

Washington Rally For Civil Rights Lacks Build Up

By L. P. Wheeler

Despite the universally acknowledged desire for action on civil rights — apparent in the mass outpouring for NAACP and union protest meetings — the NAACP and union leadership have proposed no real program of action.

Walter Reuther, president of the CIO and the UAW, announced some weeks ago plans for a mass demonstration in Washington when Congress reconvenes early next year to demand civil rights legislation and action by the federal government.

This proposal was repeated in a statement made by Reuther, Nov. 11. Referring to the refusal of the Mississippi grand jury to even indict Milan and Bryant for kidnaping, Reuther said, "It again underlines the need for federal legislation to stop violations of civil rights and to end killings caused by race prejudice. The UAW-CIO will continue to press for such legislation. The union is working with the NAACP and other organizations who are planning a nationwide 'civil rights mobilization' to be convened in Washington early next year.

"We are doing this," Reuther said, "so that our members and millions of other Americans will be able to express to the Congress of the United States the overwhelming desire of the American

people for enactment of civil rights legislation."

Very good. But in the meantime the leadership of the NAACP has said nothing about this 'mobilization.' If a mass pressure movement is to be organized — and nothing short of that will make the necessary impression on the lawmakers — the job of building it up must begin now.

The need for such a mobilization cannot be questioned. The Democratic liberals are making it clear that they intend to do nothing about civil rights.

The most disquieting development is the silence with which the Negro and labor leaders have greeted the blunt statements of the Democrats that they will preserve their unity with the Dixiecrats by shelving all civil rights and labor legislation.

We must face the fact that the labor officials are bent on maintaining a coalition with the Democrats. Many times in the past they have swallowed the treachery of capitalist politicians. Are they now planning, together with some Northern liberal Democrats, a face-saving maneuver for the new session of Congress? A maneuver which will cost the liberals nothing but give the labor officials a formula to call for the election of "good" Democrats in 1960?

WHAT KIND OF RALLY

If so, the Washington mobilization Reuther is speaking of will be a hoax. We have seen enough of these in the past. What is needed now is a mass turnout, a truly representative delegation from the unions at the plant level and from the local branches of the NAACP.

A few thousand trade unionists from Detroit, for example, would add real weight and significance to a mobilization in Washington. And more than a few thousand would be ready to respond to a responsible call from the official organizations of labor and the Negro people.

A gigantic rally in Washington can mark a new stage in the independent political struggle of the American working class. It could be the beginning of a nationwide mobilization of labor's rank and file in alliance with all those who suffer discrimination and oppression to take the high road of political struggle for their own aims and with their own independent labor party.



EISENHOWER'S reception of Carlos Castillo Armas, dictator of Guatemala, was the first accorded to a representative of another country after the President's heart attack. This demonstration was designed to bolster the Wall Street puppet's hated, anti-democratic regime.

Labor Strikes Against New Argentine Junta

By Carl Goodman

NOV. 16 — The general strike called last night by the leaders of the Argentine General Confederation of Labor (CGT) was "slow getting started but apparently gaining momentum" in its second day, according to today's United Press dispatch.

At this writing, it is 100% effective in the industrial cities of La Plata, Avallanedo, and Rosario. It embraces the following industries in these cities: meat-packing, glassworks, rubber tire, soap works, textile plants, breweries and metal works. In Santa Fe striking drivers abandoned street cars and buses in the streets.

However, important sections of the CGT — which claims six million workers — have not joined the strike. These include longshoremen, transport and white collar workers in Buenos Aires. And only 5% of the strategic railroad workers have quit work.

The strike represents a showdown between the CGT and the new government of Gen. Pedro E. Aramburu, who replaced Gen. Lonardi by means of a military coup on Nov. 13.

The new military junta accused the Lonardi regime of not being vigorous against the Peronists in labor and in the government. During the two months he was in power Lonardi moved cautiously in his dealings with the CGT, making concessions to the organization at the same time that he sought to split it by setting up rival leaders in a number of unions.

A UNION-BUSTER'S GOVT.

The Aramburu regime, touted in the U.S. Big Business press as paying the way for "democratic government" (the same claim was made for the overthrown Lonardi regime) has decided to try to smash the most militant sections of the CGT.

Among the brutally repressive measures taken by the "democratic" regime are the following:

threats that strike leaders would be arrested and sentenced up to three years in prison; posting tanks and truckloads of soldiers and sailors at striking factories; arrests numbering in the hundreds; threats of wholesale dismissal against workers on strike; violence against strike militants. The CGT's newspapers, La Prensa and El Lider have also been seized by the government for "fiery" pronouncements.

The immediate strike issues center around actions taken previously by the government against Peronist union leaders. But a more basic issue is the "austerity" program first announced by Lonardi, clearly aimed at undermining the workers' living standards.

When in the first years of his regime, Peron sought to advance the interests of a section of the Argentine capitalists at the expense of the landowning interests and foreign concerns, he also granted significant concessions to the working class in order to win a mass base for his regime.

But these benefits were already being eroded in the last two years of Peron's rule. And now all sections of the exploiters — U.S. owned concerns included — seek to satisfy their respective claims out of the hides of the working class.

"The key to the Argentine economic and political crisis is the continued existence of the CGT, which survives the downfall of Peron intact," The Militant stated on Oct. 10. What is at stake now in Argentina is whether the ruling classes can stabilize a regime on the backs of the workers; or whether the working class can open up the road to its own conquest of power by victory over the Aramburu junta.

THE MILITANT

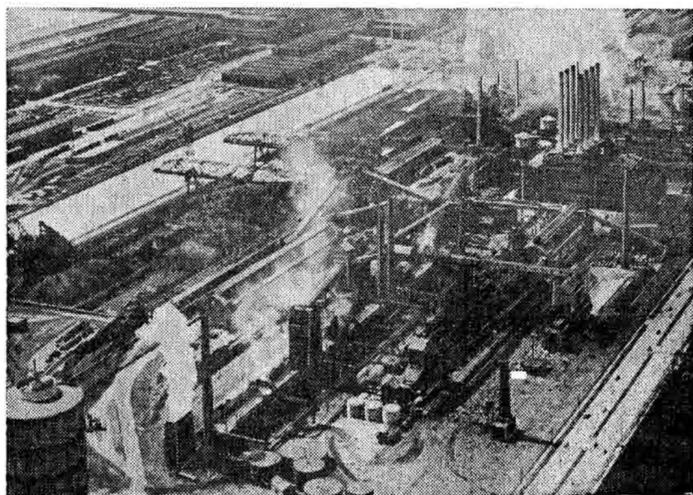
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River Rouge - Center of Ford Empire



Aerial view shows part of giant River Rouge plant, which in turn, is only a small part of the world-wide Ford Empire. With the sale of Ford stock, the last giant industrial enterprise with an independent status will move into the hands of financial monopolists. (See story page 2)

New York Killer Cops Slay Puerto Rican Youth

By Antonio Torres and Tom Denver

On the night of Sept. 15, George Martinez, a 16-year-old Puerto Rican youth was killed in East Harlem by one of New York's trigger-happy cops. The boy was shot in the back after he and five other youths fled when approached by detective Philip Dennehy. Dennehy fired once in the air and then shot to kill.

According to the Sept. 16 New York Times, "a woman whose name was withheld had alleged that he (George) had attacked her." The same report stated that the boy was also "wanted for questioning about other rape cases."

None of the capitalist papers seriously questioned the possibility that George was an innocent victim. Didn't he run when he saw a cop?

The truth is that the Puerto Rican people, particularly the youth, live in terror of the police who resort to the most brutal methods in the minority communities.

It was this fact, combined with the wanton killing of Martinez, which led to a wave of indignation in the Puerto Rican communities and resulted in an investigation by the East Harlem Christian Action Committee of the Pentecostal Church.

REPORTS LIED

On Nov. 4, this community organization revealed that "Although the original newspaper reports of the incident declared that George had been identified by the victims as one of their assailants, we have learned that the victims have declared that



GEORGE MARTINEZ

George was in no way involved in the attack."

It also reported that there are witnesses who say that one detective hit George on the head with his pistol, despite the fact that he was wounded and defenseless, before taking him to a firehouse. There is no report of any medical treatment which might possibly have saved the boy's life.

The boy's family has insistently claimed that on the night of the alleged rape, George was convalescing from a surgical operation on his feet. In addition his sister pointed out that on the same night as the alleged rape "a little boy was run over in front of her. My brother saw the accident. It made him sick, so he stayed in all night."

In its statement to the press, The EHOAC reported that

"There are incidents of unwarranted rough treatment which while effective in the minds of police officers, often are a violation of justice and make the police enemies in the eyes of many East Harlem youth."

The case of Emeris Santa and Victor Caban, both 17, is a graphic example of what they are referring to.

As reported in the Jan. 31 Militant, these two Puerto Rican youths were accosted by a drunken woman who insisted that they accompany her into a secluded area in Central Park. When discovered there by police the woman claimed that the boys had tried to rape her.

They were arrested on the framed-up charges of attempted rape at the point of a knife while under the influence of narcotics. After spending five months in prison waiting for a trial, subsequent evidence proved conclusively that the two boys were innocent.

Following their release New York City District Attorney Hogan tried to whitewash the frame-up by referring to the "apparent respectability" of the woman and the "suspicious and indecent" appearance of the boys.

