

Both Parties Backtrack on Civil Rights

Daily Worker Reveals Conflict In CP on Purge

By Murry Weiss

JULY 24 — Since the ouster of the Molotov-Kaganovich-Malenkov "anti-party group" by the Khrushchev faction in the Kremlin, the Daily Worker has been carrying articles, editorials and letters...

class rule in all phases of Soviet life are established." (Our emphasis)

Clark also took issue with the "fatuous" claim "that Khrushchev, Mikoyan, Bulganin and Voroshilov, remaining collaborators of Stalin, were also not responsible for the Leningrad frame-up and the repressions of the 20's for which they now blame Molotov."

At first glance it is hard to grasp the main point of the difference Gates has with Clark. Gates cites the Daily Worker editorial of July 9 which took the position that the ouster of the Molotov-Kaganovich-Malenkov forces would "strengthen the tide to peaceful coexistence and a durable peace," etc., and then went on to suggest that "a wide public discussion (should have) preceded the meeting (of the Central Committee)" and that the "process of democratization requires such a public debate; the process of correction of the abuses of Soviet democracy will undoubtedly provide new forms for such a public discussion."

Clark granted that Malenkov may have changed his mind. "That's always possible," he said. "Indeed he had changed his mind in the few days since Stalin died, from supporting Stalinism to his later statement of post-Stalin policies."

"But," Clark continued, "if he [Malenkov] was guilty as charged by the recent resolution, the Soviet people were entitled to evidence and a statement from both sides. They were never given the benefit of public debate. The struggle was bottled up in the presidium and in the Party's Central Committee. If anything, the methods used in the struggle against Stalinism shows that it will still take considerable time before democratic controls and procedures and direct working

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French Trotskyists Convicted For Aiding Algerian Struggle

By Fred Hart

Suspended prison sentences for six Trotskyist journalists because of their pro-independence writings about Algeria and a new law providing for concentration camps in France, itself, mark the increasingly rapid disappearance of civil liberties in France.

The unprecedented violation of freedom of the press came at the end of a trial at which the defendants exposed the official propaganda covering up the concentration camps, tortures and terror that are such a prominent feature of the French imperialists' war against the Algerian people. Excerpts from the courtroom speeches of the four accused editors and writers for La Verite, the French Trotskyist newspaper, have been printed in previous issues of the Militant. Also given six-month suspended sentences in a similar trial were Pierre Frank and Jacques Privas, writers for another Trotskyist paper. The writers for La Verite have already announced that they will appeal the verdict.

BLACKMAIL

The suspended sentences are an obvious attempt to blackmail the writers into silence about the Algerian war. These sentences are all the more sinister in light of the new repressive legislation just rammed through the parliament by Premier Bouges-Maunory. This legislation gives the government special powers to suspend civil liberties in France just as they have been suspended in Algeria. As the leading Paris newspaper, Le Monde, puts it: "For the first time in the history of the Republic a Government has asked Parliament, in time of no foreign war, for the right to open concentration camps in which to lock up Frenchmen."

This power has been granted along with the power to imprison without trial. Police officials can now assign people in France to jail or concentration camp. Principal target of the police-state laws are the 400,000 Algerians who work in France in order to support their families in poverty-stricken Algeria. These Algerian workers are extremely militant in both the independence and trade union movements. They also make steady financial contributions to the independence movement. The French government hopes to smash their nationalist spirit by even greater persecution than they have suffered in France up till now. Other potential prisoners are Frenchmen who like the writers for La Verite, condemn the war in Algeria and speak out for the right of Algeria to self-determination.

Algerian Victim of Imperialism



An independence fighter lies slain on the streets of Algiers. He is one of thousands murdered by French imperialism in its "dirty war" to suppress Algerian independence. Opposition to the war is rising in France itself. This has led to the trial of French Trotskyist leaders and the setting up of concentration camps for anti-war fighters.

Paris Bank Workers On Strike

By Elaine Lechamp

PARIS, July 20—As of today the five major Paris banks are more than one million dollars in the red. Hundreds of thousands of checks are lying around in the banks unhonored. The Bank of France is unable to issue bank notes to the big bankers in place of the money which is no longer in circulation because no more bank notes are being printed. How did this "sad" state of affairs come into being? A strike of bank employees began more than a month ago and is still going on today.

On July 3 almost 10,000 bank employees demonstrated in front of the Ministry of Finance. They demanded a blanket raise in pay (in France all salaries are fixed by law and the government must give its OK for a wage increase to go through). What was remarkable about this demonstration was not only the fact that the demonstrators were bank employees, ordinarily a conservative section of the working class, but that the strike originated from the rank-and-file, independent of the union bureaucracy.

This can be explained by the fact that the workers had learned out of their own experience that they could not depend on the bureaucrats to lead them in any militant struggles. They knew that the most the union leaders would do was to jump on the band-wagon after the strike had already been set into motion.

DROP IN UNION MEMBERS

In any strike situation in France today, it is necessary to remember that at present only about 30% of the working class is unionized. Ten years ago the large majority of the workers were organized—roughly 70%. The drop in union membership must be traced to the growing contempt of the workers for the bureaucrats who dominate the union movement.

The struggle of bank employees began about a month ago in Comptoir National des Escomptes, a large Paris banking firm. Eight men who work the large book-keeping machines got up a petition of grievances which they circulated among the other workers in their field. Their demands were for a blanket raise in pay. They took the initiative after long and careful deliberations and planning.

A few days after the petition of the machine operators had been circulated and signed the C.G.T. (Stalinist) and the C. F. T. C. (Christian) unions officially took up the workers' grievances. The management realized the potential danger of the situation and immediately offered a 10% increase on the bonuses which some machinists receive above their pay checks. The workers rejected this maneuver aimed at splitting the different

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GOP, Liberal Democrats Bow Repeatedly to Demands of Dixiecrats

By George Lavan

JULY 25 — The "progress" registered so far by the bi-partisan proponents of the civil-rights bill before the Senate includes: 1) repeal of civil-rights bill in the law-books for the past 80 years; 2) removal from the current bill of the only section providing for protection of civil rights in general. Not content with these victories, the Dixiecrats are now putting the heat on their Northern colleagues to water down the sole remaining meaningful section of the bill — protection of Negro voters.

The 80-year old law repealed by the Senate authorized the president to use federal troops, if necessary, to enforce the civil rights of Negroes. This law has been a dead letter since Reconstruction days because neither Big Business party desired to uphold laws protecting Negroes in the Deep South. The white supremacists made a great hullabaloo in the Senate debate pretending that Section III of the administration's bill was worded to invoke the long-neglected law.

Eisenhower quite honestly announced that he would never dream of using force on behalf of Southern Negroes. He gave the green light not only for the old law's repeal but virtually invited amendments completely knocking out Section III of "his" bill. Republican leader Knowland, who has suddenly discovered the cause of civil rights in his frenzied campaign to win the Negro vote and the presidential nomination, and liberal Democrat Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota jointly introduced the amendment to repeal the federal-troops law.

The hypocrisy of both the new-found Republican civil-rights "champions" and the liberal Democrats, who for decades have been cynically milking the civil-rights issue, was well illustrated not only by the joint sponsorship of the repealer but by the 90-0 vote. In the whole Senate there was not a single man who believed that a law for enforcing the legal rights of the Negro people with troops as a last resort could be tolerated on the books for another minute. Republicans, Democrats, Northerners, Dixiecrats, reactionaries, moderates, liberals — all were unanimous against it. Yet none of these men are pacifists. Knowland long shouted for carrying war to the mainland of China, the liberal Douglas was one of the drop-the-atom-bomb crowd, the Republicans are for force against strikers, the Democrats backed



The Eisenhower administration sponsored the Civil Rights bill now before the U.S. Senate in an attempt to get Negroes to vote Republican in 1958, but Eisenhower's "support" for the measure consisted of a series of statements inviting the Senators to slash the bill to pieces.

Truman's use of troops against the railroad strikers, none opposed sending of troops to Korea or the Eisenhower Doctrine's threat of using troops in the Mideast.

These capitalist politicians turn pacifist and renounce even the threat of force only where Negroes' rights are concerned. Along with Eisenhower, the whole Senate has as good as announced to Southern racist officials, White Citizens Councils and the Ku Klux Klan: You can go ahead and continue violating civil rights of Negroes, and if you are strong enough to successfully defy federal judges and federal law, you need not worry about federal troops being used to punish you, for laws protecting Negroes are not like other laws — we don't believe in enforcing them all the way.

The amendment emasculating Section III, the only part of the bill that in any way could be used to protect Negroes from segregation practices already declared illegal, was introduced by liberal Democrat Anderson (N.M.) and liberal Republican Aiken (Ver.). Actively lining up support for this amendment were Democratic Majority leader Johnson (Tex.) and liberal Democrat Mansfield (Mont.). The vote was 52 to 38. The 38 included 25 Republicans and only 13 Democrats. Among those voting against Section II were 11 liberal Democrats. The Dixiecrats were jubilant over the outcome.

Next on the agenda is the amendment of liberal Democrat O'Mahoney (Wyo.). It would put a trial-by-jury clause into Section VI — protection of the right to vote. If this is passed, the Dixiecrats will not need to filibuster for the bill will be an empty shell. Lily-white, Deep-South juries will automatically acquit anyone guilty of preventing Negroes from voting. The jury conviction of racist Kasper in Knoxville has no applicability in the Deep South. East Tennessee went with the Union in the Civil War and has traditionally voted Republican since.

