

The Crisis Of Stalinism

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THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XXI - No. 43

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1957

PRICE 10c

Imperialist Plot Against Syria Exposed, Balked

By John Thayer

U.S. State Department moves to overthrow the government of Syria have provoked such a wave of anti-imperialist solidarity among the masses of the Arab nations that the Eisenhower Doctrine itself is in danger of being swamped.

As the Christian Science Monitor (Oct. 18) describes it: "the Arabs themselves — from Lebanon to Saudi Arabia and all points between — are telling the world that they will fight on the side of Syria if that country is attacked by anyone. Though some Arab leaders might doubt the wisdom of such a policy, they would find it difficult to oppose their people's overwhelming sympathy for 'sister Syria.'"

ARAB UNIONS WARN U.S.

Giving bite to this sympathy was the cablegram sent to President Eisenhower by Fathi Kamel, secretary-general of the Arab Workers Union Federation, which has members throughout the Middle East. Without mentioning vulnerable oil pipelines, for that goes without saying, the cablegram warned: "Six million Arab workers need not remind you of all the vital supply and communications for the West in their hands, and we will support Syria's struggle to the end."

Earlier this month Turkey began massing troops and tanks on the Syrian border. With them are U.S. military advisors and instructors. Syria immediately denounced this troop concentration as preparation for an invasion. Though Secretary of State Dulles, with a straight face, told reporters that Syria might be planning to attack Turkey, the facts make this charge ludicrous. Syria is a nation of only four million people, Turkey has 23 million. The Syrian army numbers only 50,000 (and its ally, Egypt's, numbers but 100,000), while the Turkish army, which has been armed to the teeth by the U.S. ever since 1947, totals a half-million.

The Turkish police state's military action presaged, 1) an invasion of Syria, or 2) external pressure to coincide with an uprising inside Syria, and Guate-

In Doghouse



JOHN FOSTER DULLES, U.S. Secretary of State, would do well right now in a contest for the most unpopular statesman in the world. His growing difficulties, however, are not necessarily due to any personal faults. He only personifies U.S. imperialist policies.

mala-type invasion by a self-proclaimed government-in-exile. The U.S. has gathered together just such a potential group in Turkey.

Egypt, Syria and Jordan are the Arab nations where anti-imperialist nationalism is greatest. After failure of the Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt last fall, U.S. imperialism announced its take-over of the

Bigger War Spending Pushed By Democratic Party Heads

AFTER LITTLE ROCK

What Record Of Southern 'Moderates' Tell

By George Lavan

Newspaper readers in the North know that Governor LeRoy Collins of Florida and Governor Luther Hodges of North Carolina are being hailed as the leaders of the Southern "moderates" on the school desegregation issue. What's the truth?

After his 1956 reelection Gov. Collins jammed through a special session of the Florida legislature his own five-point program against school integration.

Its provisions are: (1) a Pupil Assignment Act by which county school boards assign pupils to schools on the basis of "intellectual ability, scholastic achievement, sociological and psychological factors." This, it is believed, will make it impossible to prove in court that a Negro child has been assigned to a Jim-Crow school simply because of color; (2) a law to permit firing of teachers despite tenure or contract—its aim is to permit firing of Negro teachers when desired; (3) a law permitting the governor to make and enforce rules without legislative action concerning any state, county or municipal park, building or facility—the purpose being to permit Gov. Collins to shut down any school or school district which might order a Negro student admitted; (4) a law permitting the Governor to proclaim a state of emergency and use state police and militia "to preserve order"—an anticipation of the course recently attempted by Gov. Faubus of Arkansas; (5) last was a resolution addressed to Congress calling for an amendment to the U. S. Constitution invalidating the Supreme Court decision. The special session also set up a committee to "investigate" the NAACP, an action which Collins had not called for but which he did not veto.

How can such a program be considered "moderate"? The infinitesimal justification is that the legislation does not specifically forbid admission of a Negro child to a white school or provide that the school system be automatically shut down if the court ordered such an entry. Collins argues that inclusion of such provisions would make the law certain to be ruled unconstitutional in the federal courts and that, besides, he holds executive power for such action. John Wiggington, a member of the committee that drew up the program, has suggested, "It

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National Guardian Endorses Socialist Workers Party Slate

NEW YORK — The National Guardian formerly the weekly organ of the Progressive Party, editorially urged its supporters, in its latest issue, Oct. 28, to vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn in New York and the SWP candidates in San Francisco and Detroit. After explaining their long history of opposition to the Democratic and Republican Parties, the Editors said:

"In a few places where the Guardian readership is considerable there are independent candidates on the ballot. In New York and Detroit and San Francisco the progressive voter has a choice, and we urge you in those cities to vote for the candidates who have campaigned on platforms of social betterment for the majority of the people. They are:

"IN NEW YORK: Joyce Cowley for Mayor; Morris Zuckoff for Comptroller; Lillian Kei-

zel for President of the City Council. They are the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party. In Brooklyn, a write-in vote for Alvin Berman, SWP candidate for Borough President, whose name was ruled off the ballot although he had 7,000 signatures when 5,000 were needed for a place.

"Also in New York," continued the Guardian editorial statement, "Elizabeth Gurley Flynn for City Council in the 24th Senatorial District (Manhattan's lower East side). The veteran Communist leader is running on the People's Rights ticket."

"IN DETROIT: Sara Lovell, on the SWP ticket, for Mayor. "IN SAN FRANCISCO: Frank Barbara and Joan Jordan, SWP candidates for the Board of Supervisors."

GUTS AND INTEGRITY

Two reasons are given by the Guardian editors for the endorsement of the above candidates:

"(1) in defense of the right of minority parties to be on the ballot and (2) in support of people with the guts and integrity it takes to buck the machines and the apathy that dominates the American political scene today."

"You may disagree—as we do," said the Guardian editors, "with some of the policies of the parties sponsoring the independent candidates. But these disagreements should not take precedence over the urgent need to keep alive the spark of independent progressive political action."

John T. McManus General Manager and James Aronson, Editor of the National Guardian had earlier expressed their support of the final election rally for the SWP slate in New York at which Vincent Hallinan, former Presidential candidate of the Progressive Party and Joyce Cowley are featured speakers.

Stevenson-Truman Group Also Evades Endorsing Principle of Integration

By Art Preis

OCT. 23 — The Republican administration is bleeding from political wounds. In foreign relations, its "massive retaliation" and "brink of war" diplomacy has

collapsed. The Eisenhower Doctrine of intervention in the Mideast has proved a fiasco. On the domestic front, the Administration is under attack for Eisenhower's long refusal to use federal troops to protect the rights of Negro children in Little Rock to go to an integrated high school.

At the same time, the economy has entered a decline while the cost of living continues to mount. Reflecting a drop in production and increasing unemployment, the stock market has been sliding, with almost 25% of stock values erased in the last three months.

DEMOCRATS RUSH IN

Democratic Party leaders have been excited by the smell of Republican blood. They are seeking to take full advantage of their weakened Republican opponents. The Democratic Advisory Council, which "includes besides the personalities of former President Truman and Adlai Stevenson, governors outside the South, the principal financial angels of the party, its labor allies and its intellectual weekend a series of denunciatory statements on the Eisenhower

spokesmen" (N. Y. Post, Oct. 22) has issued over the past Administration's conduct of affairs.

This statement, issued in bits and pieces, called on one day for bigger and better war spending and on the next day blasted the inflationary trend.

Although the Eisenhower Administration has maintained the highest peace-time military budget in U.S. history, the Democratic leaders demand an even bigger arms race and more belligerent imperialist policy. They complain that the Administration has "increasingly starved our national defense" and proclaim that "war preparations should be 'the first and overriding charge on its (U.S.) resources.'"

The next day, the Democratic statement on the U.S. economy boasted that Eisenhower "inherited a vigorously expanding economy" but his policies have led to the "worst peace-time inflation in our history." Both these statements are bald-faced lies.

Everyone knows that the (Continued from page 2)

S. F. Candidates Wage Socialist Campaign

SAN FRANCISCO — Joan Jordan and Frank Barbara have entered the final lap in their vigorous socialist campaign in the municipal elections here. As the only

socialist candidates — and the only working class candidates — Jordan and Barbara have united pro-socialist workers in active support of their efforts.

The final election rally, scheduled for Oct. 30, reflects this united struggle. The meeting will be chaired by the famous working-class fighter, Warren K. Billings, who spent more than 20 years in prison with Tom Mooney as a class-war prisoner. Billings told the San Francisco voters, "I urge everyone who thinks the working people should have representation in government and who believes that our rights and liberties must be fought for and defended, to vote for Frank Barbara and Joan Jordan, Socialist Workers Party candidates for the Board of Supervisors..."

In addition, the two socialist

banner-bearers won the support of Vincent Hallinan, Progressive Party candidate for President in the 1952 elections, George Hitchcock, well-known San Francisco playwright, George Olshausen, prominent civil liberties lawyer and others.

Both Frank Barbara and Joan Jordan have concentrated their campaign activities around the union movement of San Francisco. Mrs. Jordan explained, "Our best service in this election is to make the working people aware of the double-dealing regular machine politicians who operate the Democratic and Republican parties." They reported widespread interest among the workers for an independent labor party.

Union Leaders Withdraw, Knife N.Y. Anti-Bias Rally

By Morris Zuckoff

SWP Candidate for N. Y. Comptroller

NEW YORK CITY, Oct. 23 — About 250 pickets representing many organizations, today demonstrated in front of City Hall demanding immediate passage of the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs bill.

The demonstration should have been much stronger. Labor leaders who had promised to support the picket line, backed down under pressure of Tammany Hall, after the call for the protest demonstration had already been issued.