Even the liberal N. Y. Post, which regarded Hogan as a fine District Attorney, was forced to admit that these statements revealed "deep rooted prejudice." "LA JARA"

It is not surprising that New York's cops or "La Jara" are so free with their guns and clubs in the minority communities when they are emboldened by the vicious prejudices of their superiors.

After issuing their public statement, which clearly reveals

High Democrats Plot Civil Rights Sell Out in '56

ELECTIONS SHOW TREND STILL FOR DEMOCRATS

By Farrell Dobbs

National Secretary Socialist Workers Party

The November 8 elections continued the three-year trend toward a Democratic comeback from the defeat inflicted by Eisenhower in 1952. New Democratic gains were scored in a series of local con-

tests, primarily in industrial areas where the labor vote provided the margin of victory.

Highlighting the Democratic advance was a state-wide sweep of 73 out of 104 city administrations in Indiana, a state that had gone solidly Republican in the 1952 presidential elections. Several major cities, including Indianapolis, went to the Democrats. Some Indiana communities voted Democratic for the first time in years.

Added significance was given to the Indiana elections by Democratic victories over the Republicans in many small farm communities. In nearby Kentucky also the farm vote for the Democrats ran unusually strong.

FARMERS' DISCONTENT

Related evidence of farmer discontent with Republican policy has appeared at recent mid-west hearings conducted by the Senate Agriculture Committee. Demands for the removal of Secretary of Agriculture Benson were applauded by the crowds of farmers packing these hearings.

These signs of unrest among the farmers reflect their growing concern over the steady decline in farm income. Still it should be noted that shifts in rural political sentiment appear to remain regional in character. Farmers in upstate New York showed continued support to the Republicans by helping deal setbacks to the Democrats in several county elections.

Industrial cities in upstate New York showed an opposite trend, giving the Democrats a nine-to-four edge over the Republicans in capturing city administrations from one another. The Liberal Party of New York also gained new strength in these industrial centers.

Within New York City the Democrats retained firm political control in a clean sweep of all contests. Only minor city posts were involved in these off-year elections.

CHANGE IN SUBURBS

In the city's suburbs the Democrats cut into the usually strong Republican pluralities. A probable cause of this trend is the steady migration of better-paid New York workers into the suburban communities. Some

shift in middle-class sentiment may also be involved.

Heavy Democratic opposition in New Jersey brought the closest legislative race since 1937 despite the traditionally strong position of the Republican machine in non-presidential years. The Democrats failed in their attempt to gain ground in the lower house but they did capture three new seats in the state Senate. Growing Democratic strength in normally Republican counties can be attributed to new industrialization in these counties.

Republican hopes of a come-

(Continued on page 2)

Fort Dix Soldiers Take Legal Action For Civil Rights

By Henry Gitano

Eight army privates, stationed at Fort Dix, New Jersey, threatened with undesirable discharges for political views and/or associations prior to their army induction, have filed a suit against their commanding general. This test case seeks to have the federal court affirm that the Universal Military Training Act of 1950 expressly forbids discharges not in accordance with the quality of service rendered.

The eight, who were inducted in 1954, are Theodore Bernstein, Stanley Hauser, Bertram Lessuck, David Lubell, Jonathan Lubell, Bernard Radoff, Samuel Suckow, and Rudolph Thomas. They were notified late this summer of allegations dealing with membership, associations, kinship, reading habits, signing of petitions, writing of letters to Congressmen and participation in strikes during their civilian lives. They were given the choice of accepting undesirable discharges, refuting the charges by letter, or requesting hearings before a Field Board of Inquiry.

After making a demand for a hearing, but prior to the hearing, the draftees started action against Lieut. Gen. Thomas W. Herren, First Army Commander, charging violations of their constitutional guarantees, and asserting their right either to remain in the Armed Forces or to honorable discharges since all eight inductees have "excellent" ratings for their army service.

DEFENSE RALLY

The eight draftees are backed by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and the Servicemen's Defense Committee. A rally in their defense will be held at Carnegie Recital Hall, Tues., Nov. 22, at 8:30 P.M. Professor Mark de Wolfe Howe of Harvard Law School will be one of the speakers.

The suit filed by the eight soldiers points out that to allow the armed forces "to investigate and evaluate one's prior civilian political and personal activities in determining whether an honorable discharge should be withheld, is to place the armed forces in the position of an omnipotent censor of the actions and beliefs of a large and significant group. A more effective method to ring a curtain of silence and conformity around the young citizens of our country would be hard to imagine."

The Fort Dix eight are fighting on a matter of principle, that each man must be judged for his discharge status on the record he has made while in the army. They are opposing the army's attempt to strangle thought by punishing soldiers for having ideas not approved by the army brass with the threat of lifetime blacklisting through an undesirable discharge. They are demanding an "Honorable Discharge for Honorable Service."

Stevenson Silent on Till Case

By Murry Weiss

NOV. 15 — In announcing his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination today, Adlai Stevenson continued his policy of courting the Southern racists while contemptuously ignoring the mass protests over the Till lynching and the demands of the Negro people and unions for action on civil rights.

In the coming year we will hear much about Stevenson's friendship for labor and the Negro people. But despite worldwide shock over the bestial lynching of 14-year-old Emmett Till in Mississippi and the subsequent whitewash of his kidnap-killers, Stevenson hasn't uttered one single word against these atrocities.

Stevenson is the champion of a "united" Democratic party. In



STEVENSON

plain words that means a Democratic party which discreetly avoids offending the vested interests of the Southern plantation and factory system — with its open shop, cheap labor, Jim Crow and lynch law.

Stevenson is only carrying out the strategy summed up by Democratic national chairman, Paul M. Butler. Speaking in North Carolina, Nov. 11, Butler said the issue of segregation "is not a national issue. . . I don't believe it will become a matter of contention at the (Democratic) national convention."

The Democratic chiefs in the Senate adopted the same policy for the next session of Congress when they decided to "avoid, if possible, such issues as compulsory civil rights bills — for federal sanctions against racial discrimination and so on — and repeal or basic alteration of the Taft-Hartley Labor Act." (N. Y. Times, Oct. 27.)

Commenting on this decision, Sen. Herbert H. Lehman (D-N. Y.) said, "Liberal Senators of my own party have been strongly inclined this year to avoid a bitter civil rights fight and a consequent split in Democratic party ranks."

LESSON IN POLITICS

Lehman says he deplores this policy. But this representative of the Northern bankers is an old hand at covering the tracks of the Democrats with a few liberal phrases. Basically he serves the party that unites the Southern and Northern capitalists in a "gentlemen's agreement" not to disturb each other's "way of life" even if it involves a few floggings and lynchings.

The stage is set for an instructive lesson in the need for a Labor party among the majority of workers, Negro and white, who support the policy of the labor officials in the hopeless pursuit of political gains through the capitalist two-party system.

How to Make a Billion Dollars

By Myra Tanner

Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo.) with his Senate Antitrust subcommittee is currently engaged in the teasing business of lifting—with the utmost delicacy—the skirts of General Motors to give the public a glimpse of the modestly-concealed underpinnings of the world's largest industrial corporation. What the public sees, however, is not one pair of over-stuffed legs, but the octopus tentacles of Big Business reaching out into the profit bins of dozens of enterprises.

One of the first witnesses to testify, Nov. 8, was Theodore T. Quinn, former vice president of General Electric. He blasted General Motors as a "monster" corporation that is "entirely too big" for the economic safety of the country.

Quinn declared, "It did not take the corporation long to acquire 76% of the locomotive business of the country. What railroad president would dare to say 'no' to the largest shipper over his lines?"

Answering G.M.'s apologists, Quinn argued, "The statement has been made that there is no such thing as an entrenched and unassailable position in the automobile business. Neither is there in a horse race. But when one or two or three interests own the track, have the only means to employ the best stables and jockeys, enter more horses in the race and finally have their own people represented among the judges, the results are practically inevitable. What chance is there, honestly, for any newcomer?"

"The tyranny of GM over the auto dealers was aired in the investigation. Thousands of auto dealers complained to Congress that they were being ruined by the auto barons. Professor Donald A. Moore of Michigan State University described the position of the dealer as that of "a vassal of the manufacturer." A clause in the dealer's contract compels him to "represent the manufacturer." This clause is used to force unwanted cars on the dealers who then become financially responsible for disposing of them on the market.

GM representatives answered the dealer's complaints by pointing out that the company had offered to buy back any exces-

sive cars. But Rear Admiral Frederick J. Bell, executive vice president of the National Dealers Association, replied, "We have yet to find a dealer who would dare to do it."

GM is in a position to dictate terms to dealers and it uses that power to the full. Under pressure of sharpened competition, the dealers are forced into an over-extension of credit that now threatens to engulf thousands with financial ruin.

GM'S SYMPATHETIC HEART

While GM rakes in the world's record profit of over a billion dollars for 1955, GM spokesmen, H. M. Hogan, suggested that the new car dealer live off his "fat."

"All you've got to do, said Hogan, "is ask them (the dealers) how much they've made in the last five years and find out if they're crying poverty with a ham under their arm."

This is a foretaste of what GM's attitude will be when it starts laying off its production workers. Only GM workers couldn't accumulate much "fat" on the production line with the work-out they've been getting.

Nov. 9, that GM got its "head start" in diesel locomotive production during World War II when Roosevelt's War Production Board gave it exclusive production rights.