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Meany Squirms on Stand At Senate Rackets Probe

By Martha Wohlforth

George Meany was hauled before the Senate "Rackets" Committee yesterday for questioning on what the top AFL-CIO body was doing about corruption in the labor movement. For all his anxious cooperation with the committee, whose primary purpose is to prepare the ground for anti-labor legislation, Meany sat for about an hour in evident discomfort answering some questions and dodging others.

He declared in his testimony that the AFL-CIO cannot remove a corrupt official from his affiliated union — only from his chair in the top Executive Council. "We can just tell them they can't belong to the club any more, that's all," he said.

RETROACTIVE RULES

The Senate probers were evidently anxious to find out if Meany regarded the ethical practices code recently adopted by the labor movement as retroactive. The mis-use of union funds in the case of two United Textile officials (formerly AFL) occurred in 1952 and had been investigated earlier by the AFL. Meany replied, "I think it would [be retroactive]. I'm sure it would in this particular case."

Then evidently afraid that he was opening an even bigger area to Senate probers, he made it plain that he did not favor digging into the remote past of men who were "trying to lead better lives."

Earlier in the week on July 19, a jury acquitted James Hoffa, powerful vice-president of the Teamster's Union, of charges that he had bribed a lawyer to get a job with the Senate investigating committee. The Senators asked Meany if this acquittal meant that Hoffa would be "okay" to head up the Teamsters. Meany dodged that one. He replied, "I wouldn't care to comment. The case of the team-

sters is before the Ethical Practices Committee. It involves a great many more individuals." It is quite clear that the government, under the guise of an "investigation of corruption," intends to interfere seriously in union affairs. The policy of "friendly cooperation" of officials like Meany facilitates this intervention. But neither the Senate Committee nor bureaucrats like Meany have the slightest concern for union democracy. Meany would oppose with all his bureaucratic weight any opposition from the rank-and-file to end the dictatorial power and privileges of labor officials. And in doing so, he would have the support of the Senators — all of whom cheered when left-wing workers were being witch-hunted out of the labor movement.

Walter Reuther and the other so-called "progressive-minded labor officials" are fully in line with Meany's policy. Meany told the Senate committee that UAW officials who invoked the Fifth Amendment would lose their jobs. Reuther's outrageous attack on the elementary democratic principle of the Fifth Amendment is consistent with his record of red-baiting and collusion with the witch hunters.

Corruption in the capitalist class is taken for granted. No one is even surprised let alone shocked to learn of it. But the labor movement can and must be free of graft and corruption. To achieve this end the entire bureaucracy in the labor movement must be kicked out. That's a job only the rank and file can do.

Tennessee All-White Jury Convicts 7 Clinton Racists

JULY 24 — The Knoxville, Tenn., jury in the Clinton school-integration case has convicted race-hater John Kasper and six of his co-defendants of criminal contempt of court, now free on bond pending appeal. They were declared guilty July 23 of having conspired to violate a Federal court injunction prohibiting interference with integration of a Clinton high school. They face a maximum sentence of six months in jail and \$1,000 fine each. However, sentencing of the seven has been postponed for new-trial motions.

The specific incident which the case involved was the brutal beating of Rev. Paul Turner, a white Baptist minister, as he led a small group of Negro children from their hilltop home in the Negro section near Clinton to the school last fall. Earlier a riot by adult racists, which temporarily closed the school, was quelled by deputized townspeople and units of the National Guard. Before the riot 800 white students had accepted

without incident the attendance of the twelve Negro children. This trial cannot be represented as a typically Southern affair. Tennessee is not one of the deep-South states. But even in a border state, conviction by an all-white jury in a racial issue could not have been obtained without strong pressure. The racists were convicted under the "criminal conspiracy" law — a law usually used against labor. In fact "conspiracy" laws were widely used against the workers when they began their great struggle to organize unions. "Conspiracy" laws are also used in the witch hunt against radicals where the government cannot get convictions on any overt acts committed, since none are committed. Only ideas are involved. This was not the case in the Clinton riot.

Haitians Massacred by U.S.-Supported Dictator

By Fred Halstead

A counter-revolutionary coup took place in the Caribbean island republic of Haiti last month. The violent and bloody rule of the military junta which resulted is being backed by U.S. banking interests and the U.S. capitalist press. The Washington government and the United Nations are standing by silently while workers are being shot down in the Haitian capital of Port-au-Prince and political leaders who made the slightest criticism of the junta are being beaten, arrested and held incommunicado.

Since the coup which ousted Provisional-President Daniel Fignole last month, there has been very nearly a conspiracy of silence on Haiti in the U.S. daily press. But here is the story as pieced together from the sources available, including an interview with a young Haitian worker who is now in this country. I will start with the worker's answer to my first question: What is going on in Haiti?

"Yes. There is not so much of a land problem in Haiti. The farmers own their own land, but they have no tools. They make them themselves. And the methods are backward. They want to develop, but there are hardly any schools, and they are exploited so much they have no money to buy tools or machines."

"If they own their own land how are they exploited?" "If the world market for coffee, is say, \$2 a bag, a Haitian farmer takes his coffee to the packer or shipper and can only get \$1 per bag. If he doesn't like it he can bury his coffee, or anything else he wants to sell. The bourgeoisie have it all sewed up. They have the government bought off. You can't borrow money from the bank to start a cooperative. In addition, the taxes, which are high, go into the private fortunes of the government or army officials. They do not build schools and so on. Even the 'welfare' deductions from workers' wages go that

way. The workers get no welfare services. They also get very low wages and it is hard to find a job. Not only tax money, but money borrowed from the U.S. to build public works is stolen. Government corruption is the main problem. That is why the people struck against Magloire."

GENERAL STRIKE General Paul G. Magloire was the dictator-president whose attempt to illegally prolong his term of office was stopped by a nation-wide general strike last December. A series of provisional governments, each pledged to early elections followed his ouster. Last May when registration for the election was begun, the army, commanded by General Leon Cantave, began interfering with the registration of supporters of the two major presidential candidates. These were Daniel Fignole, a Negro university professor who traditionally acted as spokesman for striking workers in Port-au-Prince, and Senator Louis De-

joie, a planter backed by the rich, but opposed to corruption in the army.

Followers of each resisted the army moves and civil war broke out briefly. It ended when Cantave resigned and Fignole was declared provisional president on May 26. The followers of Dejoie claim that Fignole double-crossed the Senator and made a deal with Cantave. The followers of Fignole claim that he took office only provisionally and only because the fighting would not have stopped otherwise. All reports agree that the workers and unemployed of Port-au-Prince, who virtually controlled the city after having won over sections of the troops, demanded that Fignole take power.

It is also undisputed that Fignole restored freedom of the press, pledged early elections, allowed full activity to the other presidential candidates including Dejoie, decreed two weeks vacation with pay for workers, abolished

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Strikes Liven Otherwise Quiet London Summer

By Peter Fryer
Special London Correspondent

LONDON, July 20—Almost without warning the class struggle flared up in Britain this week. Normally we should just be entering the newspaper "silly season," when news editors depend on the Loch Ness monster and suchlike diversions to fill their yawning columns.

Today however 100,000 busmen employed by private companies outside London are on strike demanding a pay rise of \$2.30 a week, and protesting against the employers' derisive offer of 42 cents.

Today 1,200 porters at London's great fruit and vegetable market, Covent Garden, are maintaining their refusal to operate a new staff system.

The engineering unions have just banged in a claim for a 40-hour working week on behalf of their three million members, much to the annoyance of the employers who see this as a device to circumvent the recently concluded agreement for a year's wage freeze in the industry.

STAMPS COST MORE

On the other side of the coin the Tory government has just slapped an increase on postal charges and most telephone calls—at the same time as it continues to howl about inflation.

So, even leaving out the lively agitation that actress Miss Vivien Leigh and her friends are waging against the projected demolition of the historic St. James Theatre; the record-breaking sprint of England's Ibbotson who ran a mile in three minutes and 58 seconds, sweat and glory; the daily revelation of new inequities in the operation of the raise-the-rent Act—even leaving aside these current headline preoccupations, it is still an interesting month on the industrial front alone.

Not the least interesting feature of both the busmen's strike and the struggle of the Covent Garden men is that they are both officially sponsored by the Transport and General Workers' Union; they are in fact the first practical expression of this union's new leadership and "new look," about which I wrote a little last week.

How far Brother Frank Cousins will be prepared to go to win these strikes, however, remains to be seen. Workers at other London markets have started to "black" produce landed by Covent Garden firms.

SUPPORT NEEDED

But the need for the active support such a powerful section of the union's London membership as the dockers is becoming more evident each day; the strike would soon be won if they refused to touch goods destined for or coming from Covent Garden, and if the 12,000 men, too, were asked to give a helping hand.

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Behind the Kremlin's New Shake-up

(We publish below a section of a speech delivered by Arne Swaback in Los Angeles, July 19. Swaback attributes the crisis in the Kremlin to the new surge of the Soviet working class. In this context he takes up the "decentralization" program of Khrushchev. — Ed.)



KHRUSHCHEV

STALIN

The dynamic advance of Soviet economy made possible by its nationalized property relations has brought all the issues of the monstrous bureaucratization to a head. These issues are reflected also in the Kremlin shake-up. The development of the productive forces has come into increasingly sharp conflict with the restrictions imposed by the bureaucratic superstructure. With the progress of industrialization the whole economic setup inherited from the Stalin era has become a straightjacket hampering further growth, promoting inefficiency, bungling and wasteful duplication of efforts. This economic setup is now to be subjected to a fundamental reorganization from top to bottom.

