERS — The American public is quite indignant about the current television scandals, reports the Wall Street Journal after polling 300 people in different cities. Nearly two-thirds of those queried were "disturbed" by the current revelations and about 23% described their reactions in stronger terms — "shocked," "outraged," "disgusted." A Salem, Mass., seaman said, "They made monkeys out of us. We sat there with our mouths open while the contestants struggled for the answers, and all the time it was a bluff." On the other hand, a San Francisco furniture dealer "wasn't upset." He said, "Payoffs, kickbacks, fixes almost seem to be part of the system."

A GREAT YEAR AHEAD — "Don't let tight money policies or labor uncertainties blind your eyes to the profit possibilities of the coming year. 1960 will bring many problems — yes — but also exceptional profit opportunities." That's the enthusiastic word in an advertisement we received from United Business Service, a Boston firm that sells advice on how to invest your capital. The tip off cheered us up but we can't help wondering who is going to have those "many problems."

... Back on Chain Gang

(Continued from Page 1) law we cannot champion some constitutional responsibilities and evade others."

With due allowance made for the differences between Roman and U.S. law, Pontius Pilate did not word it much differently.

Southern white supremacy insures that Reid will not be accorded the "due process and equal protection of the law" stipulated in the Constitution. It is already established that Reid has been denied both by Florida. Rockefeller knows this well. But his presidential campaign strategy makes useful at this point an indication to the white supremacists of how he can be expected to act in the White House.

Rockefeller further declared: "I earnestly share the concern of the many individuals and organizations who have communicated with me on behalf of Mr. Reid that Mr. Reid receive the full measure of protection accorded by the U.S. Constitution to all persons. The assurances that I have received from Gov. Collins confirm that he shares this concern for the rights of all persons... [Reid]... will be in the custody of state and not local authorities, and safe custody to Florida and safe custody upon his return is assured."

What the above says without naming names is that Gov. Collins told Rockefeller that Reid would not be put in the jurisdiction of Sheriff McCall, whose record includes the shooting of handcuffed prisoners. But Col-

lins' assurance, a political assist to Rockefeller in soft-soaping the New York public, is worthless. McCall has successfully defied Collins repeatedly. McCall operates not only in his own county but wherever he wishes. During the recent trial of the white rapists of the Negro co-ed he invaded the courtroom in Tallahassee, the state capital, in an attempt to arrest Ted Poston, New York Post reporter.

Should Reid succeed in winning a new trial in Florida, that trial would have to be in Lake County — McCall's bailiwick. It should be remembered that in the "Little Scottsboro" frame-up, McCall shot the Negro prisoners who had won a new trial, en route to that trial.

But if Reid should escape sudden death at the hands of Sheriff McCall, what then awaits him? He has 13 years of his original sentence still to do. For escaping he will be sentenced to another five years at least. For an ordinary prisoner it would be a feat of endurance to survive 18 years on the chain gang. But Reid will not be treated as an ordinary prisoner.

In the probe of corruption among guards, Reid was questioned by the authorities in private. After eight guards had been fired, Reid could never convince the others that he hadn't "talked." He was given the sweatbox "treatment."

The sweatbox is too narrow to sit down in. It is adjusted at the top to make it too low to stand up in. The prisoner is

forced to crouch or stoop. Between his legs are two buckets — one for water, the other his toilet. Once a day he is given a piece of bread and water. The heat is intense. After a week's incarceration, a doctor is supposed to listen to the victim's heart every third day. At Reid's camp it was the practice to administer doses of castor oil at intervals.

Reid was repeatedly thrown into the sweatbox. After two weeks' incarceration he would be immediately put back on the road gang; and his lack of strength — compounded by a back injury sustained in a beating — was called shirking and became the pretext for another sentence to the sweatbox. The death of a buddy from similar treatment convinced Reid his only chance to survive lay in escape.

To the old grudge of the white guards will now be added Reid's escape, his fight against extradition and revelations about conditions in Florida's chain gangs.

Before the Civil War, dough-faced governors (the term then used for Northern politicians with a Southern outlook) extradited fugitive slaves. Descendants of this breed are New York's Democratic ex-Governor Averell Harriman, who despite his civil-rights promises signed Reid's extradition papers, and Republican Rockefeller, who despite his recently purchased life membership in the NAACP, ordered the extradition carried out.

... Big Business War

(Continued from Page 1)

80-day period? If so, defeat is assured in advance. For the courts are but one of the weapons in the arsenal of big business in their war against labor.

Can labor rely upon its "friends" in Washington to fight its battles? "There is no certainty," says a Nov. 14 AFL-CIO News editorial, "that an administration that is willing to use injunctions to coerce free Americans to work will not move even further in curbing the rights of workers and their trade unions." And what of Congress?