CALL FOR ACTION

Last week, the Committee for Immediate Action on the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs Bill issued a call to the "citizens of New York" to "make known our support for the Fair Housing Bill. We call on all citizens and members of Church, Civic, Labor, and Community Organizations to take part in the DEMONSTRATION." "Help Little Rock," the call added, "by Helping New York."

Among those groups endorsing this demonstration and pledging support were the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, American Jewish Congress, Americans for Democratic Action and District 65 Retail and Department Store Workers Union.

Mayor Wagner and Tammany wheelhorse, Carmine deSapio, immediately swung into action and applied pressure on the sponsoring committee to call off the demonstration under the obvious stall to set up a "special committee" to study the anti-Jim Crow housing bill. Although District 65 had already received and pledged the support of 2,000 of its members, David Living-

ston, union president, withdrew the support of the union.

In the past District 65 membership has always been in the forefront in the struggle against Jim Crow. It supplied one of the largest contingents to the Prayer Pilgrimage in Washington. Yet, in an effort not to embarrass Wagner and the present administration, to whom the official leaders of the union had pledged their support, an expression of solidarity of rank-and-file members with the victims of housing discrimination was denied.

This shameful sellout to the corrupt political machine of Tammany Hall was another chapter in the unholy alliance between the labor bureaucrats and the enemies of labor. Earlier in the election campaign the Liberal Party betrayed the needs of the working people and the minority groups by pledging its unqualified support for Wagner and the top representatives of the Democratic Party. With confidence in victory gained from the labor chieftains' and the liberal Party's assurance of labor's support for his re-election, Wagner proclaimed his support of the anti-bias bill "in principle" while refusing to fight for its passage in practice.

Thanks to Local 65's leaders, Wagner didn't have to face thousands protesting his double-talk. But 250 militant pickets let him know that the fight against discrimination in New York has just begun.

Chilean Union Congress Adopts Planks of Trotskyist Program

(Special to the Militant)

CHILE — The First Congress of the Central Union of Workers (C.U.T.), that took place in August with the participation of 1,378 delegates, adopted the basic ideas of the Transitional Program and the International Thesis of the Founding Congress of the Fourth International (Trotskyist). On the other hand, in another vote with regard to the thesis of the Permanent Revolution (especially as it is related to the unmasking of the native capitalists), the Trotskyists with the support of the left-wing socialists and independents, got about 350 votes against 550 of the Stalinist and pro-bourgeois tendencies.

This doesn't mean that the Trotskyists had a majority at the Congress. Some of the worker-delegates of the Communist and Socialist parties voted in

favor of the clear revolutionary program of Trotskyism. In the plenary meeting, five Trotskyist militants were among 24 speakers who addressed more than a thousand delegates. In the Commissions more than fifteen militants of the POR (Revolutionary Workers Party) spoke. The Trotskyists wrote the most important reports—the national and international theses. In addition the POR published a special pamphlet from which some delegates took the most important parts and presented them to the Congress as their own. Twenty percent of the delegates bought the pamphlet at the Congress.

As a result of this activity, the Radical and Socialist parties tried to get the POR to put up a joint slate of candidates. The POR rejected this proposal as these parties were participating in a list of a class-collaboration-

ist nature. Therefore, the POR had its own list and got 19 votes. However, this vote doesn't represent the real force of Trotskyism. Due to a Stalinist maneuver the right to vote was denied to some of their delegates despite the fact that they were elected directly by the membership.

It is necessary to point out that the few Pabloite delegates voted against the orthodox Trotskyists and in favor of the Stalinists. In a despicable way they printed a circular under the name of the POR that caused confusion among the delegates.

Never before have the papers and the radio given so much time and space to the activities of the Trotskyists. For more than a week papers and magazines such as *Ercilla*, *Ahora*, *Trabajadores*, *Vistazo*, *La Gaceta*, *Ultima Hora*, *El Mercurio*, *La Tercera*, etc., discussed the

revolutionary position of the POR and its leader Humberto Valenzuela.

Among the comments that one could hear from the independent worker delegates, the following are examples: One worker said, "The Trotskyists won the day at the Congress." Another said, "Morally the Trotskyists were the winners at the Convention."

The decisions adopted by the Congress represent an historic step forward, not only for the Chilean workers' movement but for Latin-America as a whole. The Communist and Socialist parties undoubtedly will sabotage them. But orthodox Trotskyism, with its new worker cadres, militant and dynamic, with trade union leaders in the Workers Central, in national Federations and local unions, will know how to keep up the agitation among the masses so as to demand their fulfillment.



FRANK BARBARA (left) and JOAN JORDAN are the socialist banner-bearers in the San Francisco municipal election, Nov. 5. The two socialist candidates for the Board of Supervisors won support from many independent socialists for their hard-hitting campaign. They appealed for aid from all who favor independent working-class political action.

Did the Russians Steal Our Sputnik?

By Joseph Keller

No sooner had Soviet scientists launched the Sputnik than speculation ran rife here about how they came to do it first. When the Soviet Union perfected its A-Bomb in 1949, the U.S. government

capitalist press had a ready explanation. Russian "spies," they said, stole our A-Bomb "secrets." When the Soviet H-Bomb came along in 1953, this too was easily explained. "Spies!" The Justice Dept. had even rounded up some "spies," whipped up enough hysteria to prosecute and execute two, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, in 1953, and to bury another accused, Morton Sobell, in Alcatraz for 30 years.

AND THE SPUTNIK?

But these spy Russians don't play the game square. They blasted their man-made "moon" into outer space before American scientists had produced a workable satellite. This not only threw into question U.S. propaganda which had been low-rating Soviet science and military potential. It also raised the question: If Soviet scientists could achieve this great scientific "first," was it not also possible that they accomplished their atomic achievements without benefit of stolen "secrets"?

Indeed, many leading newspapers, including the N.Y. Times, quietly shelved the "spy" theory of Soviet scientific development and pointed out the plain truth—that basic atomic theory had been developed by Europeans, especially Germans and Italians, whose findings were universal knowledge. The Russians didn't have to steal anything. All they needed was the snur supplied when former President Truman first brandished the A-Bomb.

The further thought occurred to a good many people that maybe the whole business of the spy scare and the execution of the Rosenbergs is due for re-examination. In fact, a lot of people had long suspected the government's case against the Rosenbergs and Sobell, and its motives. Something had to be done before Sputnik aroused even more speculation.

LANE TO THE RESCUE

No one saw the hazards more clearly than Myles J. Lane, former U.S. Attorney who had helped prepare the Justice Department's case against the Rosenbergs and Sobell. He found a way both to uphold the "spy" theory of Soviet scientific and military advances and to cover up one more glaring gap in the already riddled Rosenberg-Sobell "evidence."

On Oct. 12, Lane—now in private practice—gave the press his explanation of how the Russians got the Sputnik ahead of the Americans. The page-one headlines of the Oct. 12 N.Y. World-Telegram blared: "Rosenbergs Stole Secret Of Satellite For Russians."

The Rosenbergs were executed in 1953 and could not very well answer this new charge.

(Page seven of the same World-Telegram carried the headline, "Probe May Try to Learn if Our Super Spies Failed on Sputnik," over the story of a projected Senate investigation of the Central Intelligence Agency to find out why U.S. spies failed to steal the "secret" the Russians

sians are supposed to have stolen from the U.S. to begin with.)

"SKY PLATFORM"

Lane claimed that in private questioning in 1950, seven years ago, David Greenglass had said that Julius Rosenberg—in 1947, two years after Rosenberg had been fired from his government job on charges of "Communism"—had "mentioned a sky platform project" of the U.S. government. Naturally, said Lane, "the fact that the Soviets launched Sputnik last week didn't surprise me in the least."

Lane is a hard man to surprise. He doesn't blink an eye at the claim that the Kremlin could steal Sputnik information before it was even in the heads of U.S. scientists—information which the U.S. does not appear to possess to this day. But that only goes to show just how diabolical and all-seeing the Soviet spy system is. This is further shown by the testimony of Greenglass in the Rosenberg trial.

Under questioning by Roy M. Cohn (the late Senator Joseph McCarthy's legal advisor on McCarthy's Senate witch-hunt committee), then an assistant U.S. Attorney, Greenglass said that Rosenberg had "mentioned a sky-platform project" to him and he had a conversation about it with Rosenberg "in privacy."

Cohn: Can you tell us about when this conversation occurred? Greenglass: I would say this was '47, late '47. He told me that he had gotten this information about the sky platform from one of the boys, as he put it.

Cohn: Did he tell you just what information had been given to him by one of the boys concerning the sky-platform project? Did he describe it to you at all?

Greenglass: Yes, he did. He described it in front of my brother, too.

Cohn: How did he describe it? Greenglass: He said that it was some large vessel which would be suspended at a point of no gravity between the moon and the earth and as a satellite it would spin around the earth. Cohn: Did he tell you from what part of the country that information had been obtained, where the contact was?

Greenglass: I don't recall that.

That last reply sounds evasive. We know in what part of the country Rosenberg could have picked up such information and from whom—any part of the country and from any kid old enough to read comic books. Space ships and space platforms have been common fare in the comic books and science fiction for a long time. Even FBI agents and assistant U.S. attorneys seem to indulge in them.

Some people don't know when to keep their mouths shut. Lane hasn't made a case for the "spy" theory of how the USSR got the Sputnik. But he has directed attention to an aspect of Greenglass' examination and testimony that now smells more than ever of perjury and frame-up.

Why You Should Back Joyce Cowley

Excerpts from Radio Broadcasts in N.Y.

(The following is the text of a statement on behalf of Joyce Cowley, Socialist Workers candidate for Mayor of New York, prepared for delivery over radio station WNEW on Oct. 28.—Ed.)