Hitherto Soviet industry had been organized almost exclusively along vertical lines, each industry being controlled by a ministry in Moscow. Technological advance brought ever new branches of industry into being—and ever new ministries in Moscow. Horizontal organization was almost entirely absent. Steel producers, wherever they were located, could not deal directly with producers of coal or machine tools, or vice versa. Every transaction had to be funneled through the Moscow ministries. In this manner Stalin had reserved for Moscow the power of absolute control, the power of decision over all economic transactions.

Not only menace, of course, but incompetence. The public appearances, in the House of Commons and on television, of Her Majesty's Ministers, do nothing to enhance the confidence even of the City of London financiers in their political friends and champions.

UNEXPECTED STORM

Nor can the great mass of Tory voters be anything but disconcerted by the performance in the Commons this week of Housing Minister Henry Brooke, when a big storm blew up over the short supply of a certain form which tenants need to claim that their houses are in a bad state of repair.

Brooke was obviously caught by surprise. He simply had not realized that there were so many tenants who wished to avail themselves of this important defense against rapacious landlords.

The trouble with British Tory leaders is their lack of realism. Many of them are still—even after Suez—living in a late nineteenth century dream world where Britannia ruled the waves and all one had to do was send a gun-boat or equivalent tactics.

These days are gone forever. But the consciousness of the Macmillans and the Butlers lags behind. They are in for some pretty sobering disillusionment in the next few years.

CONTROL AND WASTE

Politically this setup served Stalin admirably as a means of keeping the fearful heads of industries always under direct observation for pressure or for punishment. It served as a guarantee against the producers on the spot coming together to express common interests, to formulate joint policies or to combine in any degree against the center. It served to protect the narrow interests of the bloated bureaucracy, however, at the cost of the interests of the economy as a whole. But it also resulted in enormous waste of capital and of resources, inferior quality of products and shortages of consumer goods.

Among major changes now being made in the economic structure is the horizontal organization which will tend to increase initiative and control from below. Most of the myriad Mos-

cow ministries have been abolished. Administration is to be shifted to 92 regional economic councils covering all areas of the Soviet Union. Within each area all state-owned industries come under the management of their regional council. Planning is to be initiated from below, through these councils, and from them, integrated into the single national plan. This constitutes a revival of the economic councils which existed during the early years of the Soviet regime. Stalin abolished them to assure greater centralized control.

The economic reorganization has already struck deeply into the entrenched managerial bureaucracy spawning on the productive labor of Soviet workers. When the plan for economic reorganization was adopted by the Supreme Soviet in May, Khrushchev revealed that since Stalin's death no fewer than 900,000 bureaucrats had lost their managerial jobs and were scattered to all corners of the Soviet Union. There were still, he said, at least 400,000 such useless creatures on industrial payrolls, and he promised that most of them would be fired.

Khrushchev scoffed at demands for wider prerogatives raised by factory managers and went on to say: "... We ought rather to raise the status of those who should in the first instance be responsible for the quality of production, the status of the foreman and of the shop manager. The worker, the foreman and the shop manager are our best controllers."

Reports from the Soviet Union, according to Isaac Deutscher, indicate that the campaign for industrial reorganization was spurred by a nationwide revolution against bureaucracy. A tide of popular hostility has half-paralyzed the leaders of managerial groups and prevented the defense of their positions. Questions concerning the meaning of social control of production have

once again become predominant forty years after the October revolution. Slogans of workers control of production (a Leninist slogan that had since been forgotten in Russia) has penetrated the Soviet Union from Poland and Yugoslavia where some limited forms of control are exercised by workers councils.

Ample evidence is available also showing Soviet workers demanding their due share of the wealth they produce. After many and varied attempts over the last couple of years to revise the wage structure, the Soviet workers apparently took action. The Soviet press spoke of "interruptions of work," and you know, in our language that means strikes. Among these the sit-down strike at the Kaganovich ball-bearing plant became widely known. The workers gained wage increases, benefiting mostly those in the lower brackets, but they made the bureaucrats retreat on the upward revision of work-norms. This indicates that the workers will have their say also on how the industrial reorganization is finally to be decided. According to Jacques Michel (France-Observateur, April 4, 1957), "some of the workers who victoriously resisted the increase of norms, are talking in the factories about 'workers control.'"

Slogans of workers control of production, or workers councils, have found no favor with Khrushchev or his fraternity of bureaucrats. When he was showed workers councils on his visit to Yugoslavia, Khrushchev blurted out, "If we were to introduce such councils in our factories our whole industry would collapse overnight." Apparently the Soviet workers have other and different views on this question.

But Khrushchev had faced questions that were partly akin to it. In his address to the Supreme Soviet he rejected demands which he said had been "raised by some comrades" that

the elective soviets, not the provisional governments should appoint the regional economic councils and control them. He did so gingerly, saying: "This would not be expedient for the time being." Khrushchev no doubt felt himself on uncertain ground, fearing that this demand could in due time become a battle cry for "Soviet Democracy."

And what could be more appropriate, and more historically necessary, than just such a battle cry? Trotsky foresaw this long ago when he wrote: "Soviet democracy is not the demand of an abstract policy, still less an abstract moral. It has become a life-and-death need of the country."

Further development of the economy, of culture, of the arts and sciences cry out for restoration of Soviet democracy—workers democracy. This includes first of all restoration of the rights of criticism and genuine freedom of elections, with freedom of Soviet parties, Yes, and free trade unions as well, functioning in the interest of the toilers and thus able to intervene to eliminate waste of capital and of resources; eliminate mismanagement; to plan for society as a whole, and promote harmonious development of the productive forces.

Only through the restoration of Soviet democracy can steps be taken to reduce social inequalities and to assure steady progress toward socialism. Restoration of workers rule and a corresponding high order of democracy will bring the political superstructure of the Soviet Union into harmony with its historically progressive foundation.

TWO ASPECTS

Is the Soviet Union making progress toward this goal? Does the present shake-up in the Kremlin point in this direction? I said before that this shake-up contains elements ominously reminiscent of Stalin's purges. But that is only one side of the picture. The other side is vastly different. Where Stalin employed only crude frame-ups, lies and slanders, coupled with arbitrary orders to the secret police, his heirs have to give heed to public opinion. Even this conflict could not be settled in the Presidium; it had to be taken to the Central Committee for a verdict.

Above all, the conflict had to be fought out in terms of policy and of program. In fact, through the whole indictment of the Molotov group runs like a red thread the appeal for support from the people. The bureaucrats are obliged to include

in all their calculations the rising power of the working class. This—and especially this—marks now more clearly the new stage in the development of the Russian Revolution.

We can expect some fellow travelers telling us now: there you see, the Khrushchev regime is keeping in step with the demands of the new stage—the bureaucracy is reforming itself! But all we have to ask them is: what about Hungary? Did not the bureaucracy drown in blood and terror the aspirations and the struggles of the Hungarian workers for freedom, for democracy and for independence? The bureaucracy will grant re-

forms only insofar as it is compelled to do so by pressure from the rising power of the working class. It will not voluntarily give up its power and privileges. It will have to be overthrown.

For us there can be no faith in any good intentions of the bureaucracy. Our faith is in the Soviet working class. Forty years ago it made a great historic leap from Czarist oppression to a socialist beginning. Conditions are now maturing for another great leap that will make an end to the heritage of Stalinism and sound the tocsin for the end of world imperialism as well.

Mao's Blossoms And a Few Weeds

By C. R. Hubbard

JULY 23—Those who accepted uncritically Mao Tse-tung's "rectification" campaign of letting a "hundred flowers blossom," were in for a rude shock when it was followed quickly by the campaign against "poisonous weeds." An editorial in the Peking Daily, July 1, according to the New China News Agency, gave the following as an explanation for the "rectification" campaign: "Before 'monsters and serpents' can be wiped out they first have to be brought into the open and only by letting the poisonous weeds show themselves above ground can they be uprooted."

Of course the Chinese Stalinists did not devise their campaign merely as a trap. The Mao regime, like Khrushchev's in the Soviet Union, opened the window to let a little fresh air in because it had to. If now the bureaucrats try to close the window in haste, it is because they are terrified by what they see—the intense hostility that has built up against them.

As Khrushchev charged his critics with being "rotten elements," so the Chinese Stalinists meet the massive criticism aimed at them with charges of "bourgeois deviation" or "poisonous weeds." "Confessions" from repentant critics are demanded. And where "confessions" are not quick enough or "sincere" enough, repression follows, giving the lie to Mao's so recently expounded "theory" of the "non-antagonistic" nature of contradictions "within the people."

Some of the "poisonous weeds" undoubtedly grow from the innumerable bourgeois seeds inherited from China's prerevolutionary past. A regime based on workers democracy would be constantly faced with the problem of the bourgeois tendencies arising from the backwardness of the economy. But one of the features of Mao's bureaucratic regime has been precisely its opportunist conciliation with the capitalists.

However, the real capitalist forces in China are by no means the severest critics of the regime. The capitalists are not naive. They are the least likely to have illusions about bureaucratic promises of democracy for the people. Besides they have fared well under the Mao regime which has proved highly conciliatory to their demands, despite great pressure from the workers.