O'Mahoney summed up this conquest by saying, "It is obvious that the historical producers of diesel locomotives are losing ground and that General Motors each year is acquiring a larger share of the market."

If the full story of the power of GM and a few other big corporations and banks were told, it would be clear that they run the U.S. government like a company front office. This economic tyranny is the substance of the "free enterprise" system for which the American people are expected to give their labor, their taxes and their lives.

GM's economic tyranny is not limited to the automobile industry. Three representatives of the locomotive business testified,

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What's Happening On the Waterfront

By James O'Hara

A minor storm has been kicked up by the forced resignation of Lt. General Hays as New York's representative on the Bi-State Waterfront Commission. General Hays had been appointed to his post by ex-Governor Dewey. Governor Harriman has removed him and it is widely interpreted as a concession to the independent International Longshoremen's Association which has bitterly fought this body since it was first set up.

The Republicans charge that Harriman has taken this action at the behest of Carmine DeSapio, Tammany leader who is beholden to some ILA leaders. Harriman's supporters answer that General Hays ran the waterfront commission without much regard for the human element involved. This can be called the understatement of the year.

There is no gainsaying the measure of truth contained in both statements. The developments on the docks involve the lives of 25,000 men and many more are closely affected. Harriman would be something short of a Democratic party politician if in a period preceding a very important election he should ignore the aroused sentiments and feelings of an important part of the New York labor movement.

Governor Harriman upon taking office went along with the policies and practices of the Waterfront Commission. During the militant challenge to that body expressed in the eight-day, mass strike last September he went all out in his support of the Commission. He could feel particularly righteous and politically safe since the ILA was declared outlaw by the officials of the main bodies of the American labor movement.

Nevertheless, the powerful and overwhelming demonstration of hostility toward the Commission by the ranks of the dockers made its deep impression. Also, since the ILA seems to have consolidated its control on the docks the AFL teamsters have come to a working agreement with them in an assistance pact which is really a peace treaty. This has removed the teamsters as an active enemy of the ILA on the docks. That leaves the other key AFL force, the AFL seamen's union isolated and ineffective.

Finally, and if we may say

so, not the least of the factors influencing Harriman, is the fact that he has begun the race for the Democratic presidential nomination. Now as every school-child knows Harriman must above all seek to show that he is a "friend of labor." And even if his ward-heeling pilot Carmine DeSapio had to draw a diagram of elementary political arithmetic for the millionaire Governor they were only both conforming to the tried and tested practices and traditions of American capitalist politics.

A chance is surely underway in the work of the Bi-State Waterfront Commission. The very militant and courageous political demonstration of the rank-and-file dockers against the commission last September has not failed to have its effect upon New York's capitalist leadership. The daily press has been as one voice in its denunciation of the ILA and in its warm support of the odious commission. Mere mention of the longshoremen's political strike brings on apoplexy among the editorial writers.

There is, nevertheless, widespread realization that the Commission in its war against the ILA has reached a stalemate forced by the solidarity and spirit of the rank-and-file longshoremen. Harriman, who backed up the Commission to the hilt in its attempt to break the ILA, can now say that arbitrary military formulas are no answer. But before he would say that, it was necessary that there be a completely paralyzing strike.

The ILA leaders are naturally jubilant over these developments and would like to interpret them as a great victory. They would have no quarrel with the waterfront commission if a way was found to include the apparatus of the ILA in official recognition and status. Then they too would add their weight to keep the dock workers "properly disciplined."

But the new wind that has been blowing on the waterfront on the East Coast can very easily upset "the best laid plans of mice and men."

Bankers Open up Ford

By Sam Marcy

The announcement that Ford will launch a public sale of the company's stock is a singularly significant event. It means — among other things — that the last great independent industrial empire has fallen prey to the great Wall Street banks. True, it does not mean complete subjugation as yet. But it does mean subjugation in the "first degree." In the jargon of the Wall Street financiers, "first degree" refers to that phase or period when the bankers already have laid the foundation for control of the company by floating its first substantial stock or bond issue.

But this is not what we read in the newspapers. Almost all of them carry stories to the effect that Ford stock sale is calculated to "broaden the ownership" of the company, to let the masses "get a cut in the profits," and that Ford, out of the goodness of his heart, is deliberately relinquishing the exclusive control his family has held in the interests of "democratizing" his firm.

Therefore, the story goes, the sale of stock is a break for the people and a sign of great progress. Actually there is not a grain of truth in all this.

HOW THEY DID IT

But how is it possible for the bankers to subjugate the mighty Ford? How can a multi-billion dollar, world-wide industrial corporation not sell its securities except through the so-called capital market — that is the money market — the market where securities (stocks and bonds) are exchanged for money and vice versa. Thus Ford or any other industrialist cannot reach the broad mass of would-be stock or bond purchasers except through the channels of the money market or capital market.

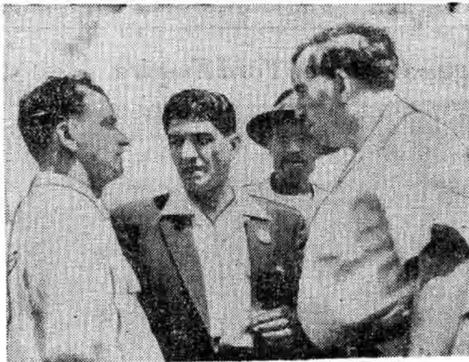
"CLUB 17"

But this still does not answer why the banks should dominate Ford. The key to the answer lies in the fact that the money market is no longer a free, competitive market where buyer and seller meet on more or less equal terms as in the days of old when capitalism was still progressive and competition instead of monopoly was the rule in finance as well as in industry. Today, the money market is a highly monopolized field, a field controlled by the largest and most powerful banking combines.

In order for Ford to float his stock he had to spend quite a bit of time at "Club 17" with headquarters at the "Corner." Doesn't this sound kind of strange?

Unless you are a Wall Street banker, stock market speculator or research specialist in financial affairs, you're not likely to be acquainted with this term. "Club 17" is a Wall Street term for the 17 biggest investment banking houses in the country and the term "Corner" is used to describe the firm of J. P. Morgan and Company, which is

Caught the Fever



Ford UAW Local 600 Pres. Stellato (center) shown talking to workers during last spring's negotiations with the company when the union rejected Ford's employe-stock plan and demanded instead a guaranteed annual wage. After announcement that Ford was putting stock on market Stellato requested that company reopen its offer.

What has the one thing got to do with the other?

Any large-scale corporation that wants to sell stocks or bonds on a mass scale involving millions cannot sell its securities except through the so-called capital market — that is the money market — the market where securities (stocks and bonds) are exchanged for money and vice versa. Thus Ford or any other industrialist cannot reach the broad mass of would-be stock or bond purchasers except through the channels of the money market or capital market.

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the most powerful of the seventeen.

Ford or any other industrialist in America who wishes to sell stocks or bonds involving substantial sums of money cannot do it except through "Club 17" or with their permission. In the period from 1935 to 1949 there were approximately 9,500 separate security issues (i.e. issues of stocks and bonds) which amounted to about \$65 billion. The great bulk of this amount was handled through these 17 big investment banking houses. And what they didn't want for themselves or couldn't take without a lot of trouble went to the rest of the investment banking "industry."

BANKERS ON TRIAL

It is no wonder then that the Federal government was finally compelled at the behest of some of the smaller investment bankers to initiate a suit against "Club 17." Finally in 1947 the Federal government announced that it had indicted the 17 investment banking concerns for conspiracy to monopolize the securities market of the United States.

Paragraph 44 of the government's complaint charged that the banks "agreed not to compete among themselves . . . and to divide among themselves on a mutually satisfactory basis, the merchandising of the security issues obtained by each of the defendant banking firms."

The case dragged on for six years during which time the government handed in 24 thick volumes of proof of the conspiracy, but the case, like most anti-monopoly cases was finally dismissed. (Judge Medina, the chief witch-hunt jurist in Amer-

ica, was the judge who tried the case.)

When Ford announced his proposed stock sale, he also announced the next day that he had designated seven investment banking houses to "manage the stock sale" for him. These are the seven: Blyth & Co., Inc., First Boston Corp., Goldman, Sachs & Co., Kuhn, Loeb & Co., Lehman Brothers, Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Beane, White, Weld & Co.

All except Merrill Lynch were named in the government's indictment and are among the biggest and most powerful of the seventeen. It is to be noted that first on the list, Blyth & Co., Inc. is a stooge for the Morgans.

Now if the function of these seven was only to manage the sale of Ford's stock and merely take their cut of the profits it wouldn't spell out domination of the Ford Company. But they also underwrite the issue, which means they take financial responsibility for it.

HOW BANKS MOVE IN

Therein lies the root of the financial subordination of the Ford Company to the bankers. In addition, the Ford Company is obligated to take "financial advice" from the "investment managers." Ford also has to "open the books" to them and sooner or later, particularly, if another stock or bond issue is required, a director from one of the above named investment banks is found on the Board of Directors of the Ford Motor Company.

Part of the agreement between the underwriters and the corporation is usually a secret understanding that the money so obtained is kept on deposit in banks "suggested" by the underwriters. From this the next step follows; that the corporation in return for the deposits is "free" to obtain short-term loans for current purposes. Thus the financial tie-up between the industrial combine and the banker is such that the industrialist cannot but become subordinated to the will of the banker.