Years ago Hollywood made a movie called "Dead End." It was a story about young people trying to grow up in a New York tenement district during the depression. One of the most striking things about the picture was the way the camera moved around and showed the stark contrast of the run-down tenements standing along side of tall, swanky apartment buildings. Well, the depression has been over for some time—we're frequently told—but the tenements are still standing and have actually increased in number.

As a result, in the year 1957—according to figures compiled by the City itself—one and a half million New Yorkers are living in overcrowded, unsafe buildings and are being deprived of some of the most elementary things they are supposed to be getting for their rent.

WHY MORE SLUMS?

Why is there less instead of more decent housing for the working people in the richest city in the world? Obviously not because we don't have the manpower or the material to build the low-cost homes so urgently needed. When some high-powered real estate outfit decides to put up a big development to rent for \$80 or \$90 a room, the buildings go up almost overnight. So there must be another reason why an adequate amount of low-cost housing isn't being built.

During this campaign there has been—as in every election year—a lot of talk about the housing problem. But as far as Mayor Wagner and Mr. Christenberry are concerned, they have been talking around the problem and not about it. Wagner can't afford an honest discussion of the housing situation because it would reveal that under his administration the problem has

grown worse instead of better. And Christenberry dummies up because he isn't any more in favor of low-cost housing than Wagner is.

And above all, the Republicans and Democrats can't afford to face the housing issue because it puts a spotlight on the fact that under both Republican and Democratic administrations, City Hall has been the willing servant of the giant banking and real estate interests who are determined to preserve the tenement setup which means such huge profits for them.

Joyce Cowley, the Socialist Workers candidate for Mayor, makes the flat charge that for years an adequate program of low-rent public housing has been deliberately sabotaged by City Hall to safeguard the profits of the real-estate sharks. Here are some of the facts about the New York housing scandal.

Almost all of the so-called "slum clearance" undertaken by the City in recent years has been under Title I of the Federal Housing program. The setup can only be described as a rent-gouger's dream. Here's what happens—The City buys up and condemns an area and resells it to a private corporation at a loss to build a housing development on the site. The only stipulation made in the sale is that people living in the condemned area are to be given first choice in renting the new apartments. And then—for the families living in the condemned area—the trouble begins.

First of all, these tenants have to live a long time with the "re-developer" as their new landlord. The few services and sanitary regulations are now largely ignored since—they are told—the buildings are going to be torn down anyway. Then they reach the stage of tearing down the buildings and the tenants are "relocated." That means they are



JOYCE COWLEY heads the slate of Socialist Workers Party candidates in the New York City municipal election on November 5.

forced to move into another low-rent area, making the new neighborhood they move into even more crowded. Finally, 90 percent or more of the "relocated" families never get to use their "option" on an apartment in the new buildings since the rents are generally about three times as high as they can afford to pay. The net result is that a relatively few middle and upper-income apartments become available while the housing shortage becomes even more acute for the low-income families.

This whole crooked farce of a housing program—which is supported by the Republicans as well as the Democrats—underscores the need for a labor administration in New York. When a labor party is built, based on an alliance of the unions and

the organizations of the Negro and Puerto Rican people—and when such a labor party wins control of City Hall then it will be possible to begin re-building New York into a decent, comfortable and happy place for the working people and their families to live in.

A labor administration would immediately end the present abuse of Title I. Instead, it would initiate a wide-scale program of low-cost municipal housing. It would plan such housing from the viewpoint of the welfare of the people involved—providing them with new, decent homes before tearing down the old ones—ending the discrimination against minority groups and guaranteeing every New Yorker the right to a proper place to live at a reasonable rent.

Such a program could be put

Slums and Sweatshops Are Campaign Issues

into action quickly and it is the kind of a program that Joyce Cowley and the Socialist Workers Party are fighting for. And that could be just the beginning. Even now there is the science of city planning—a science that could transform New York into a city of space and sunlight—of trees and grass—of comfortable and attractive homes. But such planning can't get off the ground under a setup where only profits count with the people in power. For them, the tenements are a bonanza and they don't intend to give them up just because it would mean that human beings would lead a healthier and happier life.

But such a grand goal can be realized. And it will be when the working people and all other victims of capitalist inequality band together to abolish the capitalist profit system and begin building a planned and rational socialist society where the needs of the many—not the greed of the few—will be paramount.

(The following are excerpts from a statement prepared for delivery over WNEW on Oct. 30.)

Do you know what a sweatshop is? If you are a Negro or Puerto Rican or simply an unskilled or semi-skilled worker and you live in New York City, the chances are better than even that you know very well what a sweatshop is because you are working in one.

Among the worst sweatshops in our city are those where the employer has signed a so-called "sweetheart" contract with racketeers who are in control of some phony local union. The sweetheart contract requires the boss to pay only the minimum wage required by law and serves as a barrier to workers who attempt to get their shops or organized into a legitimate union. The boss gets a free hand to exploit the workers and in return he pays off the racketeers with so-called dues deducted from the workers' pay. About 80,000 w.r.k-

ers in New York City are covered by these racket contracts according to estimates by AFL-CIO officials.

OPEN SHOPS

In addition, there are those shops which have no union contracts at all, but where conditions compare with those covered by racket contracts. Figures in this category are very incomplete, but an educated guess is that it accounts for another 50,000 workers.

Unfortunately, this is not the whole story. The fact is that sweetheart contracts exist even in many shops organized by legitimate unions. The raising of the minimum wage law, for example, meant a pay increase for thousands of members of the two major clothing unions who were making less than a dollar an hour.

It is the shame of New York that Mayor Wagner has allowed these conditions to flourish under his administration and that Christenberry endorses it with his silence on the issue.

The legitimate union movement is the only force really capable of ending sweatshops in New York. The unions should be ridding candidates of their own in this election—candidates independent of Tammany Hall and directly responsible to the working people who are the vast majority of this city.

A labor administration would help the workers to organize themselves into militant, effective unions. It would bring to quick justice the sweatshop bosses who violate fire and health ordinances. It would refuse to license the many employment agencies which are used as a device for racial discrimination in hiring and which charge exorbitant fees.

The Socialist Workers Party is determined to do everything it can to help eliminate New York's sweatshops. If you want to help, write for further information to the Socialist Workers Party at 116 University Place, New York.

Ferment in British Communist Party

By Peter Fryer

A year has passed since the Suez adventure and the Hungarian Revolution, and this seems a convenient point at which to undertake a review of the ferment inside the British Party which began with the Twentieth Congress and which those events of a year ago greatly intensified.

Such a review demands several articles, for the ferment touches the industrial workers in the British Communist Party, embraces the socialist forums, finds vociferous and often harsh expression in various student publications, and has been bubbling merrily away inside the Labor Party. There is also need for some discussion of the new Marxism that is one of the most encouraging results of this ferment: of how the Marxist movement looks to one particular ex-Communist Party member, and of the general prospects for that cross-fertilization and gathering of forces that is called (though I for one abhor the word) "regroupment."

It is a commonplace that the ferment began among the intellectuals in the Communist Party. And since the more recent evolution of some of the original rebels has been in some respects disappointing, it is important to understand who they are and what they were rebelling against. John Saville, Christopher Hill and E. P. Thompson (there are others, but these are the best-known names) are brilliant historians who are just emerging in their own profession as men capable of solid, fruitful, original and mature work.

Inside the Communist Party they were outraged last year by the sickening tale of cruelties and lies spelled out in the Khrushchev speech; but this merely brought to a head a long history of deepening frustration. They could not step outside the strict limitations imposed by the Stalinist guardians of ideological and cultural orthodoxy. Now this was true of many artists and writers of the same generation. Names like Paul Hogarth and Randall Swingler spring to mind.

One after the other two communist cultural magazines, Our Time and Arena, began by giving such men great scope; they were consequently very successful magazines. Emile Burns, responsible for the party's "cul-

tural work" feared the independent creative thought that found expression in their columns, pulled tight on the reins, made sweeping changes in the editorial boards and in the character of these magazines. One after another their circulations slumped and they collapsed. So did Modern Quarterly, later renamed Marxist Quarterly. To glance through the bound volumes of this periodical is to see the deadening hand of Stalinist orthodoxy gradually extinguishing every vestige of original thinking. The magazine sickened and died.

And so when Saville and Thompson brought out The Reasoner and now The New Reasoner, they were not merely or primarily providing a channel for fresh political thinking; they were challenging Stalinism "on the cultural front," as we used to say, and doing so very successfully. The New Reasoner has now turned into the kind of eminently readable assortment of heterodox views, ably expressed, with emphasis on cultural topics, which the intellectual rebels felt the party could and should have brought out long ago. This is its great strength. But at the same time it is a serious limitation: for the "new reasoners" are not all that interested in searching political and historical analyses; nor are they all that interested in serving the workers' movement and helping to build it. Therefore their general trend (and this is not a label, but a statement of fact) is towards the Right.

For the critics who are content to think without acting The New Reasoner teems with ideas, good, bad and indifferent. It is an ideal magazine for the bedside table. But the workers in the Communist Party, who were slower to join the anti-Stalinist revolt than the intellectuals, are not satisfied with thinking; they want to act, too; and The New Reasoner does not set out to educate or advise them or build a movement.

COMMUNIST WORKERS

An intellectual can get out of the party and be reasonably content with his study or his local forum, as many have been. A politically-minded worker needs organization as he needs air, and leaving the party is for him no light step, just as joining it was no light step in the first place. Very often the party attracted him as an organization for waging the class struggle on the job and the struggle against

Right-wing influence in the trade union branch room. However disgruntled he may be with Stalinism, nationally and internationally, he frequently sees no alternative to the Communist Party in his own particular factory, and is anxious not to weaken the only system of organization he knows.