In the May issue of China Reconstructs, Kuo Ti-huo, one of Shanghai's biggest and richest capitalists, praising the Mao regime, tells of the Wu Fan campaign of 1952 (against bribery, smuggling, tax evasion, etc.). He reports that "a responsible official of the municipal finance bureau, after the misdeeds of many businessmen had been exposed, made a public statement that it was 'about time to clear out all capitalists.' This ran counter to the expressed government policy in the campaign. . . . We made representations, and before long the official concerned was removed."

SALARY PLUS DIVIDENDS
The transformation of private industry to joint state-private enterprise, according to Kuo, although many industrialists were at first alarmed, had little effect on their personal income or power. "To take my own case as a concrete example, my salary plus the dividends I draw enable me to live no worse than before." And judging by the pictures that appeared in the magazine of this capitalist with his car and in his luxurious home, he is not exaggerating.

The real nature of the critics can be gleaned from the editorial's list of where "rightists" can be found—among "democrats, intellectuals, capitalists and young students," and also, "in the Communist party and Young Communist League."

The July 12 Peking Daily reported that 100 students at Chengtu held a demonstration in front of the police station in protest against the arrest of two students who allegedly led an anti-Communist movement. Flame, a Wuhan campus paper, charged that the campus atmosphere was "darker than a Fascist concentration camp."

Criticism in the "rectification" campaign poured out of the peasant mass of China. A Communist Secretary reported last April in the Peking Daily of peasant complaints against the government. "Some said, 'When will there be a god to solve the grievances of the peasant? And who will be a fair judge, if he can solve even half of our grievances?' The situation was such that the wrong idea gained the upper hand. In the midst of yelling and howling, there was no chance to tell them the right idea. Finally, we decided to divide the peasants into groups of seven or eight—then sit down calmly to discuss. . . ."

The workers' complaint of low living standards, long hours and many other grievances. The Peking Daily, for example, carried a report that in Tai Yuen district, "workers pretend to be sick to take off; they drink alum water to get gastritis; they put the croton-oil bean powder on the skin to make it swell; they mix boiling water with white wine to simulate high blood pressure." Resort to such drastic measures, familiar to prisoners living under the most oppressive conditions, is grim testimony to the resentment among the workers.

These reports give evidence of the nature of the criticism that was hurled at the Chinese Communist Party from all directions. The bureaucrats struck back quickly. According to the N. Y. Times report of a July 20 Peking broadcast the State Council has announced new regulations for combating the "wrong thinking" of Chinese students.

"Students whose thoughts run 'seriously against socialism'—as defined by the Stalinists, of course—face penalties ranging from corrective labor to long periods of work without pay while undergoing thought reform."

... Army Dictator Massacres Haitians

(Continued from page 1)

ished "the hated irrigation tax on the peasants," halved the presidential salary (his own), and cut salaries of army officers. He also by-passed Cantave's successor, General Antonio Kebrau, by dismissing many of the army's corrupt clique and appointing civilians to watch over some army functions.

Just 19 days after Fignole took office, a group of officers under Kebrau's command burst into a cabinet meeting in the presidential palace in Port-au-Prince, put a gun to Fignole's head, spirited him away in the dead of night to an isolate airfield and put him on a secret flight to Miami. When these army chiefs announced the "resignation" of Fignole, the working class of Port-au-Prince, caught by surprise, came into the streets to protest.

Kebrau met the unarmed demonstrators with machine-gun fire, turning the workers' slum districts of the city into a virtual slaughterhouse. Though

the number of dead cannot be ascertained because they were dumped into mass graves by the troops, who even prevented relatives from claiming their dead, the conservative N.Y. Herald Tribune reports the figure as 1,000. Mass arrests and indiscriminate house raids followed and a common sight has been the marching of convoys of prisoners through the streets of Port-au-Prince. Many are known to have been transported to La Gonave, an uninhabited island 40 miles offshore, where they have neither food nor shelter.

Now here is what the N.Y. Times, that authoritative voice of the U.S. ruling class, has to say editorially in its July 13 issue:

"Surely civic peace is what Haiti needs now more than anything on earth—even more than a freely and fairly elected government. . . . Only the military junta can now do that and prepare the way for Presidential elections. General Kebrau is known to be an honorable man,

and there is no evidence that he seeks dictatorial power for himself. . . . Only if there is internal peace can the United States extend economic aid or organizational like the International Monetary Fund make loans. . . ."

Elizabeth Schermerhorn, a correspondent for the International League for the Rights of Man recently returned from Haiti, answered this in a letter to the July 20 N.Y. Times: "Few [of the Haitian people] have derived any benefit from the millions of dollars of foreign aid. . . . Most of them are aware that the present financial situation of their country is due not to their efforts to elect a democratic government but to the graft and accumulation of national debt under the Magloire dictatorship."

Wall Street, however, has rushed to the aid of Kebrau, the new Magloire. The National Bank of Haiti, a subsidiary of the National City Bank of New York, has loaned the junta \$1,

000,000 to make its army payroll.

The story is not complete without a reference to the fact that the entire situation in Haiti—the economic backwardness of the nation, the stranglehold of foreign financial interests, the reavenously corrupt government officials, and the parasitic and brutal army—the direct responsibility of the United States Government. For Haiti was occupied by U.S. Marines from 1915 to 1934. It was ruled by a U.S. military governor much of that time. The U.S. supervised the setting up of the government which followed, trained and equipped the army, and still controls Haiti's economy.

Calendar Of Events

Detroit

Friday Night Socialist Forum, Fri., Aug. 2, 8 P.M. "Key Issues in the City Elections." Speaker: Sarah Lovell, Socialist Candidate for Mayor. Place: Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward.

New York City

Young Socialist Forum, Tues., July 30, 8:15 P.M., "Negroes on the March." Speaker: Mike Brooks, member of the Antioch College Socialist Discussion Club. Place: Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. (near 14 St.). Contribution: 50 cents. 25 cents for students.

West Coast

The West Coast Vacation School (30 miles from Los Angeles) will be held from August 31 through Sept. 8. For information and reservations write: West Coast Vacation School, 1702 E. 4th Street, Los Angeles, 33, Calif. or phone: AN 9-4953 or NO 3-0387.

ISR Analyses Anti-Monopoly Program

By Bert Deck

The Summer issue of International Socialist Review, the first to come off the press since the magazine's editorial office was moved to Los Angeles, will come as a pleasant surprise to its many readers.

With the exception of the high quality of its articles, everything is new in the ISR. Its vastly improved typography and layout should aid the editors in their aim for the magazine's "expansion, fairly soon." The Review is especially fortunate in having acquired the services of an excellent artist.

CANNON'S REVIEW

Readers have looked forward to James P. Cannon's review of the "Roots of American Communism" by Theodore Draper which appears in this issue. Cannon was a leading participant in the events that led to the formation of the Communist

Party. His "Letters to An Historian," published in earlier issues of this magazine, aided Draper in his research work.

In addition to the historical value of Cannon's review, it is a solid contribution to the current socialist regroupment discussion. Cannon restates a theme developed by him in several of his writings that the early period of American Communism was a continuation of the American revolutionary current and must form a part of the revolutionary tradition of any new viable movement.

A featured editorial in this issue dealing with new information on the murder of Leon Trotsky reprints some of the testimony of a former agent of the Kremlin secret police which appears in the book, "Empire of Fear" by Vladimir Evdokia Petrov.

Two articles, by William F. Warde and Joseph Hansen, take

up the proposal of the Communist Party and others for an Anti-Monopoly Coalition to be prepared in this period through support to the Democratic Party. Warde sketches the historical experience of the American Progressive-Labor attempts in the past to buck the increasing power of monopoly. He then draws the practical conclusions from this experience.

Hansen supplements the historical treatment with "a Marxist analysis of the relations and requirements of the class forces at work in the United States today."

Arne Swaback in "Why Beck is not Their Real Target," looks behind the scenes of the current labor probes to discover the real intentions of the congressional investigators.

The issue is concluded with a number of reviews on books of current interest.

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Their Real Civil Rights Record

By George Lavan

Play Leading Roles in Senate Debate



From left to right Senators Knowland (R-Calif.), Eastland (D-Miss.), and Humphrey (D-Minn.), who are playing leading roles in the current civil rights debate in the U.S. Senate. Between the Republicans on the one hand and the Democrats and Dixiecrats on the other, the already watered-down civil rights bill that was introduced from the house has been further weakened until it appears that what will finally pass will be a hollow mockery.

Nothing in American politics casts such a revealing light on the hypocrisy of both the Republican and Democratic politicians and the contradictions besetting their parties as the present civil-rights controversy. First it is necessary to dispel the impression so assiduously cultivated by the Big Business press that the administration's civil-rights bill in its original form was an "extreme" or "strong" bill. This is not so by any standards. In its original unadulterated form it was as weak as water. The Dixiecrats dubbed it "extreme" because for them anything labelled civil rights is extremely undesirable. The Northern press has been describing it as "strong," even "harsh" in the past weeks as part of the public build-up for amendments to further emasculate what was from its birth a not very virile bill.

A MINIMUM
 What is the genesis of the present bill? It was drafted by the administration as the absolute minimum that could be presented as civil-rights legislation.

What a real civil-rights bill should contain has long been known. Organizations representing the Negro people and labor have laid its specifications before the politicians. Among the laws demanded were those for Fair Employment Practices, anti-lynching, anti-poll tax, the right to vote, personal security, outlawing of Jim Crow juries, anti-segregation in travel, education, public recreation facilities, etc.