"There is no certainty," continues the edit, "that a Congress that passed the Landrum-Griffin Act will not move further to curb the democratic rights it so piously proclaims it is protecting." How delicately it is put. If past experience is any criterion, there is every certainty that the administration and Congress will gang up with the bosses to do a hatchet job on labor.

If not the courts, administration or Congress, what then? The proposals by George Meany of a summit conference by labor and industry chiefs to establish harmonious relations is a piece of arrant nonsense. The jackals of industry are girded for war. They have tasted blood and are straining for the kill. They will not be diverted by "peaceful coexistence" pleas or honeyed words of appeasement. They understand only the language of power.

Does labor have the power to turn back the anti-union offensive and vanquish the forces of capitalist reaction in the war for survival? It has — if it will only use it effectively. In this war, which is an acknowledged class war, labor can rely only upon its own independent strength and the support it can muster from its allies. Together this force constitutes an overwhelming majority of the people of this country.

The main requirement is a militant leadership and a fighting program of action. The remaining days of the steel injunction period can be used to mobilize the organized power of the working people. Already the moguls of industry and finance are tooling up for an intensified assault on labor when Congress reconvenes in January. Against the Congress of capitalist reaction the union movement should issue a call for a Congress of Labor to convene in Washington prior to the opening of the boss-controlled legislature.

The Congress of Labor should get right down to business. First

consideration should be given to immediate measures to stem the legislative assault. Set up union committees to investigate every senator and congressman, especially their ties with the corporations. Plan meetings and demonstrations throughout the country to rally public forces against the big-business attack. Then consider a longer-range program such as this:

(1) For a sliding scale of wages and hours to protect the working people against the ravages of inflation and automation unemployment. In trade-union terms this means the incorporation of an escalator clause in each labor contract and a reduction of hours with no reduction in pay — the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay.

(2) For the outright repeal of all class legislation: Junk the slave-labor Taft-Hartley and Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Acts and outlaw all punitive anti-labor measures. Labor is in no way obligated to "obey" class legislation designed to deprive

workers of their elementary human rights.

(3) For the nationalization of all monopoly industry and the introduction of workers' control. Free the American economy from the stranglehold of the price-gougers and money changers and place it under the control of democratically elected workers' committees.

(4) For an Independent labor party based on the trade unions. All important questions today are political questions involving the control of government. So long as government remains the monopoly of big business, operating through the two-party system, working people will be at the mercy of the monopoly capitalists. Break with the policy of supporting double-crossing "friends" and fight for a Workers and Farmers government that can organize society on a rational basis providing abundance and security for all.

Why not pass this copy of the Militant on to a friend?

... Railroad "Featherbedding"

(Continued from Page 1)

lodging while held away from home terminals.

Train and engine crews in road freight service often work well beyond an eight-hour day or 40-hour week before drawing time and a half. Road operating employees in freight service can be worked up to 96 hours at straight time.

But what about some of those "featherbedding" charges? Let's take a look at that "juicy" New York-Washington run. To begin with, a 100-mile day's pay for the highly skilled engineer who handles that crack train is \$19.65, making the pay for that run \$90.30, not \$100. Moreover, the engine crew reports for duty one hour and 45 minutes before departure time in New York and one hour and 15 minutes before departure time in Washington. After each run, it takes an average of one hour at each end to dispose of the train and deliver the locomotive to the engine house.

ample. Labor, weekly newspaper of the railroad brotherhoods, cites numerous cases where engine crews work 10 and 11 hours at straight time. A spot check on the Southern Railway showed an engine crew working a total of 89 hours and 10 minutes at straight time and four hours and 15 minutes overtime.

They were away from home three nights, with all food and lodging at their own expense. About that fireman who "tends no fires" on the diesel. That doesn't mean he just sits on a pillow as depicted in current railroad advertisements. The fireman is the "co-pilot" of the engineer, undergoing extensive training and charged with essential duties.

He must know locomotive operations, air brakes, train speeds, switching techniques, signals, grade and safety requirements and have a thorough knowledge of the diesel engine. If anything happens to the engineer he must be prepared to take over the throttle.

The need for a second man in the engine cab was indicated when both California and Wisconsin recently passed laws, over the howls of the railroad lobby, requiring a fireman in diesel cabs as a vital safety measure.