The Ford stock deal is a striking confirmation of the Leninist theory of modern capitalism (i.e. monopoly capitalism). Monopoly, Lenin taught, has among its basic features the domination of the banks over industry. "Monopoly" he said, "has sprung from the banks. The banks have developed from modest intermediary enterprises into the monopolists of finance capital . . . A financial oligarchy, which throws a close net of relations of dependence over all the economic and political institutions of contemporary bourgeois society without exception — such is the most striking manifestation of this monopoly."

The Ford Motor Company, was for many years, the outstanding exception to this rule. The capitulation of Ford to the bankers shows that finance capital cannot afford to tolerate the existence of such exceptions.

Ford's surrender to the bankers is intimately connected with the ferocious competition in the auto industry, with the sharpening of antagonisms within the financial oligarchy and with extraordinary measures taken by each of the industrial and financial governing cliques of America to "safeguard" themselves from the inevitable economic catastrophe which, to the surprise of all of them, is so tardy in its arrival.

(First of a series. Watch for next installment.—Ed.)

Fund Scoreboard

| City | Quota | Paid | Percent |
|-----------------------|----------|---------|---------|
| Milwaukee | \$ 250 | \$ 157 | 63 |
| Seattle | 200 | 93 | 47 |
| Detroit | 825 | 288 | 34 |
| Buffalo | 1,760 | 580 | 33 |
| New York | 3,520 | 1,078 | 31 |
| Los Angeles | 3,300 | 778 | 24 |
| Newark | 200 | 46 | 23 |
| Twin Cities | 1,320 | 291 | 22 |
| Youngstown | 250 | 50 | 20 |
| Chicago | 1760 | 316 | 18 |
| Philadelphia | 440 | 67 | 15 |
| San Francisco | 800 | 117 | 15 |
| Allentown | 85 | 11 | 13 |
| Oakland | 300 | 30 | 10 |
| Cleveland | 350 | 15 | 4 |
| Akron | 140 | 0 | 0 |
| Boston | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| Pittsburgh | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| St. Louis | 85 | 0 | 0 |
| General | | 10 | |
| Total through Nov. 15 | \$16,185 | \$3,927 | 24 |

SOCIALIST PUBLICATION AND PRESS FUND GROWS

By Reba Aubrey

The \$16,185 Socialist Publication and Press Fund is now in its fifth week with eleven more to go. Supporters of the Fund have collected \$3,927 — 24% of the total pledged.

This quick action by the groups backing the Publication and Press Fund has already made possible the initial piece of literature. We are proud to announce that the 16-page pamphlet by Jean Simon, titled, "Desegregation, Labor's Stake in the Fight for Negro Equality," is now ready for distribution by Pioneer Publishers. The pamphlet sells for 10 cents.

Top honors in the collection of the fund to date go to Milwaukee for having completed 63% of its \$250 quota. But Seattle, Detroit, Buffalo and New York also share in that honor with 31% or better, which means that these cities are on schedule or ahead of schedule.

V. R. Dunne of Minneapolis underscores the need for "regularity of the remittances." He says: "This is the fifth payment on the Twin Cities quota," which brings the total to \$291 or 22%. He adds: "Not quite par. But we hope to remedy that soon."

We have full confidence that our quota will be fulfilled and on time." We believe that V. R. Dunne expresses the determination of all those cities which are not "quite par" to "remedy that soon."

Readers of the Militant are doing what they can to help realize the publications program. For instance, Janet McGreager of Detroit reports that their weekly payment "contains \$5 from a friend toward the Fund to help us continue our good work."

R.F.S. of Oakland writes: "Here is a \$10 contribution to the education fund. I wish I could give more but finances will not permit. I will give more in the not too distant future."

To help in the realization of this publications program, send your contribution to: The Socialist Publication and Press Fund, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.

...Election Trend

(Continued from page 1)

back in Philadelphia were crushed by a three-to-two Democratic majority victory. The Democrats took the whole city council, except for one seat. Significantly, the defeated Republican majority candidate had been endorsed by Eisenhower himself.

In Connecticut the Democrats won an unprecedented victory at New Haven, electing a complete slate by a huge majority. They scored an upset in the Waterbury mayoralty race and won in three other industrial towns.

CLUES TO SENTIMENT

Clues to popular sentiment on policy questions appeared in the New York referendum balloting. In a revolt against high taxes voters throughout the state rejected three-to-two a proposed highway bond issue requiring a hike in gasoline taxes. Buffalo voters spiked a move to increase the city sales tax.

At the same time the New York voters granted new appropriations for state subsidy of low-rent housing. Upstate opposition to the proposal was overcome by a two-to-one supporting vote in New York City. A second proposal for state loans to private firms building middle-income housing got less metropolitan support and the upstate opposition defeated it.

From the overall election results signs of growing mass discontent with Republican rule can be seen. People want relief from high taxes and they remain worried about the economic dangers implicit in the 1953-54 slump. Workers instinctively fear the open party of Big Business.

LOS ANGELES
Friday Night Forum

Fri., Nov. 25 — Capitalism and Crime.
Speaker: Della Rossa

Fri., Dec. 2 — Murder in Mississippi.
Speaker: Erroll Banks

1702 E. 4th St., 8:15 P. M.
Donation 35c.

Farmers show concern over their falling income. City dwellers want better housing. Lack of federal intervention against the lynchings in Mississippi alienates Negro support from the Republicans.

Due to the absence of a Labor Party the Democrats become the political beneficiaries of the mass discontent. Popular illusions persist that the difficulties can be solved through the Democrats. These illusions are fed by the union officials and Negro leaders who are working to put the Democrats back into full national power.

To block the labor-Democratic coalition the Republicans must have more than a strong presidential ticket. They need continued grounds to masquerade as a "peace" party and they need a relatively stable economic situation. A single adverse event can shift the political balance against them.

SWP CAMPAIGN

Further experience with the Democrats in power will teach the working people they cannot solve their problems through a capitalist party. But for the present they will act according to their existing illusions. This leaves the class-conscious workers with the central tasks of explaining the anti-labor nature of the Democratic Party and of upholding within the labor movement the principle that class lines must not be crossed in politics.

New opportunities to meet these tasks will be found in the presidential campaign of the Socialist Workers Party. The SWP ticket will serve as a rallying point for all who want to fight for an independent party of labor. The general party campaign will furnish an excellent medium to tell millions of workers the class truth.

NEW YORK
Christmas Bazaar

Saturday, Dec. 10, 12 noon on
Jewelry — Clothing
Accessories
Food and Refreshments
BARGAINS GALORE!
116 University Place

Chicago Pickets Gain Trumbull Park Victory

CHICAGO, Nov. 11 — The first significant change in the Trumbull Park situation occurred shortly after the NAACP-union sponsored picket demonstration at City Hall, Oct. 25, protesting the violence against Negro tenants at that federal housing project, and demanding Mayor Daley do something about it.

Police Commissioner O'Connor has agreed to open the streets in the Trumbull Park area to the Negro families. The agreement was reached during the meeting between Willoughby Abner, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the NAACP, and O'Connor, held at the suggestion of Mayor Daley.

The process of opening the streets will be a gradual one, it was announced. Abner presented O'Connor with a list of the streets he thinks should be opened. The list was not made public.

If successfully carried out, the Negro tenants and their visitors will no longer have to enter and leave the project in police squad cars and paddy wagons. They will be able to walk down a street, enter stores and visit neighbors without fear of losing life or limb. O'Connor agreed to a meeting with Abner and the Negro tenants in Trumbull Park, aimed toward developing a cooperative plan and understanding in the opening of the area.

It is significant that after two years of violence and terror at Trumbull Park, the city officials did not move until the NAACP, supported by labor, civic and church organizations, mobilized a mass demonstration of 1200 people at City Hall, demanding that the officials do something.

The lesson is clear. The mass indignation against racism that was aroused by the brutal murder of Emmett Louis Till, 14-year-old

Chicago youth, in Mississippi was sufficient to get action that could force city officials to act. Until mass action was organized the terror continued unabated for more than two years.

In the summer of 1954 Howard Mayhew, Organizer of the Chicago branch of the Socialist Workers Party, pointed out in a series of articles in the Militant on the Trumbull Park terror (later published in a pamphlet) that "The union leaders and the leaders of the NAACP do not feel free to mobilize a mass action against the Democratic mayor and his Democratic party. How can they point out that the mayor is an enemy of the people and then ask the people to vote for this same bunch in November?"

ACTION URGED

In order to end the terror Mayhew declared, "The time has come for the unions and the NAACP to organize a mass protest demonstration. Just as a strike shows the boss what the workers want, so a demonstration will show the mayor what the people want. The demonstration will show the mayor that the people think he's falling down on the job. It will remind him that he can be replaced."

Mayhew did not underestimate the power of the Negro people to act against the racist mob. "Thousands of people can be mobilized at City Hall by the NAACP and the unions. The streets can be filled with people. The mayor will understand," he explained.

More than a year passed before Howard Mayhew was proved correct. It took that long before the Negro people, their patience exhausted, could overcome the inaction that resulted from the alliance of the Negro leaders and the Democrats.

Trumbull Park is not yet free of racist violence. A beginning has been made thanks to the militant action of the Negro community in alliance with sections of the labor movement. But an alert watchfulness must be maintained to make certain that the fight is carried through to complete victory. There must be no rest from vigilance until Trumbull Park is liberated from every last trace of terror.