The administration bill proposed four things: 1) a commission to investigate and make reports about civil rights; 2) an additional assistant attorney general; 3) power for the attorney general to apply for injunctions against violators of civil rights covered by existing laws; and 4) power for the attorney general to apply for injunctions against those illegally preventing Negroes from voting.

These provisions boil down as follows: 1) another investigating committee can do no harm and may do some good depending on its personnel, but the main object of this section was to pad out the bill thus substituting a committee for a civil right; 2) an assistant attorney general is purely a technical provision; 3) enforcement of existing civil-rights laws is vague because these laws are not comprehensive enough and have been ignored or interpreted down to very little by the attorney general; 4) injunctions to enforce rights has the only real "tooth" in the bill. Whether this tooth would bite or not would depend on an administration's desire or reluctance to have its attorney general sue for injunction (same holds for section 3).

Some apologists argue: Eisenhower may not be for a thoroughgoing civil-rights bill but you have to give him credit for seriously pushing for the little he does propose. The facts disprove this. Eisenhower's first publicly recorded position on civil rights came after the war when as top army spokesman he appeared at a Congressional

hearing to argue against abolishing Jim Crow in the armed forces.

When he became a candidate he mouthed those pro-civil rights generalities which his party customarily included in its platform. After his election in 1952 the program he outlined also included some vague promises on civil rights. But the Eisenhower administration never got around to presenting a civil-rights bill till the summer of 1956 when Congress was ending and the politicking for the next election had already begun.

JUST MAKE THE RECORD

The bill was introduced to make the record and then die, which is exactly what it did. This was the same trick being pulled by the liberal Democrats, who had sold out on their civil-rights promises from the very beginning of the Congress, and who now hoped to repair the damage with Negro and labor voters by last minute gestures.

Adventurist elements in the Republican party, wanting to capitalize on the scandalous civil-rights sell-out shaping up for the Democratic convention, were for putting a "strong" civil-rights plank in the Republican platform. They were slapped down by the White House. Eisenhower seems to have a great distaste even for promises on the subject. Moreover, he had excellent personal and political relations with Virginia's Byrd, South Carolina's Byrnes and the Dixiecrat leaders.

But the Negro people torpedoed the plans of both capitalist parties to play down the civil-rights issue. The mass desertions of the Democratic Party by Negro voters in the 1956 elections created a political situation that neither party can ignore. The actions of the Negro masses in the South (Montgomery, Tallahassee, etc.) and the "prayer-pilgrimage" to Washington, demonstrate that their militant mood was no election-day phenomenon and that the civil-rights issue cannot

be shoved off the political stage.

Eisenhower, as a candidate with "vote-appeal" above and beyond his party, might be able to afford a distaste for wooing the Negro voters. Surely, the "long view" of a capitalist statesman is against "opportunistic" concessions on civil rights. This view demands giving no more than is absolutely forced by Negro and labor-pressure and the diplomatic needs of U.S. imperialism with the Asian-African peoples. The eradication of Jim Crow would be a terrible economic and social blow to capitalists in the South. And nationally the profits that result from the underpaying of Negro workers runs into billions of dollars a year. Effective illegalization of Jim Crow would mean the end of the South as a bastion of anti-unionism and political reaction. It would confront the whole capitalist class with a much more powerful, cohesive and interracial labor movement.

STRATEGY OF NIXON

While a "statesman" like Eisenhower, who faces no further elections, may indulge his personal prejudices and the "long view," Knowland, Nixon and other mere Republican politicians who aspire to succeed him, must take the short view. They believe that they can lure the Negro vote away from the Democrats, thus winning the election and making the Republican Party the majority party in the U.S. They think they can do this without unleashing a civil-rights "juggernaut" likely to destroy Jim Crow, that extremely important pillar of the capitalist economy and social system. All that is required, they believe, is a small initial expenditure of capital in the form of actual delivery of a little something on civil rights. This will win the Negro vote. Then, they delude themselves, they can live off this capital for several decades the way the Democrats did.

Both Nixon's and Knowland's political aspirations account for their semi-miraculous transformation on the question of Ne-

gro rights. For decades a pro-civil rights position was the hallmark of liberals. Both Nixon and Knowland were till yesterday leading reactionaries. Nixon, a famous witch hunter, was revealed in the 1952 campaign as having been party to a restrictive covenant. Knowland, "the Senator from Formosa," personified the "dinosaur" wing of the Republican Party and was a buddy of the Southern Democrats to whom he was linked by common hatred of social and pro-labor legislation. As was customary with reactionary Republicans, they paid off their Southern friends by coldness to civil-rights bills, the formality of presenting which was the almost exclusive racket of the liberal Democrats.

Nixon got a head start on Knowland in overtures to the Negro people. At first this appears to have been a part of his attempt to dilute his arch-reactionary reputation. Moreover, the administration used him, in its division of labor, to speak before Negro gatherings where good form demanded an administration spokesman, for "good will" tours of Asia and Africa and as chairman of that hypocritical, toothless substitute for FEPC, the Committee on Government Contract Compliance.

STOP THE FILIBUSTER?

This explains Knowland's drive to get a civil-rights bill on the floor of the Senate and to bring it to a vote by breaking a filibuster if necessary — something not done for 30 years. There is no denying that the aggressiveness he has shown so far puts to shame the record of the liberal Democrats who for years merely introduced civil-rights bills and half-heartedly went through the pretense of fighting for them.

This also accounts for the contrast between Knowland's tactics and Eisenhower's. Eisenhower is unhappy about the whole business — doesn't really see why a civil-rights fight is necessary — and at each press conference surrenders part of "his" bill. Senate Republican leader Knowland and Vice-President Nixon on the other hand seriously want a civil-rights bill passed — their only concern about its content is that it be sufficient to persuade the Negro people that the Republican civil-rights "champions" deserve their votes. They are for any compromise up to that point, which they measure by their political judgment. They will confine compromise discussion and deals to strictly private conferences, for it is vital that publicly they create the illusion that they are militant, last-ditch fighters for civil rights.

(Next week: The Democrats and the Civil-Rights Bill.)

Support Sobell's Appeal

All supporters of democratic rights are rejoicing over the Supreme Court decisions last month that restored some of the civil liberties of the American people. These decisions are undoubtedly a victory in the long and still-continuing fight against the cold-war witch hunt.

But Morton Sobell is still in Alcatraz. And as long as he remains there all the old evil of the McCarthy days still haunts us. Every violation of individual rights that the Supreme Court condemned in June was used against Sobell. Indeed, Sobell together with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg who were executed in 1953, were the prime victims of witch-hunt hysteria.

The Supreme Court, in its recent opinions, castigated the FBI for withholding evidence from defense counsel. But evidence that proved Morton Sobell did not "flee" in a guilty "escape plot" to Mexico was held by the FBI and denied to the defense, the court and the jury during the Rosenberg-Sobell trial. Evidence that Sobell was kidnapped from Mexico and not legally "deported," as the prosecution told the jury, was withheld by the FBI. And there was a great deal more withheld from the defense in the so-called "atom spy" case.

The Supreme Court declared last month that a defendant's use of the Fifth

Amendment could not be used in such a manner as to imply guilt. The prosecutor in the Rosenberg-Sobell trial literally persecuted Ethel Rosenberg for using the Fifth Amendment in a Grand Jury hearing before she had been arrested, implying clearly that her refusal to answer questions was evidence of guilt.

The Supreme Court has never passed on the evidence in this most-infamous of the witch-hunt trials. Sobell was never granted a new hearing despite conclusive proof that the prosecution knowingly used perjured evidence.

Now, once again, the case of Morton Sobell goes before the highest court in the land. He has spent seven long years in Alcatraz serving a term of 30 years. In September the Supreme Court will decide: Shall justice be done?

If the Supreme Court justices are consistent in their logic; if the worst frame-up techniques of the witch-hunt years are to be ended; and finally, if the most elementary justice and fair play is to prevail, then Morton Sobell must be given a new hearing.

The fight of Morton Sobell for a new trial is the number-one civil liberties case in America. It should get the careful study of all who cherish freedom. And it should get the active support of all who are willing to fight for freedom.

... Conflict in Daily Worker

(Continued from page 1)

columnist, whatever we may think of it.

However, Clark also took the same position as the Daily Worker editorial with regard to the "overall" progressive achievement seen in the Khrushchev victory. He also sees, like his new mentor Isaac Deutscher, the processes of democratization of Soviet life proceeding, even if at a painfully slow pace, through the mechanism of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Gate's criticism of Clark's article boils down to a complaint that Clark overemphasized the question of Khrushchev's method: "Clark makes the question of methods the main thing, while the editorial, in agreeing that the methods leave much to be desired, calls them distinctly subordinate to the historic events which will help shape a peaceful world."

Both viewpoints are imprisoned in a conception (never openly stated) that the Soviet bureaucracy is a fundamentally progressive historic institution, an institution which can make errors and mistakes — even commit crimes! — but is nevertheless the basic force that will lead Soviet society forward to a better future. Clark stresses the errors, mistakes and crimes; Gates, while recognizing the errors, stresses the progressive historic features.