We almost forgot—those company figures which give that engine crews get a higher hourly rate than executives. The fig-

Mine Machines Put Miners in Pits of Despair

By Flora Carpenter

What is happening to the 720,000 human beings who are listed, in federal IBM tabulating files, under the cold, statistical category of "long-term unemployed?" An answer can be found in Eastern coal-

mining regions where pockets of hungry families exist whose breadwinners have not worked for more than two years. Technological advances and the callousness of mine owners and government officials are the reasons for the miners' desperate situation. In a series entitled, "Pits of Despair," Scripps-Howard writer, Dickson Preston, tells of the "long-term unemployed" who live in Harlan County in eastern Kentucky.

"The mine [Blue Diamond] closed down in June, 1957," said Jake Mays, 46-year-old miner, "since then I've been everywhere . . . I've been worked about a month . . . But they won't give you a second look if you're over 35. I reckon I'm too old to work and too young to retire."

With seven children to feed, the Mays family is entitled to the maximum in federal surplus distribution. They get monthly allotments of three sacks of flour, four bags of corn meal, a "pokeful" of rice, eight cans of powdered eggs and six boxes of powdered milk. In recent months the government cut out ten pounds of cheese and ten pounds of butter formerly included in the allotment.

Many families do not receive even this meager pittance. "I don't even get federal surplus," says Carlos Skidmore, 35. "You gotta have some in the family around here — and we only have the one boy."

Some of the younger men have found jobs elsewhere or have been rehired in the mines but "older" men like Mays, and Bill Slusher, 61, are left with little hope.

"Maybe we ought to do what Hitler did," comments Bill Slusher, "Shoot 'em when they get too old. Maybe that's the answer."

The number of production men working in most of the mines has been drastically reduced. Crummies mine dropped back from employing 1,200 men to 150; Lynch (owned by U.S. Steel) from 4,200 to 1,200; Black Star from 1,000 to none.

"They're pretty close to starvation in some parts," reports Albert Pass, secretary treasurer of United Mine Workers' District 19, "Make no mistake about it — this is a real depression."

Mine owners in Harlan County, where bloody battles were fought to win union recognition 20 years ago, are taking advantage of the misery they have imposed. They say: Cut the union wage scale. They claim that union wages force small operators out of business.

In answer to the scab merchants, UMW's Albert Pass said, "If an operator can't pay a de-

"Moonlighting" Rises in Dallas

DALLAS, Texas — "Moonlighting" is on the rise here. That's not romancing under the stars, as it might have been in the "good old days." It's hard work on the double — one person holding down two jobs.

According to F. E. James, district director of the Texas Employment Commission, the increase is due to a shortage of unemployed and to the fact that low-paid white-collar workers make up 55% of the work force (compared to 45% for the nation as a whole).

"They are the group stabbed hardest by the cost-of-living hikes that have been averaging two to three percent a year," James told the Dallas Morning News.

One executive of a large office said, "Seventy-five percent of our people have another job — selling autos and clothes, store-clerking . . . myself, I get \$25 to \$50 for platform speeches."

HOUSING STARTS

Home-building starts in October were at the lowest rate in 15 months.

Calendar Of Events

CHICAGO Hear Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and former Teamster union official. "Labor's Role in the 1960 Elections." Saturday, Dec. 12, 8 p.m.; Fine Arts Bldg., Hall No. 812; 410 So. Michigan Blvd. Donation 90 cents. Auspices: Militant Labor Forum.

LOS ANGELES Yet Another Bazaar. (But this one's different!) Learn about the low cost of giving! Choose from huge selection of exciting new gift clothing. Gourmet items. Leftist cookbook. Exotic odds & ends. Sunday, Dec. 6, 1702 East 4th St. Doors open 10 a.m.

MINNEAPOLIS "Labor's Role in the 1960 Elections." Hear Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party National Secretary and 1956 presidential candidate; former Minneapolis Teamsters Union leader. Sat., Dec. 5, 8:30 p.m., 322 Hennepin. Social evening follows. Auspices SWP. Contrib. 50¢.

NEW YORK "Send-Off" Reception For Bill Price Join UI-SC friends and others wishing Bill well in his new job with the Committee for First Amendment Defendants. Lloyd Gough and his concertina, refreshments, gourmet buffet served at 5:30 p.m., Sunday 4-7 p.m., Dec. 13, at the Weissmans, 325 East 17 St. \$2.50 at the door.

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.
DETROIT Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Temple 1-6135.
LOS ANGELES Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238.
MILWAUKEE 150 East Juneau Ave.
MINNEAPOLIS Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon to 6 P.M. daily except Sundays.
NEWARK Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N.J.
NEW YORK CITY Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852.
OAKLAND-BERKELEY P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif.
PHILADELPHIA Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 P.M., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820.
SAN FRANCISCO The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Rm. 4. Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone PR 6-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321.
SEATTLE 1412-18th Avenue, EA 2-5554, Liberty bookstore.
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