This dilemma is heightened by the unquestionable successes of the Communist Party in certain key unions since the turn to trade union work in the early thirties. Persistent work has brought a number of younger men to the position where they will almost automatically take high union office. Desire to assist in giving such apparent blows to the Right-wing bureaucrats in the unions makes many militants, anti-Stalinists in their practice and outlook hesitate before breaking with the party.

But the shameful record of the Stalinist leadership in a number of recent disputes tends to counteract this. On the London docks the Communist Party group has committed suicide by opposing militants and militancy. In the building trade (Britain's third-largest industry, and one of her most exploited) a whole group of prominent Communist Party militants loyal to Marxism and to militancy, has broken away. And in the Electrical Trades Union there are real possibilities of new defeats for the Stalinist leadership at the hands of ex-Communist Party members who have certainly not swung Right.

All this adds up to a promising beginning of a really militant rank-and-file movement in the British trade unions, led by Marxists, which will be tested and strengthened in the future battles. The more the Marxist workers coming out of the Communist Party get down to solid work in their industries the greater the attractive power they will have for the comrades they leave behind. I have watched the development of some of these comrades in recent months, and I have seen apathy turn to enthusiasm, dismay transformed into determination, as they came to realize that there can be a communist movement outside the Communist Party, challenging the claim of Dutt, Pollitt, and Gollan to be the sole ordained leadership of the British workers.

BUREAUCRATS STRIKE BACK

For the leaders of the British Communist Party, who, un-

like their American counterparts, have clung together as a body of "angry old men," this development is their biggest headache. Hence their sudden new attack on the "Trotskyites" in the Daily Worker and at the recent London district congress of the young Communist League. Hence their theory that as the class struggle sharpens in Britain the Communist Party will inevitably and automatically extend its influence—a doubtful proposition, for inside and outside the party most workers have a pretty good idea of what Stalinism means in practice. (One prominent woman member of the party said in conversation this week: "I take six copies of the Daily Worker every day, and I get up at six every morning and sell them outside the local factory. I usually sell two. The morning the Daily Worker splashed 'Hungarian Emigre Returns' across its front page I didn't sell one. The workers just don't want to know.") Hence, too, the desperate effort to get out a "theoretical and discussion magazine" at all costs—Marxism Today, as deplorable a 32-pages of stodge as I have ever seen in my life, four of its five articles reprints and the whole eloquent testimony to the threadbare poverty of the party's intellectual life.

Let no one think the ferment is over inside the party. Each new twist and turn in the line sets fresh layers worrying, thinking, questioning, criticizing, defying orders to write humiliating analyses of their "doubts and difficulties." There is a constant trickle of resignations—some, disgusted with politics, to the Right or into complete inactivity, torpor or cynicism, living exhibits of what have Stalinism can wreak in individuals; others, refreshed and reinvigorated by their fight against the leadership, joining with fellow-Marxists to lay the foundation for great new developments.

HUNGARIAN TRAGEDY by Peter Fryer

96pp \$1.00 (Plus 15c mailing charge)

PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

... Democrats' Program

(Continued from page 1)

present Administration inherited a full-fledged war economy during the Korean war. This economy was maintained at a cost of more than 150,000 U.S. casualties and a national debt pushed to the staggering limit of 275 billion dollars.

Eisenhower merely continued and, in some cases, extended the basic war and war-spending policies of his Democratic predecessors. Even when the Korean war ended, Eisenhower continued military expenditures at virtually wartime levels.

BLAME FOR INFLATION

It is, of course, false to accuse the present Administration of maintaining worse inflation than Roosevelt's or Truman's. From 1939 to 1945, the end of World War II, the consumer price index of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics rose 29%. From 1945 to 1950—when the U.S. was not at war—the consumer price index recorded an additional 43% rise in terms of the 1939 index base of 100.

A slight decline in the price index occurred in 1949 when production dropped and unemployment rose to almost six million. But the Truman recession was quickly halted by the standard capitalist remedy—war. With Truman's "police action" in Korea, the price index bounded up another 20% in terms of the 1939 price level.

The Eisenhower administration has tried to conceal the real scope of the continuing inflation by adopting the 1947 price level as its index base. But translating all index figures into the pre-war base of 1939 we find that since Eisenhower took office in 1953, the consumer price index has risen another 12% in terms of the 1939 base. While the Republican administration has continued the inflationary trend, during the 1945 to 1950 Democratic peacetime administration the price index rose 43% compared to 12% for the corresponding peacetime administration of the Republicans.

This tends to prove that the U.S. profit system cannot defer a devastating crisis, under either the Democrats or Republicans, without resort to inflationary war spending and ultimately war itself.

The final point in the Stevenson-Truman indictment of the Republicans touches racial integration. We leave aside the totally bankrupt record of the Roosevelt-Truman era on civil rights, the fact that the main Democratic Party base is in the

Deep South, the coldly treacherous conduct of the Northern Democrats in aiding the Southerners to reduce the civil-rights bill to a shadow.

We will dwell only on the one point raised in the Democratic advisory committee's statement covering civil rights—the Little Rock issue. After thousands of words about war spending, Eisenhower's fiscal policies, etc., the Democratic leaders had only enough strength left to write just three paragraphs on civil rights and Little Rock.

First of all, the Democrats maintain their silence about the principle of integration. Are they just refusing to say? They simply belabor Eisenhower because he didn't use the government's powers sooner in Little Rock to uphold federal court orders. They also complain that Eisenhower has failed as yet to appoint the Civil Rights commission created by the Civil Rights law.

FAUBUS UNMENTIONED

Their statement contains a revealing omission. They "forgot" to make any mention of that good Democrat, Gov. Orval Faubus of Arkansas, who had sent the national guards to keep nine Negro students from entering a Little Rock high school.

Even the consistently pro-Democratic N. Y. Post felt impelled to admit that the Democratic leaders' statement on civil rights is "so naked of inspiration as to suggest the embarrassment of the authors." Certainly to condemn Dwight D. Eisenhower without mentioning the name of Orval Faubus—or his long list of Southern Democratic apologists—is hardly an exercise in inspirational political leadership.

This latest policy statement of those who purport to be the most liberal leaders of the Democratic Party further underscores the truth about the two-party system and the politics of both major parties. They are both reactionary, both serve the interests of the privileged few and both have no real program other than war inflation and war or devastating depression.

We also have one more bit of proof that the hope of America and mankind lies in the independent political power of the working class, allied with the oppressed racial minorities and working farmers. More than ever, the needs of our time cry for a workers and farmers government.

Calendar Of Events

Chicago

Murry Weiss, on national tour, will speak on "The Future of American Socialism." Friday, Nov. 1, 8:15 P.M. at 777 W. Adams. Auspices: Militant Labor Forum. Donation 50c. Unemployed free.

Detroit

Friday, Nov. 1, 8 P.M. "The Myth of the Happy Worker." Friday, Nov. 8, 8 P.M. "From Soviet Uprising to Sputnik." (In celebration of the 40th Anni-

versary of the Russian Revolution.) Auspices: Friday Night Forum at Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave.

San Francisco

Fri., Nov. 8, 8 P.M. "Marxist Thought Today." Speaker: Prof. Paul A. Baran—Author, "Political Economy of Growth." Chairman, Adam Lavin, Journalist, 150 Golden Gate Avenue. Ausp.: Independent Socialist Forum of San Francisco. Donation 50 cents.

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116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7458
Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS
Business Manager: FRANCES JAMES

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Vol. 21 - No. 43 Monday, October 28, 1957

Independent Labor Candidates

According to the press, David J. McDonald, President of the United Steelworkers of America, recently told a conference of his union's District 15: "Politicians can wipe away the gains we have won through collective bargaining by enacting anti-labor legislation. . . Therefore, I soon will propose to the international executive board that we subsidize union members to run for state legislatures."

There certainly can be no quarrelling with McDonald's statement about politicians being able to take away gains which labor has won through its economic strength. The case is even stronger — labor is threatened with legislation to further hobble its very ability to engage in economic struggle.

Practically everybody in the labor movement today, from the most mossback bureaucrat to militant rank-and-filers, will say amen to any statement about the need for engaging in effective political action.

But the rub comes with that word "effective." For the unions, under the direction of the bureaucracy, have for decades been pouring endorsements, money, legwork and votes into political action. And it has been ineffective. Look at the legislation that has been passed and that which has not been passed! Look at the office holders! Since the rise of the CIO, labor has never been as ineffectual politically as it is today.

The reason for it is that labor has not engaged in independent political action. It has been the tail to the Democratic Party kite. Consequently when its efforts have been responsible for the election of a politician it has had no real control over him — his master's voice is that of the

Democratic Party machine, which labor does not and cannot control.

If McDonald is not merely engaging in talk to cover up his responsibility for labor's political weakness, he will not only have to carry out his threat about sponsoring unionists for public office but also specify that they are not merely going to contend for nomination by the Democratic Party. For if they are, not only will there be little enthusiasm for the project — workers can spot the same old stew even though a dash of spice has been added — but the whole campaign will be headed up a blind alley. Unionists have been elected before to legislatures and to Congress on the Democratic Party ticket. Their records are far from glorious because they have simply been turned into cogs in the Democratic Party machine.

The road to effective political action by labor requires organizational and programmatic independence. If it is to inspire the mass support that victory will require, the labor movement, in addition, must begin on a completely democratic basis. The rank and file must discuss fully and freely all the issues on which labor candidates will run. The workers must choose their representatives. And all unions must be involved.