...Cops Kill Youth

(Continued from page 1)

the innocence of George Martinez, the EHCAC has turned all its evidence over to the District Attorney's office. It also organized a meeting of leaders of the Puerto Rican community which demanded to know from Police Commissioner Kennedy at what point in the investigation of an alleged crime can a cop shoot a citizen? The reason given for this question was the frequent occurrence of such cases as the killing of George Martinez.

The EHCAC is presently engaged in mobilizing the Puerto Rican community for a mass protest meeting to be held in the near future.

One of the things this meeting could decide would be the formation of neighborhood or block committees to more effectively investigate and take action on future cases of police brutality and murder.

Many workers in East Harlem feel that the labor movement of New York should throw its full support behind any action undertaken by the Puerto Rican community to defend its rights and to put an end to police violence.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

- by JAMES P. CANNON
- The Road to Peace 48 pp. \$25
 - The History of American Trotskysim 268 pp. Paper \$1.50 Cloth 2.50
 - The Struggle for a Proletarian Party 302 pp. Paper \$1.50 Cloth 2.50
 - To the Memory of the Old Man 15 pp. \$10
 - American Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism 48 pp. \$15
 - Socialism on Trial 111 pp. \$35
 - The Coming American Revolution 32 pp. \$10
 - America's Road To Socialism 80 pp. \$35
- Order from
PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

THE MILITANT ARMY

As the subscription campaign nears its close, indications from various parts of the country are that it is becoming increasingly easier to sell subs and single copies of the Militant. Typical of these reports is the one from St. Louis. Richard Clausen writes: "please increase our bundle order. Militants are much easier to sell now. I sold eighteen in less than two hours. I was careful to save a copy for one of my regular customers."

Carl Feggans sends in five subscriptions from Los Angeles, asks us to "raise the bundle to two of our stands as they have been selling out," then adds: "This is just a P.S. to tell you of a small bit of 'sabotage' done to us. A new salesman, George Meyer, took a Saturday sale and by mistake took our whole bundle of Militants. Rose Bailey, the regular saleswoman, did not realize this until the money was counted. We had to call off the sales for the rest of the week. Rose and George sold 54 papers in a little over two hours. So once again will you please raise our bundle?"

Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum

Jazz — Its History And Significance
Friday, Nov. 25, at 8 P. M.

The Case of Andre Marty
Friday, Dec. 2, at 8 P. M.

At 3000 Grand River, Rm. 207
Donation 25c.
Free for Unemployed

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THE MILITANT

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Monday, November 21, 1955

Even Paper Promises are Dangerous

For nine years the United Nations' Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee has been working on an international bill of rights. Last week the project was indefinitely shelved.

According to Wayne Phillips, reporting from the UN, "The project has been foundering this year, weighted down by the determination of some nations to make it a vehicle for winning the independence of non-self-governing territories."

"This attempt took the form of writing into the covenants the right of all peoples and nations to self-determination — to determine for themselves their political, economic, social and cultural status."

Evidently, Wayne Phillips considers it scandalous that "some nations" (namely, the Asian and African bloc) should believe that the concrete right of nations to self-determination belongs in an international bill of rights, which is supposed to merely set forth democratic principles — in the abstract.

This is also the way the representatives of the U.S. government viewed the proposal, for they voted against its inclusion. They thereby trampled on the very principles laid down in the American Declaration of Independence in 1776.

The revolutionists who embarked on an independence war against British imperial tyranny justified their action to the world in the following way:

Mathematical Formula for Democracy

William Stratton, Republican governor of Illinois, has asked the Justice Department to investigate the Till case. He wrote to the Department: "Emmett Till, a citizen of Illinois, was abducted and brutally murdered. It now appears that those responsible for this tragic crime are not being brought to justice. . . I feel it is my duty to respectfully request the U.S. government . . . to investigate the violation of rights of this Illinois citizen in another state."

A fine letter, Governor Stratton. But perhaps you should have underscored your concluding words, "in another state." How about your own state? You certainly have not taken action to halt the wholesale violation of the rights of the Negro people in Illinois.

Why was Emmett Till in Mississippi in the first place? His mother, like many other Negro parents living in Northern cities, sent him there to escape a miserable summer in the jampacked, Jim Crow ghetto of Chicago. What did you ever do, Governor, to help tear down that ghetto? What have you done to provide adequate vacation facilities for all the young Emmett Tills in your spacious state? Can you explain why Emmett Till's mother was compelled to send him to the land of lynch law just to get him off the sweltering pavements for a couple of months?

Such hypocritical "concern" about the violation of young Till's rights in Mississippi is an insult to the Negro people — coming as it does from the Governor of the state that has won international notoriety for its own "little Mississippi" — Trumbull Park.

For two years a small band of heroic

When Bernard De Voto Spoke Out

Bernard De Voto, who died Nov. 13 at the age of 58, was not a revolutionist although for a time in his youth he inclined toward socialism. In fact in the middle of the great depression of the 1930's he was considered conservative enough to take the Easy Chair of Harper's magazine, a post he held for 20 years. Primarily a professional writer, he sought and gained fame in the literary world as an essayist, historian and caustic critic.

Conservative though he was, however, De Voto did not like snoopers. Especially government snoopers.

In the October 1949 issue of Harper's magazine he told off the government for using stool pigeons and relying on unsupported testimony to convict victims. He assailed the FBI secret files as "a hash of gossip, rumor, slander, backbiting, malice and drunken inventions which, when it makes the headlines, shatters the reputations of innocent and harmless people and of people who our laws say are innocent until someone proves them guilty in court. . . We know that the thing stinks to high heaven, that it is an avalanching danger to our society."

De Voto stated his position: "I like a country where it's nobody's damned business what magazines anyone reads, what he thinks, whom he has cocktails with. I like a country where we do not have to stuff the chimney against listening ears and where what we say does not go into the FBI files along with a note from S-17 that I may have another wife in California. I like a country where no college-trained

"Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends [namely, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness], it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

What was it, we should like to know, that Samuel Adams, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and other leaders of the American Revolution of 1776 were asserting if not the right of all nations to self-determination?

But the U.S. government — doing the bidding of Big Business — is now itself busily engaged in oppressing and exploiting peoples.

In the formal sense of the word, it owns no colonies, but the Asian and African nations also want to outlaw diplomatic subjugation, rule through puppets and economic domination.

Wall Street's government does plenty of that, and wants nothing to interfere with its imperialist activities.

But it is not in the interests of the U.S. working people to deny other nations the right so powerfully asserted by this country in 1776. A socialist government in the U.S. would unconditionally aid every other people to "institute . . . government . . . as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

"We are proud of the efforts exerted by our unions and our friends. We know our campaign was waged based on truth and on fact. We refrained from malicious gutter-snipe politics and some of the other evil techniques used by the business-industry coalition."

"We have lost battles for decency on this question in the halls of the Legislature, in the bargaining of contracts, and here in the ballot box . . . Though we lose other battles we shall never concede defeat."

"To the Ohio 'Mis-Information Committee' (Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers Association front organization): Glory if you can in your vic-

tor Negro families in Chicago have fought for their right to live in the Trumbull Park federal housing project in the face of a reign of terror. They are unable to walk the streets in or near their homes. They must be escorted to and from work each day in squad cars. They have been bombed, shot at, stoned and beaten by racist mobs organized by real-estate sharks and boss politicians. For two nightmarish years the rights of these courageous people have been trampled upon.

Governor Stratton, what has either the Democratic administration of Chicago or your own administration done to put down this mob violation of the rights of citizens in your state? This kind of "concern" for democracy "in another state" is expressed by the politicians of both Big Business parties. Their interest in democracy can be boiled down to a mathematical formula: It is in direct proportion to the distance from home. The further from home the violation of democracy the greater their "concern," and vice-versa.

At the same time a good clue to the meaning of this "concern" for democracy in distant places is to be found in the actual deeds of these democratic crusaders on their home grounds.

Witness the pious declarations of the administration in Washington about free elections in Germany. The worthlessness of these declarations become clear when we recall that Washington has not lifted a finger to get free elections in Mississippi, where the Negroes, who constitute half the population of the state, haven't been able to vote since the days of reconstruction.

flatfeet collect memoranda about us and ask judicial protection for them, a country where when someone makes statements about us to officials he can be held to account. We had that kind of country only a little while back and I'm for getting it back. It was a lot less scared than the one we've got now."

De Voto warned that "A single decade has come close to making us a nation of common informers."

As to the question, "What to do about it?" De Voto gave public notice to the government snoopers:

"From now on any representative of the government, properly identified, can count on a drink and perhaps informed talk about the Red (but non-Communist) Sox at my house. But if he wants information from me about anyone whomsoever, no soap. If it is my duty as a citizen to tell what I know about someone, I will perform that duty under subpoena, in open court, before that person and his attorney. This notice is posted in the court-house square: I will not discuss anyone in private with any government investigator."

The obituaries we have read in the capitalist press about De Voto omit mentioning this incident in the noted writer's life. But it seems to us one of the finest things he did and one of the finest things he ever wrote.

He spoke out and spoke out vigorously when most public figures thought it safer to hold their tongues about the government witch hunt or to join it themselves. If De Voto is remembered for nothing else, he should be remembered for that.