But we have no desire to minimize the potential significance of such a difference. If Clark were to pursue his thoughts with sufficient boldness and vigor he would be compelled to examine the nature of the Soviet bureaucracy itself. He would be compelled to pose the question: wasn't the bureaucratic caste the social base for the rise of Stalin and Stalinism? And doesn't the present "collective leadership" in its own way express the political needs of the bureaucracy, just as Stalin did in his way at an earlier stage? He would then be smacked up against the key question: can workers democracy be restored in the Soviet Union without overthrowing the bureaucracy through a political

revolution made by the working class?

By referring to Deutscher, Clark has contradictory objectives in mind: on the one hand he wants a more plausible explanation of the profound crisis in Soviet society than the "fatuous" notion that Molotov, etc., were to blame for everything. On the other hand, Deutscher seems to offer a "safe" theoretical explanation of Stalinism for someone who is not ready to break with Stalinism all the way.

Deutscher explains Stalinism as necessarily arising from economic and historical causes. Substituting a mechanical, fatalistic method for the Marxist dialectic, Deutscher holds that since Stalinism arose due to certain causes, its rise was inevitable, and since along with the rise of Stalinism, Soviet economy experienced a progressive growth, therefore Stalinism carried through a progressive historic mission, despite its admittedly monstrous methods. The attractions of this kind of reasoning as a "second trench" to which Stalinist ideologists can retreat are quite obvious. By standing on Deutscher one can feel absolved of the monstrous methods which can no longer be justified. At the same time the uneasy functionary can feel himself a part of a progressive mission.

Deutscher's reasoning fails to take into account the fact that in contradiction to the rise of Stalinism there arose the opposition to Stalinism; and that just as Stalinism has its materialist explanation so does the opposition to Stalinism have its causes in the material foundations of society. Deutscher's type of reasoning is worthless to the working class which requires for its guidance the dialectic understanding of the class struggle — which in this case manifests itself as a struggle between the working class and "its" bureaucracy. Such an understanding reveals the causes of the rise of a privileged, bureaucratic caste feeding parasitically on the body of an isolated and encircled workers state, weighed down by its backward economic heritage and led by imperialist war and civil war. By this method the

workers can also trace the heroic and tenacious struggle of the Soviet working class against the bureaucracy, the defeats and setbacks in that struggle and the new rise that it is experiencing today.

DEUTSCHER'S METHOD

If you apply the method of Deutscherism you can easily explain the rise of the labor bureaucracy in capitalist countries, the rise of capitalism itself, and provide thereby — justification for labor bureaucracy and capitalism!

There is, however, a curious flaw in the notion that it is possible for Communist Party leaders to flirt with Deutscherism with impunity. It was one thing when some ex-Trotskyists embraced Deutscher's views some years ago and used them as a bridge to conciliation with Stalinism. For CP functionaries trying to move out of the unbearable contradictions of old Stalinist formulae the logic of the process is somewhat different.

For one thing, Deutscher employs the concept of a Soviet bureaucracy. Regarding all the main facts and much of the analysis of the material basis for Stalinism, he is frankly and openly indebted to Leon Trotsky. But the concept of a Soviet bureaucracy as a social formation has never been admitted by Khrushchev or any of the Communist parties. In this sense to play with Deutscherism is to play with fire — with something that can open the whole question of Trotskyism!

SPECTER OF TROTSKYISM

It is one thing for Deutscher to speculate from the sidelines; it is an entirely different thing for leaders of working class parties to play with ideas, ideas that have a burning urgency in the ranks of the class-conscious workers' movement. No, Deutscher will not suffice. His ideas will only pose the question of Trotskyism, which, after all, has been the specter haunting the discussion for over one year. Until the issue of Trotskyism is squarely and objectively posed and considered, the discussion must continue to have a vague, unreal and indirect character.

[First of a series. Watch for next installment on "Gates and 'one-party' Rule in the Soviet Union."]

'Panic Button Rings' at TV Networks

JULY 25 — "The panic button is beginning to ring at the networks," reports the latest issue of Variety, the weekly amusement publication. The three major national TV networks report the "toughest season" in ten years.

Today's N. Y. Times reports that the Columbia Broadcasting System has one and one-half hours of choice evening time unsold; the National Broadcasting Company has three hours available and the American Broadcasting Company has five

and one-quarter hours free. To the broadcasting networks this amounts to a problem running into millions of dollars. Until now the television companies have usually sold all their time and must turn down additional customers. This situation exists no more. A network official described this as "the toughest selling season we've ever had."

The softening of the demand for television time is significant because the customers are capitalists. At the very least it

reflects a lack of confidence in business prospects in the immediate future.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported yesterday that the Consumer Price Index rose another one percent to a new high. This means that the dollar has lost nearly five cents of its value since March of last year.

Television officials consider that inflation, which has raised the cost of production, has put the squeeze on many businesses, compelling them to a more cautious approach in their planning. A narrowing margin of profit is developing and producers who consider advertising a "luxury" are beginning to pass it by.

One executive described the situation with the networks as follows: "For this time of the year it is the greatest inventory of unsold evening hours that there's ever been."

The N. Y. Times reports that "Well-informed television executives believe that the softness in business is not peculiar to television but is symptomatic of a more general economic condition."

The television officials are already complaining about their own high costs of entertainment. In their opinion television talent is paid too much. This is a warning to unions involved, of prospective pressure against decent wages.

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... Strike Hits Paris Banks

(Continued from page 1)

categories of machinists. Their answer to the bank management was a two-hour demonstration right inside the bank. A day later, the women who work the punching machines joined in the two-hour demonstration. The whole machine section was on strike. At a general meeting of machine operators a strike committee was elected. The next day 250 workers demonstrated in the street, in the lobby of the bank and in front of the director's office.

The following day, after more of this type of action, the personnel director called in the union representatives and told them that the workers could strike all they wanted, but "for heaven's sake, not inside the bank itself." The daily two-hour demonstrations went on nonetheless.

In fact, one by one the different services of the bank be-

gan to join in them. With cries of "we want our 5,000 francs" and "give us a 40-hour week," the workers stormed the director's office. The union officials had lost control of the situation. Even the long marble staircase, reserved to the bank director alone, was no longer sacred. The workers didn't hesitate to storm that too. Age-old fetishes which had kept the bank employees tied down to their dull routine were lost in this demonstration.

Despite bureaucratic indifference and even opposition the strike spread to other banks. Finally all bank employees in Paris, ten thousand of them, despite opposition, demonstrated in front of the Ministry of Finance.

The government has declared that it will not consider a pay increase until September. It has been rumored that the bank directors were willing to give an eight percent increase but that the government put its foot down.

World Events

REPRESSIONS IN HUNGARY against revolutionary workers have been stepped up since the recent Kremlin purge. The six-month limitation on holding arrested persons without trial has been removed by a new decree published July 16. There is now no limitation.

RUSSIAN ENCYCLOPEDIA editors have taken the easy way out of the problems in historical scholarship posed by the recent purge. Another volume of the new edition of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia is just off the press. It covers "Tsurooka to Sherbot," which according to the Russian alphabet would include the name Dimitri T. Shepilov. The name of the recently deposed foreign minister, however, has simply been left out.

SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN, Negroes who had been arrested early this month for demonstrating against new orders compelling them to carry identity cards, won a victory when charges against 875 of them were dropped last week. The week previously, 113 of the women, who had held a mass demonstration in Standerton, 100 miles southeast of Johannesburg, had been fined \$28 each. Rumors then started that a strike would ensue if the others were convicted.

IN TAIWAN (Formosa), the tables have turned at Tamsui Beach. All U.S. military personnel have been banned from the area by order of the U.S. commander. The U.S. action is an attempt to avoid friction with the Chinese inhabitants after the demonstrations that wrecked the U.S. embassy last May. The ban was issued after consultation with the U.S. ambassador. "At the beach," says a July 21 U.P. report, "Americans reported various little incidents such as Chinese throwing seaweed at them, slamming doors in their faces and generally crowding in on them at an area formerly reserved for Americans and top Chinese officials."

A WAR HAS STARTED in Oman on the eastern tip of the Arabian peninsula. The British government is sending in troops

to help the Sultan of Muscat and Oman drown a rebellion in blood in an attempt to maintain British oil interests intact in that area. The rebels, reportedly under command of the Imam of Oman who was driven out in 1956 with British aid, have captured Nizwa, ancient capital of Oman. It is likely that U.S.-British conflicts in oil are involved.

IN ITALY the recent congress of the youth section of the Italian Communist party held in Bologna revealed a loss of 50,000 members since last year. The national secretary of the section, Enrico Berlinguer, and more than nine members of its central committee resigned. There was "bewilderment," apathy, and very little discussion on the errors of the past or prospects for the future.

IN PARIS, inmates of Sante prison burned the prison records during a 48-hour strike by guards demanding higher pay. The strike, effective throughout France is considered symptomatic of increasing social unrest and growing impatience of government and other workers with inflation.

IN BULGARIA Georgi Chankov, deputy prime minister, Dobri Terpechev, Minister of Labor (said to be pro-Tito) and Yonko Panov (regarded as anti-Stalinist) were expelled from the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Chankov from the Politburo, last week, for "anti-party activity."

LEON TROTSKY'S works are again available in Poland's public libraries according to the German language weekly "Aufbau," July 19.

Now Available -- Two basic Works by Leon Trotsky

Third International After Lenin
 Pages: 416. Cloth: \$4.00. Paper: \$2.50

Trotsky's criticism of the Draft Program of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, held in 1928. This book is indispensable to students of Soviet history.