What this amounts to is the building of an independent labor party. McDonald has never been known to think in such democratic terms. Nor has he a reputation for bold and audacious moves. But if the labor movement is to end the political offensive of Big Business against the unions and open the door for legislation that will serve the majority of the people in this country, a bold move is needed.

ACLU's Rebuke to Reuther

There was a time when the American labor movement stood in the frontlines in the fight for civil liberties. Anyone looking for his democratic rights turned first to the unions for help. Those were the days when the unions were fighting for their own freedom, the right to organize, to assemble, to speak and to write.

In the vanguard of this great liberating force of the American workers was the United Automobile Workers. Today, this union, thanks to the leadership of Walter Reuther, has earned for itself a sharp rebuke by the American Civil Liberties Union for its violation of the civil liberties of its own members.

In a statement distributed in Detroit, Oct. 12, the ACLU condemned Reuther's June 5 administrative letter outlining punishment procedure for union officials who use their constitutional rights guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment when called before a Congressional committee or "any other duly authorized public body."

Reuther ordered that any UAW member holding any post whatsoever, even

shop steward, who invokes the Fifth Amendment must appear before a union trial or hearing and "unless the member involved can present to the local union executive board . . . clear and sufficient evidence that he is beyond a doubt not disqualified from holding office . . . he shall be removed from all offices held by him, either elective or appointive, and such offices shall be declared vacant."

The ACLU correctly pointed out that this procedure places the burden of proof upon the accused, undermines the principle that a person is innocent until proven guilty, and punishes the member for the exercise of a constitutional right. "In our opinion," said the ACLU, "such a penalty or sanction on the exercise of a constitutional right contributes to the erosion of the Bill of Rights."

By his dictatorial edict, Reuther put the UAW into the disgraceful position of undermining the civil liberties of the American people. In doing so he did not represent either the immediate or the long-term interests of UAW members. He only strengthened his bureaucratic control over the rank-and-file of the union.

Don't Let It Break Your Heart

During the last three months, the American economy has been sagging. Many workers have suffered a cut in hours if not outright layoffs. Meanwhile the cost of living index has continually gone up. Workers affected by the recession have thus suffered simultaneously from a severe loss of income and from rising prices.

This side of the economic picture has not worried the Wall Street Journal, the house organ of Big Business. What has drawn the Journal's tears is the effect that slumping stock values — a definite feature of the business slow down — has had on the income of corporation executives.

It seems that many company executives receive one part of their income as salary — say \$20,000 to over \$100,000 per year — and another part in the form of stock options.

A stock option gives the executive the chance to buy company stock at a fixed price — regardless what its price might be on the stock market. This is definitely an enticing proposition to the executive in a "bull" market (one characterized by high and rising prices). For if the fixed price of a stock is, say, \$30 a share and the stock has climbed to \$35 on the market, the executive can clean up a tidy sum.

The trouble is that since July the stock market has been "bearish," or marked by declining prices. Under these conditions,

the stock option plan has ceased to be attractive. Indeed, the Oct. 21 Wall Street Journal cites many cases where the market price of a company's stock now stands below the fixed option price.

This unforeseen turn of events is making many corporation executives very bitter. One railroad official, for instance, complained to the WSJ reporter: "Sure, no one promised me I'd make money on the option but it was held out as an employment attraction and now it's a mirage."

The reaction of many of the biggest brass in the corporations, however, has been hard-hearted against the complaints of executives beneath them. Thus the secretary of a Pittsburgh metal-fabricating firm said curtly: "Our plan is not a bonanza. The only reason options are given out is to make the employee work harder. If the stock goes down, then he'll have an incentive to get it back up again."

Others, however, take a more humane view of the matter. A Houston oil firm official says: "The fluctuations of the market don't have much to do with company performance."

And that's where matters stand now. Neither the WSJ nor any of the corporations have yet found the solution to how, when the market is "bearish" — and many workers are unemployed — executives can do better than live on their salaries of \$100 thousand or so a year.

The World Crisis of Stalinism

By Daniel Roberts

(The following article was published in its entirety in the magazine, Ganavarta, in India.)
That Stalinism is today fighting for survival is a statement that will hardly be disputed by any informed political person.

But to understand clearly what is at stake, it is first necessary to correctly define Stalinism. One definition was given by President Tito of Yugoslavia in a speech in Pula last November. Tito divided the ruling group in the Soviet Union into "Stalinists" and "anti-Stalinists." He made Stalinism synonymous with the most cruel and repressive features of the Soviet-orbit dictatorial rule. The course of reforms announced at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union — including the attacks on Stalin's "personality cult" — he labeled as non-Stalinism and even anti-Stalinism. He predicted that the "Stalinists" would be defeated in the Soviet government and that the "anti-Stalinists" would eventually prevail.

Thus to Tito, Stalinism is a political system of extreme repression, which may, however, be changed into socialist democracy by reforms and shifts of personnel while retaining the rule exercised by the present Communist parties throughout the Soviet orbit.

LESSONS OF HUNGARY

In our opinion, Tito's definition is superficial. The Hungarian revolution did not break out against a turn to extreme repression. On the contrary, it came as the climax to a wave of liberalizing reforms in Hungary that had been set off by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU.

Anti-Stalinist reforms of the rulers did not resolve the contradictions of years of Stalinist misrule. It brought them to a head. The basic contradiction that was revealed was between the working class and a caste of economically privileged party, state, factory and union bureaucrats. This contradiction manifested itself at two levels: (1) between the Hungarian working people and the Hungarian bureaucratic caste and (2) between the Hungarian working people and the Soviet government, itself the representative of a bureaucratic oligarchy in the Soviet Union. (It is true that imperialism sought to take advantage of the Hungarian uprising for its own purposes. It is also true that capitalist restorationist forces made their appearance during the revolution. But the predominant character of the Hungarian events was the struggle of the working class to purge the progressive



KHRUSHCHEV



STALIN

property relations established in 1945 of bureaucratic fetters.)

Workers' councils — authentic Soviets as in revolutionary Russia from 1917-1922 — confronted the institutions of the bureaucratic oligarchy. There was no more room for "compromises" and concessions to the working people. The course of liberal reforms had passed over into the direct measuring of strength between the workers and the bureaucratic caste. In the showdown even the reformers — including Tito, despite his hesitations — lined up with bureaucratic counter-revolution.

The Hungarian events demonstrated that the granting of a few concessions to the masses and their savage repression are not mutually exclusive political systems — to be defined as anti-Stalinism and Stalinism — but alternating policies designed to perpetuate the privileges and the oppressive rule of the Soviet-orbit bureaucracy. Both policies are in reality Stalinist. (Stalin, too, knew how to make a few concessions.) Stalinism is still in power. It is synonymous with the reactionary rule of the bureaucratic caste, which cannot be reformed into socialist democracy.

And yet, with the purges last June of Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich, the course again ran to reform. Something is gnawing at the vitals of bureaucratic rule. Stalinism is in mortal crisis. Its doom is at hand. For Stalinism is now confronted by the Soviet working class and is seeking to appease it as well as to impress it. That is a sure sign of weakness. The outcome of the confrontation, in our opinion, will be a revolution putting an end to Stalinism. The revolution will be political, social. It will leave intact the economic foundations of the Soviet Union — namely, the nationalization of the means of production and their operation according to plan. Indeed, it will rescue the foundations of the Soviet workers' state from bureaucratic misrule.

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cratic misrule. The revolution will reestablish that which Stalinism crushed: the workers' democratic rule of Lenin and Trotsky's days and the reeducation of Soviet foreign policy to the cause of world socialism.

The source of the mortal crisis of Stalinism is the resurgence of the Soviet working class. The bureaucracy seized power under conditions of the exhaustion of the small Soviet working class (five million) following the revolution and civil war. Today that working class numbers 50 million. Largely an unskilled working class in 1923, today over half is skilled or semi-skilled. It gained confidence in its powers during World War II and the rapid rebuilding of the devastated Soviet economy. The workers feel in their bones the progressive nature of the nationalized and planned economy. At the same time they fully realize the stifling nature and the enormity of bureaucratic mismanagement. In addition, the great economic advances brought by minimum improvements in the living standards of the Soviet working class while it swelled the privileges of the Soviet bureaucracy.

"BACK TO LENIN"

On all counts, the antagonism of the Soviet working people against the bureaucratic caste and its police regime sharpened greatly at the same time that the working class grew in numbers, cohesion and self-confidence. The present Soviet working class is heir to the rich revolutionary traditions of the Russian working class, which engaged in three revolutions and came to power under the leadership of the most conscious Marxist party in history, Khrushchev's slogan at the Twentieth Congress — "Back to Lenin!" — gave recognition to the popularity of Lenin's revolutionary heritage as counterposed to Stalin's bureaucratic tyranny.

However, as many young revolutionary workers and intel-

lectuals are already beginning to realize, it is not under Khrushchev's banner that the return to Leninism will be accomplished. Everywhere throughout the Soviet orbit, the crisis of Stalinism has stimulated a search for its true causes and origins. This has spurred a desire to investigate the historic disputes of the 1920's between the bureaucratic faction headed by Stalin and all oppositionists — especially the Trotskyists. This search, we are confident, will give rise to the rebuilding in the Soviet orbit of genuine revolutionary Communist parties, armed with the teachings of Trotskyism, the true continuation of Leninism.

The spectacular upsurge of the Soviet economy is but one of the causes of the resurgence of the Soviet working class. Domestic economic developments have been reinforced by world developments, which in the last analysis are decisive for understanding the gathering political storm in the USSR.