Ohio Labor Loses First Political Skirmish; Girds for Battles Ahead

By Jean Simon

CLEVELAND, Nov. 14—Ohio labor lost a political battle in the state-wide vote on its proposed law to liberalize the unemployment compensation law last Tuesday. Final returns were 870,755 votes for and 1,458,483 against the measure.

But the view of all the bosses and the daily press that serves them that the vote was a "smashing victory for organized employer groups" is just wishful thinking.

The campaign for the bill, the first to be fought on class lines, revealed that a substantial basis for an independent labor party already exists in this industrial state, and that with a clearcut program of united action on both the economic and political fronts victories could be assured in future battles.

CIO STATEMENT

In a post-election statement, the Cleveland Industrial Union Council said:

"The coalition of the business interest with its vast financial resources plus the influence of the one-party press was obviously the major factor in confounding and confusing the voters of this state by untruths, misrepresentations and, in some instances, complete falsehoods during the course of the campaign . . ."

"We are proud of the efforts exerted by our unions and our friends. We know our campaign was waged based on truth and on fact. We refrained from malicious gutter-snipe politics and some of the other evil techniques used by the business-industry coalition."

"We have lost battles for decency on this question in the halls of the Legislature, in the bargaining of contracts, and here in the ballot box . . . Though we lose other battles we shall never concede defeat."

"To the Ohio 'Mis-Information Committee' (Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers Association front organization): Glory if you can in your vic-

tory at the cost of continued or additional misery of unemployed workers, but we stand ready for future engagements as we have begun our next as of today."

Underscoring the spirit of their statement, the CIUC delegates pledged additional support to strikers at local plants of the Westinghouse Electric Corp., the Cleveland Worsted Mills Co., and the General Electric Co.

CAMPAIGN OF LIES

The high-priced propaganda campaign of lies, misrepresentation and slander by the organized capitalists undoubtedly played the major role in defeating the bill. Hundreds of ads in every paper in the state except the labor press, on radio and television, drummed away at three main lies: The law would make Ohio a "loafers' paradise" at the expense of "good workers." Increased compensation for unemployed would mean increased taxes and higher prices for consumers. The CIO would run the state.

The resulting vote showed enough rural and middle-class elements were frightened into voting against the measure, and enough workers confused into voting against their own class interests to defeat the bill.

The Wall Street Journal recognized this in part. In its Nov. 10 editorial citing the failure of organized labor to achieve its immediate political objective last Tuesday and in the anti-Taft campaign in 1950, the paper commented:

"On both occasions it is quite apparent that great numbers of union members did not vote as the leaders wanted them to vote. Instead, they made up their minds and voted as individuals. Not only that, but on Tuesday they voted against a proposition which might have profited them personally."

The segregated Negro communities of the state were no exception to the general picture of class line-ups plus a certain degree of confusion. Practically every Negro weekly but the Columbus Ohio Sentinel lined up

with the Ohio Information Committee (OIC) which paid for huge ads against the unemployment compensation bill. The executive board of the Ohio Conference of Branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, on the other hand, supported the bill.

A complete breakdown of the vote figures is not yet available, so it is too soon to conclude that a majority of the industrial workers did not vote for the measure. While the only county containing a major industrial city which gave a majority for the bill was Mahoning (Youngstown), careful analysis of the vote in Cleveland, Toledo, Cincinnati, Columbus and other industrial areas may confirm the estimate that it was the rural and suburban vote that provided county majorities against it.

However, there is no question about the fact that a large number of workers were confused, and that this was due not only to the campaign of the bosses, but to the class-collaborationist political line of the labor leadership. Workers were told not to believe the lies of the capitalist politicians on the proposed bill, although they have been told to support many of them for election in the past and, presumably, in the future.

Evidence of the confusion created was apparent in the election of several so-called "pro-labor" mayors in cities like Akron and Columbus.

The confusion was not all on one side, however. The propaganda against increased compensation for unemployed was so effective that it boomeranged, to the chagrin of the organized capitalists. Constitutional amendments to provide increased compensation for judges and administrative officials, which the OIC backed, were also defeated by the voters.

AFFECTS UNION CONTRACTS

An important aspect of the defeat of the unemployment compensation law, although it did not play a major part in the

Solar Energy Used



Dr. and Mrs. William A. Rhodes of Phoenix, Ariz., demonstrate an engine that converts the sun's rays into mechanical energy at the Solar Engineering Exhibit. The engine has only one moving part — a column of fluid.

debates during the campaign, was the set-back to putting into effect the supplementary unemployment benefits provisions of the Ford and General Motors union contracts.

Under the contracts signed last June, states with a total of more than two-thirds of each firm's UAW-CIO members must permit an unemployed worker to receive full state unemployment benefits at the same time he is drawing layoff pay from the company.

The proposed Ohio bill would have done that, among other things, and would have given the UAW the number of states complying necessary to put the company payment plan into effect June 1, 1956, since Ohio

has about 12% of Ford's employees and about 17% of the GM total.

Now the UAW is faced with the task of winning compliance from more states with smaller percentages of the workers involved, and against the opposition of employer groups in those states, encouraged by the defeat of the measure in Ohio.

The International Union of Electrical Workers, CIO, was even harder hit than the UAW by the defeat of the Ohio unemployment compensation proposal, since about 25,000, or nearly 85% of the 30,000 GM workers represented by IUE are located in Ohio, and they are covered by a similar company unemployment pay clause.

World Events

TYPICAL SOVIET WAGES AND PRICES in Moscow and nine other Soviet cities during September and October this year were cited in the Nov. 8 N.Y. Times.

The following are sample monthly wages at the reported unofficial rate of eight rubles to the U.S. dollar: sweeper in a factory, \$56; waitress, \$63-\$75; school teacher, \$69; beginning doctor, \$81; semi-skilled factory worker, \$88-\$100; experienced engineer, \$150-\$250; director of large factory, \$500-\$625. Factory directors and engineers, besides enjoying such privileges as a rent-free apartment and use of a car may also receive substantial bonuses if their factory overfulfills its quota. The following are sample prices: pound of rye bread, \$.07; pound of wheat bread, \$1.10; pound of pork meat, \$1.01-\$1.21; pound of bacon, \$1.66; pound of margarine, \$.86; pound of apples, \$.31; man's shirt, \$9.75-\$30.63; woman's shoes, \$69-\$97; four-tube radio, \$23; seven-inch TV set, \$175-\$213; 10-inch TV set, \$338; vacuum cleaner, \$51-\$81; small child's bicycle, \$19; automatic washing machine, \$256. Figures for rents are not cited.

BEN BOULAID, chief of the fellagha rebellion in the Aurès Mountains of eastern Algeria, escaped from prison at Constantine on Nov. 11. Ten other nationalist leaders also made good their escape. All eleven had been sentenced to death. An imposing committee of French revolutionary socialists, independent radicals and liberals was formed last summer to campaign against the execution of Ben Boulaïd and other Algerian Arab leaders.

IN FRANCE, the main recent political development is the drive of Mendes-France to emerge at the head of a coalition of the majority of the Radical Socialist party (corresponding roughly to the liberal Democrats in the U.S.) with the Socialist party. However, he has made no bid to include the Communist Party, which polled 21.2% of the country's vote in last April's election. The Stalinists have joined on two recent occasions with the right-wing capitalist bloc of Premier Faure to vote for elections to be held next month instead of in the Spring as advocated by Mendes-France. The Stalinists also voted with Faure to defeat electoral reforms proposed by Mendes-France, which might lower the amount of deputies the CP would obtain. Seemingly, the CP is pressuring Mendes-France for a Popular Front agreement that would include the CP as well as the SP under the hegemony of his wing of the Radical Socialist party.

SOUTH AFRICAN delegates walked out of the United Nations when the UN decided to keep the Union of South Africa's

racial relations "under review" for another year. Negroes are strictly segregated and discriminated against as well as fiercely repressed by the Union's government. The population includes 2,600,000 whites and 8,000,000 Negroes. Sympathizing with the U.S. Big Business warned that "many persons" in this country would not like it if "the Negro population of the State of Mississippi . . . conceived themselves to be ill-treated and carried their case to the United Nations Assembly."

IN BRAZIL, the Army headed by Gen. Lot, Minister of War, took over control of the government on Nov. 11. The move was described as a "counter-coup" designed to head off a military grouping backed by the U.S. State Department which wants to prevent President-elect Kubitschek and Vice-President-elect Goulart from taking office on Jan. 31. Kubitschek and Goulart head the movement formerly led by Vargas. It includes the Brazilian unions and had the backing of the Communist Party in the last elections.

VENEZUELA IN 1955 is the title for an entire section of the Nov. 14 N.Y. Herald Tribune. The country's economy is booming. Oil and iron ore are its chief products. Investment by U.S. capital is three billion dollars. Among facts not cited by the Herald Tribune are those presented by Sidney Lenz in the Sept. 22 Labor's Daily. The dictator of Venezuela, Perez Jimenez, received only an estimated 13% of the vote in the election three years ago as against 85% for his two opposition groups. Jimenez then impounded the ballots at gunpoint and declared himself elected. The military junta dissolved the trade unions and replaced them with "socially constructive" unions "that concentrated on hygiene, savings, improved housing, social welfare, and everything under the sun except wages and working conditions."