The Revolution Betrayed
 Pages: 308. Cloth: \$3.50. Paper: \$2.00

This work is the basic Marxist analysis of the material foundations for the development of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, the contradictions in Soviet society and the historic tasks of the Soviet working class.

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I. F. Stone's Fighting Stand

By Harry Ring

The TV show, "Night Beat," which made Mike Wallace a national figure, has a simple success formula: Get some public figure under the glare of the klieg lights, throw some probing questions at him about some past or present unorthodox view and then let him try to squirm his way out of it. The formula got a pleasing jolt last night with the appearance on the program of I. F. Stone. Editor and publisher of a weekly Washington news letter, Stone is a long-time fighter for civil liberties and a man with a real zest for plain talk and unadulterated opinions.

Stone yanked the rug out from under interviewer John Wingate by the simple method of stating his views in blunt, unequivocal language and by demonstrating a happy disinclination to dodge any question thrown at him.

Asked if he didn't regret the loss of a career in "big time" journalism, Stone smiled warmly and replied: "Why, I've got the newspaper man's dream. I'm my own boss with nobody to tell me what to write. . . I'd rather write what I believe for a few people than write what I don't believe for a lot of people." A request for "capsule opinions" of various public figures brought responses like this: White House press secretary James Hagerty — "He's the damndest boor they've ever had in there." Evangelist Billy Graham — "Oh, he's just a business man."

Some of Stone's opinions (Vice President Nixon "may come up with some good surprises") will buy him a ready argument from many of his fans, including this reviewer. But his forthright defense of civil liberties, which had Wingate flailing the air, was a real pleasure.

"Shouldn't Communists be barred from newspaper work?" asked Wingate. "Absolutely not," replied Stone. "You can't generalize about individuals. Every man should be judged by his work. The First Amendment doesn't include any 'ifs' or 'buts.' It protects the rights of every one. . . ."

"Sure I think the Communist Party is rigid and dogmatic," he added. "In fact I think it ought to dissolve. But I defend its right to speak without qualification."

Pointing out that no government can violate free speech and suppress criticism for long, Stone cited the experience of the Hungarian revolution. "That [the Gerol regime fell apart because nobody supported it except the secret police," he said. "I've read the UN report on Hungary and Peter Fyler's 'Hungarian Tragedy,' and I'm convinced that was a genuine workers' revolution against the bureaucrats. I've been fighting the same kind of police mentality in this country."

Asked if his opposition to Congressional investigating committees might not flow from the fact that one of them had listed him as one of those who had joined in "Communist fronts," Stone replied: "Of course not. I'm against these committees because the First Amendment says Congress shall not abridge the right of free speech or association. . . ."

"Any organization I supported," he added, "was because I believed in its purposes. I would do it again. . . . No, I wasn't 'duped.' I was against deporting Harry Bridges. I was for freeing Earl Browder. I was for aiding Loyalist Spain. Why should I apologize for these things?"

The flavor of the interview was summed up when Wingate interjected, "O.K. You've answered the question — and then some."

Bosses I Have Known

By Shirley Clark

Both Khrushchev and Mao Tse-tung invited criticism of their regimes. When they got it, they cracked down on their critics in no uncertain terms. This reminded me of a boss I worked for not so long ago.

He was a restaurateur. A dapper sort of fellow whose face flashed a smile on and off as the customers entered the door — a genuine smile, despite its quick accommodation, for he was glad to see the business come in.

Many of the customers belonged to the diner's club, a device used for checking food costs off income tax as a business expense. The food was good. The service excellent.

And the place was unorganized. It was rumored that the boss was paying off the local union chiefs to keep it that way. Be that as it may, government inspectors were certainly rewarded, for every health regulation was violated. Most important to me was the violation of the legal prohibition against women working over nine hours without a lunch break or any other kind of break.

Anyway, the boss was happy; the customers were happy. Everyone was satisfied except those who cooked and those who served the food. One day the boss called an after-hours meeting — no over-time paid of course. He said he'd heard that some of the "girls" had complaints.

The boss, in his usual ingratiating tone of voice, invited everyone to speak her piece. After all, weren't we all just one big happy family?

With this invitation to candor, some of the women spoke up. They voiced their grievances. As a few said what was on their minds, the others took courage and made their complaints. It was all very frank — and very friendly. And the session ended that way.

But the next day two women who had been the first to speak, and the most articulate, got a telephone call from the boss. They needn't come to work again. Their check would be mailed. They were dissatisfied, weren't they? It would best if they worked someplace else.

Production Rate Down In the U.S.

By David Miller

JULY 24 — A truly ominous economic news-of-the-week appeared in a recent release of the Conference on Economic Progress, indicating that the rate of growth of the American economy has been in a precipitous decline for the last three years. From an average of 4 1/4% a year during 1947-53, to 2 1/4% for 1954-55, to 2% for 1956.

Associated with this development are recent reports indicating that previously reported soft spots in the economy show no sign of improvement. Thus, while capital investment is at an all-time high, construction continues at its lowest plane in years; the oft-heralded improvement in steel production has still not materialized; auto and general consumer goods continue to drop, and, worst of all, factory employment declined for the seventh successive month (despite a rise in absolute output). But the most significant news, is the decline of the rate of growth.

CONSUMPTION DECLINE

Recurrent softness in the market for consumer goods is an old story. During the past ten years the American worker has become very sensitive to the nation's economic pulse. No one has been more attentive to the periodic ups-and-downs of the economy, and on one more aware of the import of these fluctuations. The workers are the first to go into debt. Yet, each time the decline turned out to have been a temporary one. It is precisely in the face of this puzzle that the news on the decline in the rate of growth assumes its true significance.

In a rapidly expanding economy, a decline in consumption is normally absorbed in the next pulse of growth. So long as these spurts, continue, the dangerous implications of inadequate consumption can be kept within bounds. But when the rate of growth slacks off drastically, as it appears to be doing, then the chances of recovery from a bout of under-consumption are vastly reduced.

The current decline in consumption and rise in indebtedness assumes more lasting meaning when we recall that it occurs at a moment when capital investment is at an all-time peak. This would normally have a highly stimulating effect on consumption. Instead unemployment during the first quarter of 1957 was 40% greater than 1953. Equally significant, once unemployed, statistics indicate that a worker tended to stay unemployed much longer. In this case the rising productivity of labor may well be irrelevant, since, normally, when capital investment is high, a growing economy can absorb the laborer displaced by automation. However, in an economy with a sharply falling rate of growth, this is not to be expected.

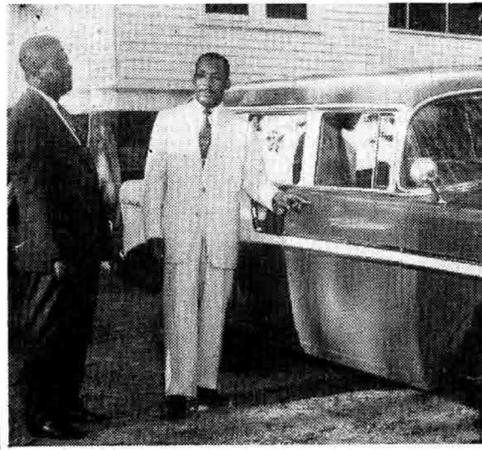
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They Led the Opening Fight



Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy and Rev. Martin L. King, two of the leaders of the Montgomery bus-boycott movement, stand beside one of the station wagons donated by supporters of their fight. Mass actions, which began in Montgomery, spread to Tallahassee and inspired the May 17 march on Washington, are directly responsible for forcing congress to debate civil rights this session. Mass action has recently spread to Tuskegee, Alabama, where the Negroes are fighting for the right to vote.

Aircraft Workers Shocked By Sudden Mass Layoffs

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES, July 22 — Aircraft workers riding along on a war-preparations prosperity are being shocked and embittered by sudden mass layoffs at North American's Downey plant.

The layoffs began last week after the Air Force cancelled the Navajo missile contract. Nearly 15,500 are expected to be laid off. Half of these got their last pay already after only a couple hours' notice.

Even though this is called a high-employment area, jobs won't be easily come by. The layoffs had some of the older men crying as they left the plant to join other aircraft workers milling around outside.

OFFICE WORKERS

The white collar workers — about half of those laid off according to a personnel department representative at the plant — have no union protection. An accountant with 15 years seniority who is buying a home in Long Beach was laid off. He uses benefits paid into a retirement fund and when he applies for other jobs he is told they don't want to hire him "because he will go back to North American when they get new contracts."

According to the L. A. Examiner, James S. Stockton, 47 years old, a builder of scale-model missiles, was laid off after 17 years with North American. Asked about seniority he said, "You bet I've got plenty. But the company didn't care."

The Examiner also reported the reaction of James Ellis, 23

Cowley Lashes Double Standard In Using Troops

NEW YORK, July 23—Joyce Cowley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of New York City, issued a sharp statement to the press today, condemning the

90 to 0 votes of the U.S. Senate throwing out of the "already feeble civil rights bill the one provision that meant anything — the power to enforce the law against the white supremacists."

Referring to arguments against the use of federal troops and injunctions to protect the constitutional rights of the Negro people as "pious hypocrisy," Mrs. Cowley cited the every-day experience of working people.

"If you can't pay your rent because it means depriving your kids of necessary food," she said, "you know very well that the Sheriff will be down with a court order to evict you. You don't see the Republican and Democratic congressmen rushing to repeal the use of that kind of violence, do you?"