Stalinism grew out of the economic backwardness of Russia in 1922, the predominance of the peasantry in the population, the colonial-like dependence of Tzarist Russia on world imperialism for industrial development, the devastation of the country in World War I and in the civil war, the exhaustion of the working class after its heroic revolutionary efforts. In addition, Stalinism grew out of the imperialist encirclement of the newly-born workers' state and the defeat of revolutions in Central Europe — especially the defeat of the German working class in 1918 and again in 1923.

Stalinism was strengthened by every subsequent defeat suffered by the world working class. Furthermore, it now joined the social democracy (whose treacherous, class-collaborationist course had been principally responsible for the defeated revolutions from 1918 to 1923) as the organizer of working-class defeats.

Claiming that it was first necessary to "build socialism in one country," Stalinism imposed its bureaucratic rule on the Communist parties and transformed them into mere instruments for the pursuit of status-quo deals with imperialism. The Stalinists thus engaged in an international form of class collaboration.

A vicious circle was created. The Soviet bureaucracy betrayed the revolution abroad, kept the USSR surrounded by imperialism, reinforced its rule over the Soviet working class and maintained its hold over the Communist parties abroad which were directed into fresh betrayals.

Stalinism has not ceased to function in a treacherous manner internationally. The Twentieth Congress reinforced the world class-collaborationist line. Nevertheless, the vicious circle has been broken. World imperialism made full use of the aid given it by the Stalinists in maintaining its rule. But imperialism could not prevent its own progressive debilitation. Despite the treacherous politics of Stalinism, the working class came to power in Yugoslavia and China. The Soviet social system was extended by bureaucratic-military means into East Europe. Although these advances all suffered from bureaucratic distortion and deformation, they were so many wounds for world capitalism.

Simultaneously, the anti-imperialist revolution in Asia, North Africa and the Middle East, while not clear-cut victories over imperialism as in China, have thrown imperialism on the defensive. The cold war continues. But the Korean War demonstrated the stalemate U.S.

imperialism has been forced to recognize by postponing its plans for launching World War III.

What matters immediately in all this to the Soviet working class is that the threat of imperialist attack is not as dire as in the past. Leon Trotsky, in the Revolution Betrayed (1937), pointed out that "the workers fear lest, in throwing out the bureaucracy, they will open the way for a capitalist restoration." This fear inhibited them in proceeding against the bureaucracy while the imperialist danger remained imminent. But, he added, they would inevitably drive out the bureaucracy when they could see the possibility. "For this," he concluded, "it is necessary that in the West or the East another revolutionary dawn arise."

Another revolutionary dawn has arisen in the East. Although these revolutionary developments have been only partially successful in freeing the masses from imperialist bondage as in the case of India, Indonesia and the Middle East, and although the Chinese revolution is severely deformed by bureaucracy, they have freed the Soviet workers from fear of imminent imperialist attack and spurred them to greater opposition against the hated bureaucrats. The crisis of world Stalinism is thus largely a result of the gains scored by the world revolution against imperialism.

NEED FOR PARTY

The world socialist revolution is inconceivable without the building of working-class revolutionary parties in all countries and a revolutionary international to unite their activities. For an entire generation, Stalinism has held the overwhelming majority of revolutionary workers in most countries in its grip. Through them it maneuvered with the working class, misusing the loyalty that these cadres gave the Soviet Union for its own reactionary aims.

The crisis of Stalinist rule in the Soviet orbit will inevitably bring deep-going crisis to all Communist parties throughout the world. Manifestations of this are already to be seen in the impact that the Khrushchev revelations and the Hungarian revolution have had in such countries as Great Britain, U.S. and Italy. When the Soviet bureaucracy itself is overthrown and supplanted by a regime of workers' democracy, it will mark the end of the Stalinist hold on Communist parties in the rest of the world. A regroupment of revolutionary socialist forces is in process even now in many countries. Its primary stimulus is the search on the part of militants once influenced by Stalinism for the genuine Leninist road to socialism.

We can firmly expect, as the crisis of Stalinism grows apace, that in all countries — including all Soviet-orbit countries — a dual regroupment process will take place. Careerists, bureaucrats, opportunist petty-bourgeois types will realign themselves under the banner of the social democracy, if not even further to the right. But working-class militants, revolutionary youth, the best of the intellectuals will seek the creation of new revolutionary parties and a revolutionary international. The best elements of the social democracy, too, will be drawn to this realignment of revolutionary forces. We of the United Workers Party in the United States, and the Trotskyists everywhere else, consider it a prime obligation to work for and help speed the rebuilding of a mass revolutionary socialist movement throughout the world.

Inspiring Rally in Minneapolis Hears Mrs. Bates, Little Rock NAACP Head

By Jack Paulette

MINNEAPOLIS — Mrs. L. C. Bates, heroic leader of the nine Negro students at Little Rock and President of the Arkansas State Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, gave a moving account of the struggle in Little Rock for school integration. On Oct. 13, she addressed the largest NAACP mass meeting that has been held here in over a decade.

Mrs. Bates told the inside story of Little Rock. She spoke of her own personal experiences and those of the nine courageous children who gathered at her home each morning before making their perilous journey to school. The entire world watched from a distance. Mrs. Bates provided a close-up view.

WATER GUNS WITH ACID

Each morning Mrs. Bates waited in great anxiety for each of the children to arrive and "affirm their faith in American Democracy." The children knew what to expect ahead of time. The morning radio news gave them eyewitness reports of the racist mobs gathering around the school. They also knew that some racist students had smuggled water guns filled with acid into school.

On the morning of September 23 all of the children had arrived except one. At 8:45 she still had not arrived. The others waited and wondered. Then the telephone rang. A young voice at the other end said, "Mrs. Bates, wait for me. I'm coming!"

The nights were sleepless. One evening a friend telephoned that a caravan of racist cars had just passed their house, headed towards the Bates' house. After comforting her child to sleep — a difficult task for any mother, Mrs. Bates pointed out, but especially difficult under these circumstances — Mrs. Bates with

her husband and a neighbor stood at the basement windows all night with rifles.

The racist caravan circled the house a number of times honking their car horns and throwing firecrackers. She described her fear after each firecracker that the next would be a real bomb.

TORTURED CHILDREN

When the children returned from school to the Bates home on Sept. 23, they were very discouraged. They said they didn't think they could go through another day like this one. Inside the school they had been shoved, kicked, spit at, and the target of hundreds of sharp tiny keys used to open coffee cans.

Mrs. Bates immediately picked up the telephone to call the President in Washington. She contacted a newspaper reporter at the White House and told him she had a revelation to make. The reporter told her, "Go ahead. Your story will be on the President's desk in three minutes and in five minutes all over the world."

That evening Eisenhower issued the proclamation to use federal troops.

Earlier in the meeting the

biggest applause of the day was given to an announcement that the NAACP intends to have legislation outlawing discrimination in private housing in Minneapolis on the books before Christmas. The alderman who will introduce the open-occupancy law was introduced to the meeting.

Near the end of the meeting when the collection was about to be taken up, a number of people were about to leave until the collection speaker declared, "Anyone who leaves now is a friend of Gov. Faubus."

Distributors of The Militant gave away 150 sample copies — all they had with them — long before the overflow crowd of about 800 had gathered. Also fifty copies of the pamphlet, "Labor's Stake in the Desegregation Fight" were sold out.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

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New York Socialist Workers Party Candidates on TV and Radio

SUNDAY, Oct. 27 — 12 Noon

Cowley on TV, Channel 4

Interview, Citizens Union Searchlight

SUNDAY, Oct. 27 — 11:15 P.M.

Kiezel on Radio WRCA, 660 on dial

Interview

MONDAY, Oct. 28 — 11:20 P.M.

Cowley on Radio, WRCA, 660 on dial

Tex and Jinx Interview

FRIDAY, NOV. 1 — 11:15 P.M.

Zuckoff on Radio, CBS, 880 on dial

Talk

Watch your news for date of this talk

Kiezel on Radio, WOR, 770 on dial

The Philadelphia Story

By Pearl Spangler

On Sunday evening, Sept. 30, two boys, one Negro and the other white, became victims of racial tension.

A pitched battle between two "gangs" Negro and white, their ages ranging from 16-18 started in a white North Philadelphia area (26th and Cambria streets). The fight which started at six in the evening was broken up. Not satisfied, the white gang attacked a Negro boy, Emil Reeves, 13, who was alone. Emil suffered critical head injuries. In retaliation, a Negro gang set upon two white boys, the Fluck brothers, one escaping but the other, William Fluck, injured for life. He will not be able to walk again.

These teen-age gangs who jumped each other are not the guilty ones.

The North Philadelphia area is a working-class home-owning area. Prices of homes range roughly from \$3500 to \$7500. On most streets, you get a kink in your neck looking for sunshine. The "tree that grew in Brooklyn" never found its match here. It has been traditionally a white gentile area — Jews were openly attacked during the period when the Bund rode high. Today, this neighborhood suffers with a white supremacist organization called "North Penn Civic Association" which was organized three years ago when a Negro family moved into Judson street.

These white supremacists collect ten dollars from home owners to keep "undesirable" elements out of the neighborhood. There is also an under-handed campaign. Rumors are spread. One hears, a girl is not safe after sundown — pocket-book snatchers infest the neighborhood. . . white women are not safe outside of home.

On the other hand, there are many

Negroes who have remarked how unsafe it is to walk on this side of the street after dark. No wonder an explosion erupted on Sept. 30.

The papers were sensationalizing this for all it was worth. On Oct. 3 a big front-page story calling for punishment was printed in the Philadelphia Enquirer, but punishment for the Fluck boy assailant, not for the one who attacked Reeves.