NEW YORK Militant Forum

Every Sunday, 7:30 P. M. Nov. 20 — Why Don't the Radical Parties All Get Together (A Marxist Analysis of the Stalinist and Social Democratic Program). Nov. 27 — Called off. Dec. 4 — Geneva and New Maneuvers in the Cold War. Questions Refreshments 116 University Place

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

Whose Government? — The Mississippi Experience

Capitalism has dropped its democratic mask in Mississippi. It is giving the American people a lesson in the "nature of the state." (We socialists use the scientific term "state" to mean government power in general.)

Thousands of American workers are now learning that the state, with all its "executive, legislative and judicial" trimmings, functions literally as the executive committee of the ruling class. That equal rights before the law, democratic rights and processes, and constitutional guarantees of civil liberties are for the capitalists a mythology that belongs to a bygone day.

In Mississippi, it is now crystal clear, the state is "a body of armed men" — with or without uniform — for the suppression of the masses and their democratic aspirations.

Negro Americans have long known these things about the state. They also know that as far as their struggle for equality, for democracy, for advancement and freedom is concerned, the main enemy is not in Korea, or in the Soviet Union, or even in South Africa, but at home.

But now a lot of white workers are learning from Mississippi. They are beginning to ask questions:

Why were American troops sent to "police" Korea and national guardsmen to break a strike in Indiana, but not a single soldier sent to protect lives in Mississippi?

What are "constitutional guarantees" worth if the ruthless dictators of the most barbaric state in the Union can deny civil rights, terrorize, encourage and organize

violence, protect murderers, and outlaw the struggle for Negro equality?

How can workers in more "enlightened" areas protect their hard-won right to organize, to maintain a decent standard of living, if Mississippi and other Southern states can offer the employers cheaper labor.

And to the more thoughtful workers — Negro and white — a more basic question occurs: What can be done to destroy the malignant power of the dictatorship in states like Mississippi?

Political reforms are not enough to stop the white supremacists of the unregenerated South. Removing a red-necked sheriff in Sumner County, ousting a public official who refuses to recognize federal law over state law won't do it. The White Citizens Councils are making it clear that all the "leading citizens" are uniting to use their real power, their economic power based on their ownership of the land and industry, together with armed force, to keep the workers modern slaves through control of their wages.

The only solution for the workers is a revolutionary one, the socialist answer. The workers on the land, in the factories, mines and mills must unite to remove the dictators from control of the means of making a living and producing the wealth that makes men free. They must abolish the profit system to destroy the power and privileges of the ruthless minority of capitalists who will stop at nothing — not even murder of children — to keep the overwhelming majority divided and powerless and themselves on top of society.

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Calif. CIO Votes AFL Unity

By S. Collins

LONG BEACH, Calif., Nov. 6 — More than 600 delegates at the last convention of the CIO in California adopted the AFL-CIO merger resolution. The next gathering will adjourn and then meet with the AFL to constitute the first state body of the new labor organization, probably within the next year.

During the four-day convention that opened last Thursday, uneasiness was apparent about the future of industrial unionism. This was evident in the resolutions, amendments from the floor, and corridor talk in

which the need for iron-clad guarantees of autonomy and particularly of equality of all members regardless of race, creed or color was stressed.

The merger resolution was presented in the name of the executive board in accordance with the agreement reached by the national officers of the CIO and AFL. All attempts to change it were defeated by the leadership.

The crusading spirit of the early days of the CIO was gone. There were no great messages, no reports of heroic struggles and resounding deeds as in the

days when the giant corporations were brought to heel and the Roosevelt administration felt forced to display a pro-labor attitude.

George B. Roberts, regional director of the PAC, sounded about the only militant note in the proceedings, aside from delegates Morrison and Simonson of the Packinghouse Workers in speaking on the resolution supporting the Kohler and Perfect Circle strikes.

Roberts reminded the delegates of the sit-down strikes, the fights against the terror and violence of management and government agencies, the courage and determination of the hundreds of thousands of workers that created the CIO. He warned that Kohler and Perfect Circle were not isolated occurrences but could be expected to be the music of the future on a far vaster scale.

More than 90 resolutions dealt with serious problems confronting the labor movement, the conditions of the workers, anti-labor legislation, and of these, 14 dealt specifically with segregation, fair employment practices and violence in the South.

Lofty state and federal legislative programs were adopted calling for repeal of Taft-Hartley, enactment of federal health insurance, public housing, anti-poll tax and anti-lynch laws, increased unemployment benefits, anti-injunction laws and a great many other progressive demands.

But how are these political demands to be won? What can be done with the conservative AFL in this respect? John A. Despot, secretary-treasurer, had answers — of a kind. He assured the delegates and reassured the AFL that the CIO was not pledged to either of the major parties. The state AFL supported Gov. Knight, a Republican, in the last election.

George Darling, Labor Party member of the British parliament who was a guest speaker and a most refreshing one, had a different answer. According to a request by Despot, with whom he had been debating in private the merit of labor politics in Britain versus those in the USA, he told the delegates that he would merely give a factual report on the composition of the Labor Party and its accomplishments.

The Labor Party, which was based primarily on the trade unions, in the short span of about 40 years, he said, was now supported by a majority of the electorate, had held government power twice, and had instituted a sweeping program of labor, economic, and social legislation.

He told about the many municipal and regional governments in which the Labor Party still held power. He gave the example of Sheffield. Of a hundred members of the city council 76 belonged to the Labor Party, and most of them worked in the factories and mills, and, after the day's work, administered the affairs of government.

Darling didn't agitate or incite but merely in the telling exposed the bankruptcy of the American labor leadership, and made clear the need for the American labor movement to emulate the example of its British brothers.

To a participant in the founding of the CIO in California, almost 20 years ago, this last convention was marked by two outstanding realities: the decline of the CIO, and the decline of Stalinism.

By manipulation of paper unions and through superior organization, the Stalinists dominated the CIO in California from its inception until 1949 when the Stalinist-controlled unions were expelled. In its dozen years of

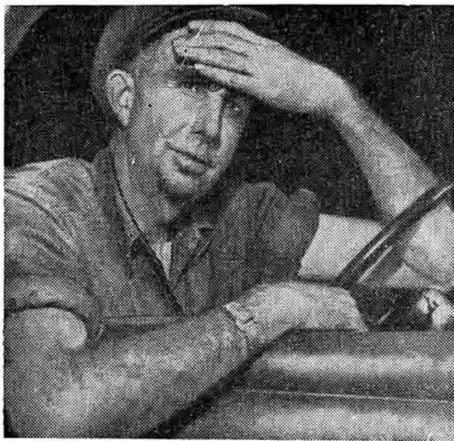
control of the CIO, the Stalinist leadership played footsie with the right wing while virulently opposing and slandering those who fought to develop the genuine left-wing program and forces that the CIO needed to grow. The Stalinist miseducation of the early CIO militants was the main factor in the decline of the CIO that made possible the subsequent triumph of the right wing.

NEED MILITANT PROGRAM

For the first time in 20 years, so far back that it's an effort to recall those days when only the AFL existed, there will again be only one major labor organization. Potentially the united organization represents the mightiest power that the working class has ever forged. With a militant program, based on independence from the capitalists, the capitalist state and political parties, there is nothing that it couldn't accomplish.

To infuse the AFL-CIO with such a program will take some doing, for what it means is the replacing of the present leadership with a new class-conscious one. One could become pessimistic about the prospects after sitting through the dispirited sessions of this convention. But we must keep our eyes on the mighty unions in steel, auto, rubber, all the basic industries — now a reality and no longer the dream of the early American labor movement. One must realize that the climate that produced the CIO will again be seen, and in such a climate a new generation of militants, fusing with the cadre of left wingers already at hand, will revive the fighting spirit that built the CIO. This time, we may expect they will carry out the great political tasks that face the American labor movement today.

The Big-Hearted Rich



Detroit truck driver Earl Valentine was rewarded with a fast "thanks" for returning a lost purse containing \$42,800. Immediately after he picked it up from the road a woman drove up, snatched it from him saying "You have my purse," thanked him and drove off.

Notes from the News

GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE WITH RELIGIOUS FREEDOM was charged by Jewish organizations in a 4,000 word statement that detailed "significant impairments" of religious freedom. The statement also deplored the action of the Senate Constitutional Rights Subcommittee in cancelling hearings on the status of religious freedom. Forty-three Conservative, Orthodox and Reform Jewish organizations were represented by a joint council in the action.

THE AIR LINE PILOTS ASSOCIATION was suspended by the AFL National Executive Council which recommended its expulsion by the next AFL convention. The move was an outgrowth of the strike by the International Association of Flight Engineers, AFL, against United Air Lines that began on Oct. 23. Members of the Air Line Pilots crossed the picket lines and operated the planes. Dave Beck, speaking for the AFL Council announced that the "ALPA indicated they had no intention of changing their policy in respect to the dispute."

PERFECT CIRCLE SCABS voted to decertify the United Auto Workers, CIO, as their bargaining agent by a two to one majority in a National Labor Relations Board election. Under the Taft-Hartley law scabs vote but strikers do not. The vote took place in the main Hagerstown, Ind., Plant and two plants in nearby Richmond on Nov. 10. The AFL News-Reporter bitterly recalls that President Eisenhower in his speech before the

AFL convention in 1952 said, "I have talked about the Taft-Hartley Act with both labor and industry people. I know how the law might be used to break unions. That must be changed. America wants no law licensing union busting, and neither do I." The President has taken no action to change the T-H law. The AFL paper does not mention the fact that the Democratic-controlled Congress also did nothing about the T-H slave labor law, and the Democratic Party high command has announced that it has no intention of doing anything about it in the coming session.