INJUNCTIONS USED OFTEN

The SWP candidate pointed out that when working people go out on strike they are faced by police and court injunctions prohibiting mass picketing. And when workers refuse to allow scabs to take their jobs, the National Guard and Federal troops are used to break their strikes.

"You don't see the Democratic and Republican congressmen rushing to repeal the laws that permit strikebreaking force against unions, do you?" she asked. "On the contrary, despite their election promises, the Democrats and Republicans haven't lifted a finger to repeal or amend the infamous Taft-Hartley Law, with its anti-labor injunctions."

Mrs. Cowley bitterly attacked the July 22 Senate vote on the ground that it "covered up the fact that white-supremacist, Jim-Crow rule in the South today is maintained exclusively by the use of violence in defiance of the U.S. Constitution and the decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court."

"Violence against the Negro people in the South," she said, "is carried on every day, every hour and by every means: the racists dominate the courts, the legislatures, the law-enforcement agencies. In addition they employ the methods of extrajudicial terror."

"The Senate vote shows," Mrs. Cowley said, "that there isn't a single representative in Congress that can be relied on to champion the cause of civil rights. Look at the record of the so-called liberal Democrats. Once again they have caved in to the combined pressure of the Southern Democrats, the Administration, and the big city Democratic machines."

"Isn't it time," she asked, "for us to realize that Congress is



JOYCE COWLEY

composed of representatives of capitalist parties that have no interest whatever in serving the working people?"

TWO SETS OF LAWS

Mrs. Cowley declared that the Democratic and Republican lawmakers in Washington "believe in one law for the rich and one for the poor; one law for the white-supremacists and one for the Negroes; one law for the labor-hating corporations and one for the unions; one law for the landlords and one for the tenants."

"There is one positive side to what happened in the Senate last week," Mrs. Cowley suggested, "and that is its value as an object lesson in politics. Surely after this lesson," she continued, "workers in New York, Negro and white, should think twice about voting for either of the boss party candidates. The idea that these candidates can be sorted into 'good' and 'bad' or 'evil' and 'less evil' is an illusion. When the chips are down the political representatives of the boss parties are forced to play the boss' game."

Mrs. Cowley urged workers in New York City to cast their vote in the coming November elections for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party. "If you vote for such a ticket," she said, "you will be doing the most practical and realistic thing you can to put pressure on the leaders of the labor and Negro movements to break with the policy of supporting capitalist politicians and turn towards the work of building a Labor Party based on the unions and the organizations of the Negro people."

NY Bosses Put Child Welfare on Bottom of List

By Joyce Cowley

The New York City Children's Center for dependent and neglected children has a MAXIMUM capacity of 323 beds. Yet is has cared for as many as 438 children and the daily average for the first six months of 1956 was 391.

It takes four months for a judge to get a diagnostic study from the Bureau of Mental Health Services of the Children's Court, four months that the child spends in an overcrowded temporary shelter.

A major child guidance clinic reported it could offer service to one of four children considered eligible and in need of it. Another child guidance clinic has waiting lists of over 150 names and children referred for help cannot get treatment for six months to a year.

The New York State Training School for Girls increased its capacity from 245 to 299, and again to 327, by using space needed for other purposes. There are now 337 girls in this institution. Warwick Training School for Boys is also crowded beyond capacity.

Probation officers may be responsible for as many as fifty cases, and at the same time complete seven to eight investigations a month, which results in very casual "supervision."

These figures highlighting an acute shortage of facilities appear in a report by Alfred J. Kahn, "For Children in Trouble," published by the Citizens' Committee for Children of New York City.

The rapid rise in delinquency further testifies that the existing facilities for troubled or "delinquent" children are inadequate and ineffectual. Arrests of children from 7 to 15 rose from 3,823 in 1949 to 8,714 in 1956. Other cases handled by the Juvenile Aid Bureau rose from 16,962 to 29,000 and new delinquency cases in the Children's Court from 5,269 to 10,181 in the same seven-year period.

The large number of repeat offenders is another indication of the failure of present services. Fifty to sixty percent of the "graduates" of training schools are in new difficulties before they reach their twenty-first birthday. The report does not cover conditions in these schools, but sensational articles in the New York Post about two years ago revealed frequent beatings, the use of restraining sheets and other forms of brutal punishment. There are also recurrent reports of homosexual attacks on adolescent boys in these institutions. This is an indication of the kind of training received and explains the failure of most youngsters to "reform."

One of the practices sharply criticized in the present report is what they term "disposition by community self deception." Whoever handles the "case" — the social worker, judge or probation officer — may make a referral for treatment or care to agencies that do not exist or are not equipped to handle the child's problem. The matter is then "closed." A reformatory may be selected when the recommendation calls for "an institution for

normal children with facilities for psychotherapy and vocational guidance." Or a voluntary foster care agency (a polite name for an orphanage) is selected to provide psychotherapy although there is no such program in the institution. A child may be placed on probation on the assumption that he will receive supervision and treatment; in reality, all he gets is an occasional brief visit from the probation officer.

Another evil attacked by the report is "shopping" around for facilities. A neglected girl in the Children's Center, who waited month after month for placement in an institution for normal children, became "disruptive." She was then judged delinquent and referred to a different type of institution. After being refused by one because she was retarded and several others because there was no space, she was sent at the age of twelve to the state training school. An unmarried mother who voluntarily sought community help before the birth of her child was also judged delinquent and sent to a reformatory. Children who prove unmanageable are shifted from one institution to another.

WRONG ADDRESS

"Where children have been placed in an institution and do not get along, they are too often returned to the court, placed in detention or shelter or sent to psychiatric hospitals for observation. . . . like pieces of mail incorrectly addressed. There seems to be little consideration of what it means to a child to

be 'returned to sender' as 'too aggressive' or to be sent from a training school ('too disturbed') to Bellevue Hospital ('not psychotic') and back to the training school."

Such children may eventually be "returned to the community," i.e. the same environment that originally produced the trouble.

Children in trouble obviously get very little help and not much is done to prevent trouble by solving the child's problem before it becomes critical. Of the 200 cases studied in the Citizens' Committee report, 147 were known to various community agencies for at least two years before the incident which brought them into court. But the agencies and clinics failed; the children were finally arrested and sent to training schools or mental hospitals.

This report deals with specific first-aid rather than fundamental remedies. After stating that children in trouble "come from disorganized families and suffer economic deprivation, slum housing and frequent shifts in places where they live," no solution is offered except moving the family of an individual child out of such miserable housing. This just means another family will move in and a new "case" will develop.

New York City is controlled by bankers, landlords and employers whose sole interest is in making a profit. As long as they remain in control, we will have the slums, segregation, open shop wages and miserable working conditions which create a "deprived" environment, and we will

Workers' BOOKSHELF

For Summer Reading

By Anne Chester
Manager, Pioneer Publishers
For those who plan to use some of their vacations for reading or study, as well as for summer reading in general, Pioneer Publishers recommends the following list.

THE STRANGE CAREER OF JIM CROW. By C. Vann Woodward. 183 pp. \$1.50

A landmark book by a Southern disciple of Charles Beard. He shows that the pattern of segregation as it exists in the South today is not "hundreds of years old" but dates from the smashing of the Negro and white Populist movement at the beginning of this century.

THE COMING OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By Georges Lefebvre. 191 pp. \$5. The only translated work of the greatest living historian

Volumes I and II of Capital by Karl Marx
Price: \$2.00 each (plus 15c each for postage)
Order from
Pioneer Publishers
116 University Place
New York 3, N.Y.

of the French Revolution. A brilliant study of the class forces and interests that brought about the crash of the old order.

THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF POLITICS. By Charles A. Beard. 263 pp. \$1.25

Selections from the great materialist historian's writings on the historical process, Europe, America, the economic basis of the U.S. Constitution and other subjects.

THADDEUS STEVENS. By Ralph Korngold. 460 pp. \$2.00 (originally \$6.00) plus 15c for mailing cost.

A magnificent biography of the leading capitalist revolutionist of the Civil War and Reconstruction periods. A full-length portrait of a tremendous figure and leader. By the author of Two Friends of Man.

BLACK BOURGEOISIE. By E. Franklin Frazier. 264 pp. \$4.00

A searching examination of the economic position of the Negro middle class and its pretensions—social, cultural and political—to leadership of the Negro struggle for equality. By one of America's outstanding sociologists. A "must" book for all serious students.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY VERSUS COMMUNISM. By Karl Kautsky. 142 pp. \$1.00
The essence of the writings of

the most prominent social-democratic theoretician attempting to prove that Bolshevism was anti-Marxist.

DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM IN RUSSIA. By V. I. Lenin. 751 pp. \$1.75 plus 15c for mailing costs.

At last the complete work available in English. Lenin's monumental economic study, written mostly in Siberia, which established his theoretical primacy in the Russian socialist movement.

WHITE MAN BOSS. By Adamastor. 240 pp. \$1.00.

A devastating history and analysis of the politics and ideology of South Africa's "apartheid" regime. Adamastor is the pseudonym of a South African political observer.

ECONOMIC RESOURCES AND POLICIES OF THE SOUTH. By Calvin B. Hoover and B. U. Ratchford. 464 pp. \$1.00 (originally \$5.50)

All aspects of the Southern economy are examined in detail and with a wealth of information—natural resources, population, labor and wages, manufacturing, farming, banking, public finance, etc. Valuable as a reference work.

Order any of the above listed books from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.