Something else happened on Wednesday night, Oct. 3. Mrs. Clara Baldwin, a Negro woman, mother of ten children and grandmother of 26, a militant woman fighter for integration and political and social equality, started soliciting neighbors to raise money for the two families. This act of good will did more to blast the myths and lies of the race haters. Negroes as a whole could not be blamed for the acts of the gangs. They even gave money to the solicitors. The Citizens Committee against Juvenile Delinquency gave Mrs. Baldwin backing after she took the initiative.

In talking with Mrs. Baldwin, she declared: "We are not interested in intermarriage, but just in having the same privileges as white people . . . to get a good education and have decent housing." Her committee has already collected \$392.

Another action which received attention and set back the racists was the action taken by the Strawberry Mansion Civic Association. This is a serious hard-working Block Committee which has done a great deal for neighborhood integration. A committee of women, Negro and white, came to Mrs. Fluck's home to express their sorrow and their willingness to help.

"On the Line"

ON THE LINE. By Harvey Swados. Atlantic-Little Brown, 1957. 233 pp. \$3.75.

This novel reveals some of the bitter truth about the madhouse which is an auto assembly line. It is a larger treatment of a theme handled by Swados in the well-known article published in the Nation, Aug. 17, titled, "The Myth of the Happy Worker."

In his novel Swados tells of the aspirations and frustrations of people whose lives are being ground out in the auto plants of America. The author's talent makes this book of eight short stories move along smoothly past banging hammers, railway tracks inside the plant, hissing air lines and the booming thud of cars crashing back and forth.

We see the union guaranteeing job security and retirement pay, thereby, also acting to chain the workers more completely to the assembly line. An inspector tells a production worker: "You'd be surprised how many fellows I've heard talking just like you — couldn't stand the work, going to quit any day — and now they're five and ten-year men, starting to think about retirement benefits. . . Day after day your life becomes a joke without any point, a trick that you play on yourself from punching in to punching out."

A sketch of the huge turnover in the production force revolves around the young man who was just hired and assigned to put cast-iron hooks and chains on the cars: "Christ," the boy said, and unloosed a torrent of obscene

abuse on the factory and the entire auto industry. 'I come in here to make a living, not to kill myself.' After lunch, the new man was nowhere to be found: "I hear he didn't even punch out. Just hit the road."

The inhuman speedup permeates the entire book. It is vividly depicted through the foreman who is caught between the pressure from the workers and the whips of the bosses, up to the big wheels from Michigan who "struck terror into the heart of every boss in the building," to keep production moving. One worker recalled a boss telling him: "We're not paying you for conversation. Do your work on the job and your talking on the lunch hour."

There is no room for work with any dignity on the line. A new metal finisher is shown the ropes by an old-timer who confides that if he tries making every job perfect, he'll get fired before his probationary period is up: "They're not interested in making good cars. You know what production means? Volume. And you know what they hired you for? To camouflage, not to get rid of every flaw." In another story we meet Orrin, who said: "Work is my religion." He took pride in turning out more work than anybody else. He learned the hard way that there's no use giving the company anything extra.

All nine characters in this novel could well say: "This is not the way life is meant to be." Swados has done well in portraying the inferno that drains human aspirations out of workers.

— Henry Gitano

Youngstown Union Conference Urges "30 for 40" Program

YOUNGSTOWN—Local Union 1330 of the United Steelworkers was the first of the big basic steel locals to call a mass meeting, Oct. 17, in the Youngstown District devoted solely to a rank-and-file discussion of unemployment and the reduced hours of work. Local 1330, representing workers at the giant 2½ million ton capacity Ohio Works plant of U.S. Steel currently has about 700 of its 4,500 members laid off with the big majority of the remainder working a 32-hour week.

The big mass meeting first

shouted approval of the same general resolution the Local had submitted to the District 26 area conference two weeks before. This resolution called on the labor movement in Ohio to organize mass pressure to force the reactionary state government to legalize supplementary unemployment benefits, and to push the slogan of "30-hours work—40-hours pay" as a major contract demand of the steelworkers.

HEATED DEBATE

Specific resolutions aimed at tightening up the procedure of the grievance committee in dealing with hours of work in their respective departments brought out heated debate. Throughout the summer the Local has failed to exercise its authority over department decision and as a result some have shared the work down to 24 hours a week while others have forced mass lay-offs to remain on a 40-hour week. The meeting gave the Local authority to enforce the 32-hour week in these 40-hour departments with the result that some men will be recalled to help share the poverty. The meeting also agreed the Local should

have final veto power over departmental decisions although this concept of centralized authority is poorly understood and resisted by the membership. Under the narrow, provincial leadership of recent years the idea of broad solidarity has been forgotten and departments have acted independently to the point that a state of anarchy quickly develops in a severe cutback.

In general this first mass meeting of the 1957 depression was well attended and the workers showed a combative spirit coupled with a deep concern with their own jobs and their future in the rapidly mechanizing, geographically handicapped Youngstown steel industry. Production in the Youngstown district has shown a much sharper decline than the national average and the Steelworkers Union here, traditionally one of the most militant districts, shows signs of stirring again under the lash of capitalist anarchy in production. This is shown somewhat by the adoption by the Mahoning County CIO Council of an anti-McClellan resolution and the general acceptance of yesterday's "impossible" slogan: 30-hour week—40-hour pay.

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME XXI

MONDAY, OCT. 28, 1957

NUMBER 43

Hallinan Urges Forum To Vote the SWP Ticket

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Oct. 19 — "We still need a third party in this country and I think it should be an out-and-out socialist party," said Vincent Hallinan, 1952 Progressive

Party Presidential candidate at a meeting tonight sponsored by the Socialist Unity Forum. Hallinan devoted his presentation largely to an analysis of the recent Supreme Court civil-liberties decisions, hitting sharply at the idea that the gains represented by these rulings proved that radicals should support the liberal forces in the capitalist parties.

The easing of the witch hunt, he said, is due primarily to the growing force of the non-capitalist sector of the world which is forcing the U.S. to ameliorate the cold war. He saw the high court's desegregation decisions as a product of the pressure of the Negro people of the world coupled with such developments as the Montgomery and Tallahassee boycott movements at home. In no sense, Hallinan declared, do these decisions represent "a clarion call to freedom. Do you know that only 83 children have been integrated in ten hard-core Southern states?" The same is true, he added, of the civil liberty decisions. "The court did not declare the Smith Act unconstitutional. They left it hanging over the left like a Damocles' sword."

NO DECEPTION

"Let us not deceive ourselves," he told the audience, "or walk into the trap that so many left-wing people are getting into." He then cited the example of those in the radical movement who now view Supreme Court Justice Warren as a man "moderate" from politics and playing a genuinely progressive role. "That just isn't true," Hallinan said. "He is an active, energetic and ambitious man and I make the prophecy he is being groomed for the Presidency. I don't think the Republicans are going to gamble on 'Ickey Dicky' or the 'Senator from Romania' [Khrushchev]."

Scoring the Democratic party record on civil rights, Hallinan said, "let me find left-wing people in the Democratic party, collecting rags and buttons and digging up money for them. Can they tell the Negro people to come into the Democratic party?"

Those who "connived to destroy the American Labor Party and Progressive Party" did a terrible disservice, he said. "But should we say that because the Progressive Party collapsed, we have to live in despair? It's about time we restore to ourselves the vision we once possessed." In reply to questions, Hallinan said the Progressive Party destroyed itself by not taking a stand for socialism. Explaining his own attitude while in the Progressive Party, he said he had refused to disavow Communist Party support "because they were being lynched and that made me on their side." Of the Soviet Union he said, "I concede they were guilty of errors and crimes. But I will not say anything that will help those who hate socialism."

Asked about the feasibility of

a "draft Reuther for President" movement, he tersely replied, "If we little lambs lay down with that wolf we'll wake up in trouble."

In reply to a question on what activity socialists could engage in today, Hallinan said, "Take this little Socialist Workers Party. They're not a big movement, but they are out campaigning. They are running tickets in New York and California. They come to people like me and get support for their candidates. They are socialists. I have yet to see them put out anything I disagree with."

At the same time, Hallinan insisted, the SWP should forget what he views as "past differences" with the Communist Party.

Labor Needs Own Party, Quill Tells TWU Convention

Michael J. Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union, urged the creation of labor's own party to free it from the Democratic Party's apron strings, and demanded a 30-hour week to meet the problems of automation.

Reporting to the tenth biennial convention of the TWU on Oct. 21 in New York, Quill declared that organized labor had mistakenly tied itself ever more strongly to the Democrats and made the observation that: "Labor should not be the captive of any political party. We belong in nobody's vest pocket."

AN URGENT NEED

Quill stated: "The labor movement is staggering under the blows of the Taft-Hartley Law, the right-to-work laws and the shadow of future restrictive and destructive legislation. Under these circumstances, it is of the greatest urgency that the working people of this country begin to think of building their own political party."

Pointing to the technological gains of automation, the TWU president demanded a fair share of this increased productivity for workers through a shorter work week with higher pay and other benefits.

It will be recalled that a proposal for labor to run candidates for Congress was made last August to the convention of the American Teachers Association by the New York City delegation. The New York motion called for the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education to sponsor labor candidates to oppose Congressmen who had voted against school aid. The motion did not pass because of opposition by national union officers who claimed that the Teachers Union could not call for a labor party now.



VINCENT HALLINAN pitches in to aid the election campaigns of the Socialist Workers Party in New York and San Francisco. He is the principal speaker at the final election rallies in both cities.

...Expose, Balk Plot against Syria

(Continued from page 1)

Middle East with the Eisenhower Doctrine. A U.S.-supported coup d'etat by the King of Jordan soon followed, destroying the parliamentary government in that country and bringing it into the U.S. orbit.