AN ARMY ATOMIC POWER PLANT is under construction by Alco Products Inc. of Schenectady, N. Y. The plant will generate about 2,000 kilowatts of electricity, enough to operate an army post. Components of the unit can be airlifted to remote sites and operated for extended periods without refueling.

PRISON HUNGER STRIKES as a desperate form of protest are taking place more frequently. United Press reported on Nov. 10, that 1198 prisoners in the London, Ohio, State Farm went on a sitdown strike over the issue of adequate payment for their work. At the end of the second day 233 gave in to the warden's "no work, no eat" ultimatum. However, 1,100 still held out. In Boston, Associated Press reported, 16 State Prison inmates went on a hunger strike for two days demanding that the Corrections Commissioner come to hear their complaints.

Our Readers Take the Floor

A Lesson Must Be Learned

Editor:

Some of the reasons for labor's defeat in the fight over the Ohio unemployment compensation referendum should be spelled out. If the lessons are learned, the union movement will forge ahead and the bosses will be forced to wipe the gloating grin off their faces.

For a long time the union bureaucracy has been drifting into closer and more helpless collaboration with Big Business. Whooping it up for the Community Chest, touring the plants arm in arm with management, purging the unions of radicals, breaking so-called wild cat strikes, boosting incentive plans, refusing to fight the corporations' discrimination, supinely licking the boots of the Democratic Party and supplying it with funds — all this was the background to labor's electoral defeat.

The union officials have worked too long against labor's ranks — and are therefore in fear of the ranks. So they turned to the other classes with an appeal for justice. They appealed to Big Business to play the game nice, appealed to small business to listen to the tinkle of the cash register that would come from higher unemployment compensation pay; they appealed to the Democrats and Republicans. In short they appealed to everybody except the people that needed such legislation most. The vote indicates that their appeals fell on deaf ears.

Ohio Democratic Governor Lavoie said the CIO was crazy and threw the weight of the State Democratic machine against labor; small business followed the lead of Big Business which was too busy kicking labor in the teeth to listen to any "foolish" appeals for morality. In the meantime, the big capitalists ran their manure spreader all over the state of Ohio, hoping they have fertilized the soil enough to sprout National Guard bayonets, "right to work" laws and maybe a little fascist violence.

And the workers — nobody appealed to their class instincts or summoned them in a crusading spirit to defeat the bosses. Yet in spite of that, 870,000 voted for bread and freedom. In the Steel centers of Youngstown, Warren, and Niles, they gave the referendum a majority. Our hats go off to them.

Taking comfort from the idea that labor learns more from its defeats than from its victories, we cannot be completely discouraged. Even the Cleveland Plain Dealer in the middle of its gloating editorial, Nov. 10,

cautions Ohio's grafting and greedy business men "this defeat — does not mean that the danger of the CIO organizing a Labor Party has passed."

In that one sentence, the enemy has shown his weakness and fear. The path that labor must follow is clearly marked out.

Neither of the two old parties gave support to the workers' demands. Both parties proved themselves to be parties of Big Business. And the workers will remember this in the future. When the objective conditions change, the workers will not show the same trust in the Democrats and Republicans that they showed in the past.

M. Lake
Youngstown, Ohio

GM is Safe

Editor:

General Motors Is Going to be Investigated! Yes sir, according to big headlines in the Nov. 5 issue of Labor (railroad union paper). I will bet that General Motors will fairly shake in its boots when it finds that out. And who is going to investigate them? Why no less than the Senate monopoly committee. And what is this committee figuring on doing to General Motors and other corporate giants? Why just listen; this committee might even take this drastic action, according to its chairman: "It will seek to find if new laws are needed to stabilize the relationship between people as individuals and the great corporations." Nothing less. However, speaking seriously, I don't imagine that the Senate committee itself knows what that means. And in the final analysis it is not intended to mean anything, and no one understands this better than General Motors.

It is too bad that the American labor leaders do not tell the workers the truth about these things, and explain to them that all governments are always controlled by the ruling class, and that there are only two classes in contemporary society that can control any government, and these are the capitalist class and the working class. And these two classes cannot control any government jointly because all material interests of these two classes run in opposite directions.

Therefore, as long as we live in a class society, the entire governmental apparatus will be in the hands of the class in power, and in this country at this time, that happens to be the capitalist class, in other words, Big Business like General Motors.

Therefore, just think how silly it is for a labor publication to put out the idea that General Motors or any other big corporation in

this country can be investigated and corrected by its own political agency.

In order to transfer control of the government in this country from the few hands of the big corporations who now control it, to the many hands of the working class that should control it, it will first be necessary for that class to organize politically for that purpose with its own political party, platform and candidates on election day.

Until this political transformation is made in this country, it is not only misleading but farcical to tell the American workers that General Motors, or any other big corporation, is going to be investigated, regulated or controlled by an instrumentality over which these same corporations have complete and undisputed control.

C. R. Hedlund
Minneapolis, Minn.

Pittsburgh Till Protest Meeting

Editor:

I attended the NAACP Protest meeting here on the Till case. It was a truly inspiring meeting.

Held on Sunday afternoon, Oct. 23, in the beautiful Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Hall, the meeting attracted more than 3,000 people, about one quarter white, despite an almost complete conspiracy of silence on the part of the press.

There were many city notables on the platform, including Mayor David L. Lawrence and District Attorney James F. Malone. The latter presented his check for \$500 to the collection. (It was just before elections.) The collection totalled more than \$4,000.

But the high point of the meeting, the reason for the packed hall, was not the city officials and their crocodile tears for young Emmett Till, but a brave man from Mound Bayou, Miss., Dr. Theodore R. Howard. Dr. Howard described with stark realism the kidnapping and brutal murder of young Till. There were few dry eyes in the hall as his story progressed.

Another high spot in the meeting, for me, came when the motion was put to send the petition to Attorney General Brownell. I amended the motion to send the petition to every official in Washington, including Eisenhower. In motivating my amendment I spoke of the need for a united fight for Negro equality and against segregation, a united labor and Negro fight. The amendment passed unanimously and after the meeting many people came to congratulate me on the speech and our position.

L. M.
Pittsburgh, Pa.

TILL RALLY INDICATES SENTIMENT FOR ACTION

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 13 — Three thousand Negroes and trade unionists braved first heavy rain of the year to attend an NAACP meeting protesting the brutal Mississippi lynch-murder of Emmett Till.

The meeting here was held in the Cow Palace, an auditorium that seats well over 10,000.

The relatively small attendance was probably due to the double disappointment suffered by the Negro people of the San Francisco Bay Area in not hearing Mrs. Mamie Bradley, mother of Emmett Till. She was scheduled to speak here on Oct. 14, but was unable to attend because the NAACP signed her to an exclusive contract. Then on Monday of this week the NAACP cancelled their contract with Mrs. Bradley.

There is also the possibility that a statement made by Mrs. Ruby Hurley and Moses Wright might have cut into attendance. At a press conference yesterday they said the Till case is closed and that now all the efforts of the NAACP should be aimed at strengthening the position of the Negroes in the South.

MOSES WRIGHT SPEAKS

The main speakers of the day were Mrs. Ruby Hurley and the Rev. Moses Wright, granduncle of the murdered boy. Mr. Wright moved from Mississippi immediately after the murder trial and said he is not going back.

"I got one letter threatening me if I testified," he said. "That was enough, I think. I got out and I'm not going back." Despite these efforts to intimidate him Wright did go back to Mississippi to testify against the Till lynchers at the grand jury hearing where the child murderers were let off scott free — even on the kidnap charge.

Mrs. Hurley, a Southern Representative of the NAACP, told of the atmosphere in Mississippi during the trial. "You can judge for yourself how things were when I tell you that all the newspapers that sent in reporters sent in former war correspondents. And some of them told me this was the toughest assignment they had ever had," she said.

The NAACP knew in advance that the jury was not going to convict the murderers she declared. They knew because most of the all-white, male jury was also very old. "And if you think that you are going to get justice from an all-white jury of Southern old men you had better think again," Mrs. Hurley said.

In telling of her experiences during the trial she said that the cold, heavy stares of the white townspeople were the

worst. She wasn't scared, she said, but she wasn't unscared either.

READY FOR ACTION

The only action taken at the meeting was to approve a resolution demanding that the next congress pass federal laws guaranteeing civil rights. In practice this boils down to the usual letter writing campaign to congressmen and senators. A sense of the inadequacy of these proposals could be felt in the audience. There was little enthusiasm. Applause was vigorous whenever the speakers seemed to indicate effective mass action.

The two meetings held in San Francisco indicate that the Negro people are ready for action. The only thing that holds them back is the lack of a program. One thing is sure — the Negro people don't think the Till case is closed. It may be closed as far as legal action that they can take is concerned but the Till case is burned into their consciousness and they will never write fnis to it until they get their full political, economic and civil rights.

Farmers Getting Less

Since the end of 1952 farm price support loans have risen by \$6,900 millions, or at the rate of about \$2,600 millions a year. Only 22 percent of the farms market more than \$5,000 worth of produce a year, yet they produce 73 percent of the national total, leaving 78 percent of the farmers producing only 27 percent of the crops and averaging only \$1,440 in gross receipts. These gross receipts include income the farmers receive from the price support program.

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