LOANS AND ARMS

Last August, Syria, unable to get loans for dam, railroad and industrial construction from the U.S., accepted a low-interest loan from the Soviet Union. Similarly with arms, which the U.S. was lavishly giving to Syria's neighbors but refusing to it. The State Department immediately began a propaganda campaign that Syria had gone "Communist" and was endangering Mideast peace. Air-lifts of arms to Jordan, ominous movements off Syria by the U.S. Sixth Fleet and threats to invoke the military provisions of the Eisenhower Doctrine followed.

But mass pressure forced all Arab rulers out of the U.S. line-up against Syria. Only non-Arab Turkey obediently mobilized its army.

In addition, the Kremlin, talking tough in an effort to block U.S. imperialists, and also pressure the West into another summit conference, took a hard diplomatic line against the U.S.-Turkish plan.

U.N. INTERVENTION

On Oct. 17 Syria, with Soviet backing, demanded immediate investigation by the UN General Assembly of the border situation. The U.S. State Dept. told the press that it "welcomed" UN investigation. The Christian Science Monitor (Oct. 17) comments: "Many observers doubt that the U.S. can genuinely 'welcome' UN intervention which would reduce the likelihood of an anti-Communist coup in Syria. Since UN intervention apparently cannot be avoided, the most likely American tactic is described as 'climbing on the bandwagon and trying to steer.'"

King Saud of Saudi Arabia, chief Arab ally of the U.S., has offered his personal mediation in place of UN investigation. On this ground U.S. spokesman Henry Cabot Lodge is demanding the UN drop discussion of investigating the Turkish-Syrian border crisis.

'Young Socialist' Distributors in N. Y. Arrested

NEW YORK — Young socialists in this city are challenging a flagrant violation of free speech by the police department. In what appears to be an attempted

campaign against the long-established right of people to distribute non-commercial leaflets, police on October 15 prevented members of the Eugene V. Debs Club at Brooklyn College from distributing literature near the campus and the next day issued summonses to two members of the Young Socialist Alliance for "distributing handbills" in front of Hunter College. Actually the two youths were distributing copies of the first issue of the Young Socialist.

Recognizing the fundamental challenge to free speech involved in both cases, the New York chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union is providing legal counsel for the defendants.

In the 1930's the U.S. Supreme Court in a crucial test case involving Jehovah's Witnesses, a religious group, declared unconstitutional so-called anti-littering ordinances designed to limit free speech. Since then state and federal courts have frequently reaffirmed this decision in cases involving unions, political groups, etc. In the past the New York Police Department has abided by these court rulings.

In July 1955, N.Y. Police Commissioner F. W. H. Adams wrote

a letter to the Socialist Labor Party in which he promised: "I have promulgated instructions to the police force that the distribution of non-commercial literature is not a violation of the law and that persons distributing such literature are not to be interfered with."

In 1955 when a representative of the Bronx chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was arrested for distributing leaflets protesting the lynching of 14-year-old Emmett Till in Mississippi, and in another case, the New York ACLU furnished defense counsel and succeeded in having the cases dismissed by the courts.

Scheduled for trial in the Hunter College case are YSA vice-chairman Richard Deriaan and literature chairman Daniel Friedland. They will stand trial Thursday, Oct. 24, in New York.

George E. Rundquist, executive director of the N.Y. Civil Liberties Union, has asked Deputy Police Commissioner Walter Arm to reaffirm the pledge given by his predecessor in 1955 that there would be no police interference with the right to distribute literature.

Young Socialists in L.A. Challenge Campus Editor

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 18 — After two weeks of a McCarthy-type campaign against supporters of the Young Socialist, a new national youth newspaper, the editors of the Daily Bruin, campus news-

paper at the University of California at Los Angeles, today retreated from a public debate offered them by socialist students. The meeting sponsored by the Eugene V. Debs club, drew an audience of over 100 students. Though Daily Bruin editors were present none chose to defend their paper's stand though the debate offer had been made and widely publicized for over a week.

Peter Allan, a corresponding editor of Young Socialist, himself the subject of a personal attack in today's issue of the Daily Bruin, tore that paper's red-baiting campaign apart. "We are accused of force and violence," he noted, "but they are the ones doing violence to ideas." He ridiculed accusations of furtiveness in the distribution of the new socialist youth paper, pointing to its open distribution and attached leaflet informing those interested how and where to contact the paper's supporters.

Allan exposed the worthlessness of the report of the California Un-American Activities Committee, which the Daily

Bruin had used as its authority, by calling attention to its attempts to put a "subversive" label on historian Charles Beard, the American Civil Liberties Union, "and a number of noted professors who are at this very moment teaching at UCLA."

Allan's speech was warmly applauded. The chairman then read the declaration of principles of the recently formed Conference of Young Socialists in Los Angeles. While questions from the floor that followed were pro and con on the issue of socialism, the predominant mood of the audience was: "We are here as supporters of the principle of free speech."

Members of the Eugene V. Debs Club, which was organized last spring and which includes Young Socialist representatives, say that their next step will be an attempt to get a faculty advisor, a requirement at UCLA for official recognition as a campus club. In the meantime plans are being laid for a campaign to sell the second issue of Young Socialist, due next week, to UCLA students.

... Southern "Moderates"—Their Record

(Continued from page 1)

might be a good thing to let one or two [Negroes] into white schools here and there. It would stop them from hollering," but he said Florida's new laws "will eliminate 99 and 44/100ths of the evils people fear. There will be some leakage, but possibly in the time that takes, attitudes will be changed here."

At his second inauguration in Jan. 1957, Collins declared that while desegregation might be inevitable because the Supreme Court could not be defied, "The decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court, with reference to our public schools, do not make integration of our schools compulsory. They recognize to a degree local conditions and problems. . . It is my judgment that these laws—in line with the court's recognition that local conditions must be taken into full account—give us assurance that there will be no integration in our public schools so long as such is not wise in the light of the social, economic and health facts of life as they exist in the various localities of our state. Because of these laws and because of conditions in communities throughout Florida, I continue to say that our traditions and customs of segregation in the public schools can be expected to prevail in the

foreseeable future."

As the painfully non-partisan Southern Education Reporting Service observed in the February issue of its paper: "The speech attracted national attention and drew such varying headlines as 'Mixed Schools Inevitable' and 'Segregation to Stay.' General newspaper reaction was that Collins' was the first firm official voice raised in the Deep South for moderation and gradual compliance. . . Some newspapers said Collins' forthright stand indicated he was a possible candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1960."

LIBERALS GIVE PRAISE

It should be noted that Eleanor Roosevelt, a member of the National Board of the NAACP, who happened to be in Florida at the time commended Collins' speech as "extremely courageous" and added: "He is absolutely right in saying that the South must move slowly in integration because you simply cannot change the mores of thousands of persons overnight."

That Collins' "moderate" program found favor not only with top liberal Democrats like Mrs. Roosevelt but with the Eisenhower administration was demonstrated when U.S. Attorney General Herbert Brownell, speaking in Jacksonville, declared Florida's attitude toward

segregation "is reasonable . . . as far as I can see."

A similar record underlies the reputation of North Carolina's Governor Luther Hodges as a "moderate." In 1955 Hodges in a state-wide radio and TV broadcast tried to blackmail the Negro people of his state into accepting "voluntary" school segregation. Attacking the NAACP, he told Negroes that the Supreme Court decision had destroyed "any stigma you may feel because of laws requiring segregation in our public schools." Therefore they should accept a school system "in which the children of each race voluntarily attend separate schools." Selfish refusal by Negroes to accept voluntary segregation could, he warned, result in their responsibility for North Carolina's abolition of the public school system.

Refusal of Negroes to be sold this ridiculous bill of goods led Hodges to press a Pupil Placement Act similar to Florida's. This was followed up by his calling a special session of the legislature through which he rammed a series of amendments to the state constitution providing for tuition payments and transfers for parents wanting to take their children out of the schools and local options for the closing of schools. This lays the groundwork for junking

North Carolina's public school system and replacing it with "private" schools not subject to the Supreme Court decision.

TOKEN INTEGRATION

North Carolina is the most industrialized state in the South. Negroes there are well organized and have pressed hard politically and in court cases. Consequently three school districts accepted 11 Negro students this September as the price of preserving an otherwise complete Jim-Crow school system. North Carolina lawyers and newspapers defended the token integration (four Negroes in Charlotte, six in Greensboro, one in Winston-Salem) as legally bolstering the Pupil Placement Act and the constitutional amendments. As Colonel W. T. Joyner, attorney and vice-chairman of the committee that drafted the anti-integration amendments, told the state bar association: "I think some mixing in some of our schools is inevitable and must occur. I do not hesitate to advance my personal opinion and it is that the admission of less than 1%, for example one-tenth of 1%, of Negro children to schools heretofore attended only by white children, is a small price to pay for the continued operation of our public schools, a small price to

pay for the ability to keep them mixing within the bounds of reasonable control."

The record shows that Collins, Hodges and "moderates" of their stripe can in no way be considered friends of the struggle for school integration. They are not even neutrals. They are enemies — more dangerous than ranting Negro-phobes like Eastland — because they are craftier and more practical. Nevertheless there is already underway in the North a campaign to pass them off as the Southern elements meriting the support of labor and Negro opinion. This campaign emanates from the White House, the Democratic Party tops, some influential circles among liberals and the labor bureaucrats, and most of the capitalist press.

This is the build-up to pressure Negro leaders into a deal establishing a "national policy" on school desegregation that will prevent the re-occurrence of struggles like Little Rock by slowing down desegregation even more and by substituting token for real compliance. Already in the South Collins, Hodges and other "moderates" have made approaches to the NAACP for such deals on a state basis. Next week this aspect of the situation will be examined.